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Bodies, Bones, Objects and Stones: Investigating Infancy, Infant Death, Deposition and Human identity in Iron Age Southern England

Volume 1 of 2

By

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis significantly contributes towards a fuller and more complex appreciation of the formation of human identity in Iron Age Southern England. It constitutes the first doctoral study of infancy, infant death and infant deposition for this region and period, and is the first piece of research to specifically consider infancy as an informer upon the formation of identity at this time.

This thesis is structured around four main themes: (1) Was there a concept of infancy in Iron Age southern England? (2) How does infancy inform upon the construction of identity at this time? (3) If present, how did the concept of infancy fit into any perceived understanding of a wider Iron Age life course? (4) Were infants treated in similar ways to older individuals in death? These themes led to the formation of a set of hypothesised research questions.

The investigative results offer an important and fresh insight into the nature and construction of identity at this time. Results suggest that infant (and older) bodies and bones were conceptualised and treated in multiple, and often co-existing, ways; many of which appear to have had nothing to do with the formal burial of the 'person' per se. Rather, while some bodies were formally buried, many others were perceived and treated in objectified ways. In these instances, human bodies and bones were conceptualised as forms of materiality, perceived and treated in a similar way to animal bodies and bones, objects and environmental materials. Importantly, this thesis provides evidence which suggests that although multiple and complex, in many instances, the conceptual nature of the infant (and older) body, and its subsequent treatment and deposition during this time, may have been underpinned by a uniform and geographically widespread concept of infancy.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Mike Lally, declare that the thesis entitled, 'Bodies, bones, objects and stones: Investigating infancy, infant death, deposition and human identity in Iron Age Southern England', and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has clearly been stated;
- Where I have consulted the published works of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- Parts of this work have been published in two articles:

1. Lally, M. 2008a. 'Bodies of Difference in Iron Age southern England' In Davies, O., Sharples, N. and Waddington, K. (Eds). *Changing perspectives on the first millennium BC*. Oxbow Books, Oxford

All parts of this paper are my fully of my own work, and all references quoted, and assistance given are fully defined within the text.

2. Lally, M. and Ardren, T. *Pending*. Little Artefacts: Rethinking the constitution of the archaeological Infant. In *Childhood in the Past*. Vol 1.

This paper was co-authored with Prof. Traci Ardren of Miami State University, USA. The paper was broken into three main sections. I was the sole author of the first *section, which drew upon the theoretical approach used within the current thesis in relation to understanding infancy. I co-authored the discussion, which was based around this theoretical approach. All materials within this thesis remain my own and the paper is correctly cited where referenced. None of my co-author's comments within this paper have been used within this thesis (her contribution comprised a Mayan infant depositional case study).*

Signed:

Date: 16/6/2008

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The current thesis evolved out of my undergraduate dissertation which sought to consider the evidence for infanticide in Late Iron Age and Roman Britain (Lally 2000). I have always been specifically interested in concepts of identity and how these concepts were acted out in mortuary treatments and moments. The dissertation led to further questions, and highlighted the ambiguity of infancy as an informer on identity and other possible lifecourse stages at this time. The overriding unresolved question to come out of this process related to whether infants held formal status in later prehistory? This, coupled with a desire to investigate how identity was constructed and constituted during the Iron Age, underpins the rationale of the current study.

In this thesis I will investigate the following four key themes: (1) was there a concept of infancy in Iron Age Southern England? (2) How does infancy inform upon the construction of identity at this time? (3) If present, how did the concept of infancy fit into any perceived understanding of a wider Iron Age lifecourse? (4) Were infants treated in similar ways to older individuals in death? By exploring these themes through the formation of associated hypothesised questions (see chapter 4), it is hoped that one may learn something of wider humanity at this time.

1.2 Why a study of infancy and death?

Through an investigation of infant death, associated body treatment and deposition, this thesis will consider the formation of identity in Iron Age southern England. Age is a major structuring principle of society (McHugh 1999), yet paradoxically, until very recently, archaeology has paid little attention to the variability and importance of age within past constructions of human identity and group organisation (Lucy 2005, 43). As such, little is known about how age was conceptualised during the Iron Age. Questions such as, was there a concept of infancy, and if so, how was it constituted at this time, offer the potential to say something new and important about Iron Age humanity.

Infancy constitutes the first stage of corporeal humanity. It is often intrinsically associated with the formations of Self, as defined by Others. As such, infancy often marks the ultimate *prototype* stage of humanity (after Gell 1998), with, in the majority of instances, infants being perceived as un-socialised beings, or as blank templates upon which different forms of socialisation subsequently work to shape the infant - being into a productive and socially appropriate adult. During the Iron Age, for instance, different forms of prototype potentiality may have commonly included *infant-destined-to-become-strong/healthy* or *infant-destined-to-become-farmer*.

Dead babies do not bury or deposit themselves. During the Iron Age, their bodies were treated in multiple ways, many of which were both chronologically contemporaneous and complementary to one another. In some instances, the infant body, as a failed or intentionally terminated (deliberately killed) prototype adult, appears to have been deemed suitable for manipulation and inclusion within non-burial related acts of deposition. It would seem that infant bodies were occasionally understood to have some potential for transformation, from human-as-human to human-as-object. This thesis will investigate this transformability further, and in particular, it will seek to consider: the nature of status at this time; whether infants were born with status and identity, or whether these were accorded to them by Others at some later time or stage within a locally understood concept of a lifecourse; and whether this 'potential for transformation' applied to an understanding of other aged bodies at this time.

The status accorded to Iron Age people by archaeologists has tended to rely and revolve around a limited number of semi-associated relationships, namely: producer/consumer, aggressor/victim, elite/other, native/non-native. In addition to this, issues such as status tend to be portrayed in distinctively linear ways, with archaeologists depicting people as having held either high, low or no status during both life and death. This analogous correlation between a perceived static *identity-in-life* mirroring and reinforcing a paralleled *identity-in-death* has been defined by Peebles (1971) as constituting a "fossilized terminal status".

Fossilised terminal status has become a fundamental concept in the archaeology of childhood and death. As Lucy (2005) suggests, when age groups have been investigated in archaeology, it has often been in linear ways. The majority of archaeologists only consider infancy and childhood in relation to the mortuary record (Lucy 2005; Sofaer Derevenski 1994, 8) and in particular to issues of under-representation (Crawford 1993; Scott 1999), low or no status and social worth (Whimster 1981; Pearce 1999; Scott 1999), or liminality (Scott 1999).

The under-representation of infants within a modern perception of how cemetery populations should have been constructed in the past has come to largely dominate these approaches. To quote Crawford (1993), "a curious feature of much of western European prehistory is the relatively small numbers of infant and child burials found in cemeteries and other mortuary contexts. Sometimes this would appear to be a result of preservation conditions, with small infant bones being dissolved more thoroughly by acidic soils, or small skeletons in shallow graves being more easily disturbed; sometimes it may be due to inadequate excavation - badly preserved infant bones can easily be missed, especially if grave cuts are hard to see". However, attention must also be given to the possibility that at certain times, in certain places, certain aged bodies were intentionally absent from 'cemetery sites' for local, and temporally understood reasons or purposes.

Such issues are largely reliant upon a modernist interpretation of what constituted 'normative' and 'non-normative' behaviour in the past. In reality the two are rarely exclusive of one another. Parkin (1992, 2-3) has argued that past cemetery populations rarely reflect a static population. They are often variably constituted according to the rationales of those creating them. In this way, what might initially present as being indicative of 'non-normative behaviour' (i.e. the general absence of infant remains from prehistoric cemetery sites) is, by its very nature, normatively constituted in the specificity of the rationale and moment through which it was created, acted or displayed. As Binford (1971) and Tarlow (2002, 92) highlight, the perception of "terminal identity fossilization" is both "problematic" and highly variable, and cannot be assumed to be a factual reality of every culture and cultural practice. 'Expected' and 'normative' should never be taken for granted! They are merely a socially defined reality, and social agency is always variable.

Sofaer (2006, 40) has suggested that archaeological bodies are fundamentally different to those of other disciplines, in as much as archaeologists cannot 'see past people in action'. She suggests that in death, the physical body is by definition, lifeless. However, it might be argued that such a suggestion lends itself to a humanist biological perspective of the body and body agency, in which death and 'burial' are understood as end products of human life. Contrary to this, Joralemon (1995, 347) has argued that "one of the most characteristically human activities is the treatment of the dead as though some quality of the 'person' is still present". Indeed this point has been taken further by Miska (1995, 88), who has suggested that "because all societies do not have the same concept of the body and its extension in the world, it follows that they do not have the same concept of what happens to the body at death".

For example, the retention of the dead among the living has been suggested in relation to the Iron Age practice of excarnation by exposure (Carr and Knüsel 1997). Ellison and Drewett (1971) and Carr and Knüsel (1997) have posited that many of the internal four-post structures found at Danebury - and indeed elsewhere - may have been used not just for storage purposes, but also for body exposure. Using ethnographic literature, Carr and Knüsel (1997, 168) have provided additional examples of corpse retention and social existence beyond biological death. They suggest that the Toradja people of Central Celebes regularly excarnated their kin within huts. This is similarly supported by the Maori, who often expose bodies in the house, wrapping relatives in vast amounts of absorbent cloth to soak up the juices of putrefaction (Barley 1995, 54-55). For the Maori, biologically deceased bodies may be retained among the biologically living for considerable periods of time; even years. Despite their biological status, these bodies *are* and continue to *be* socially alive. Instead of recognising death, these bodies are thought to be sleeping, or to have a headache (Barley 1995, 54-55). During their retention, Maori bodies are always included in family activities such as eating and discussion, and, on occasion, continue to carry out domestic duties, such as watching over and disciplining children while their parents work or prepare food stuffs (Barley 1995). 'Death' only occurs as the body leaves the house. In this instance, the repeated wrapping of the body and its retention within the protective home environment would undoubtedly prevent any associated weathering, while also serving to extend the corporeality of the body beyond that of exposure.

This thesis will explore these themes further, by investigating the nature of human death in Iron Age southern England. It is entirely possible that throughout the Iron Age, the rationale behind excarnation – and other forms of body treatment and processing - was equally complex, with no sharp distinction being made by those ‘socially’ alive against those ‘biologically’ dead. It is entirely plausible that there was no immediate dichotomy between life and death and that even during the various treatments accorded to the body, and thereafter, ‘dead’ bodies and bones retained some active social agency.

1.3 The body and infancy: Interpretation and meaning

Understanding bodies

Meskell (1999, 21) suggests that “the body represents the particular site of interface between several different irreducible domains: the biological and the social, the collective and the individual, structure and agent, cause and meaning, constraint and free will”. Bodies are powerful social and political mediators (Synnott 1993, 17; Hill 2000, 324), ‘drenched with symbolic significance’ (Turner 1984). They are the location of Self (Meskell 1999; Sofaer 2006; Synnott 1993, 4) and the interface between Self and Other (Sofaer 2006; Thomas 2002, 34). They are often only definable in relation to the bodies of Others, and for infants and young children, the bodies of Self and Other are a means of socialisation and learning (James, Jenks and Prout 1998). As such, bodies are similar in conceptuality to the prototype potentiality of infancy. They are multiple, and open to influence and change through experience, time and space. They are the means through which young children come to create their own identities (James, Jenks and Prout 1998, 162). Bodies are social, while also forming a template for shaping through acts of socialisation.

Few archaeologists have specifically considered how infant bodies were perceived and constituted in the past; exceptions being Ardren (2006, *forthcoming*), Fahlander (2003), Lillehammer (2000), Rainbird (2002), Robb (2002), Sofaer (2006), and Yates (1993). This lack of attention has arguably originated via an over reliance, on the part of archaeologists, on the humanist biological model to explain social constitutions of the body via osteological analyses and – as suggested earlier - the general absence of human infant remains from many past cultural cemetery sites and spaces (Scott 1992).

However, biology alone cannot be seen to constitute the meaning of the body through time. As Sofaer (2006, 139-140) suggests, “what produces them [bodies] is not simply biological events, the phenomenology of bodily experience, and not merely structures of symbolic and discursive meaning”. Rather, for Sofaer, bodies are multiply-constituted and complex, being constructed through a differential combination of biology, sociality and material world interaction. Bodies can be self contained units (after Meskell 1999) or even subject to external control (Green 2002; Joralemon 1995, 345; Meillassoux 1992; Young 1995). As Shilling (1993) suggests, bodies may be both biological and social and yet are never finished products; being always adaptive to inference and change. Accordingly, childhood constitutes one of the most intensive life periods in which the body becomes accomplished (Shilling 1993; James, Jenks and Prout 1998, 164).

Humans, objects and bodies: Latour’s (1993) translation

In recent years, the question of how humans and objects are related in the formation of different identities has come to dominate the social sciences. Through this, the methodological approach of Actor-Network-Theory (ANT) developed. An ANT approach places humans in the realm of objects, and vice versa. One of the principal theorists associated with ANT is the French sociologist/philosopher, Bruno Latour. Latour (1993) has argued that human identity is constructed through ‘heterogeneous materials’, including human bodies, materiality (including objects) and the human mind. Each of these has the ability to occupy a primary inferring role, influencing how the others are shaped through experience and time. Latour (1993) suggests that the multiplicity of these fluid and variably inferring relationships is intertwined through co-existing and occasionally co-related *Networks of Association*. Each is perceived as ‘enrolling and ordering the others in turn’ (James, Jenks and Prout 1998, 167). Latour (1993) defines this ordering and inferring relationship as *translation*. *Translation* is normally fluid; forming malleable hybrid combinations of inference that alter according to temporally variable networks of association, including, for example, age, life experience and our relationships, both with and within social worlds.

Translation suggests that identity is often formed through these interchangeable and temporally variable hybrid relations. The body, the mind and one's material surroundings – including objects of all description – shape the individual in any number of transitional and transformational ways. In this way, the body and mind are objectified, while materiality is often perceived as an extension of the body and mind. Objects are human, while humans are objects. There is often no independent, clear separation between the formation and constitution of these forms of agents within the shaping of human identity.

Bodies as object

As such, and despite Merleau-Ponty's (1980, 73) suggestion that bodies cannot be constituted as objects, there is archaeological evidence to demonstrate that bodies were frequently objectified in the past. Supportive archaeologies of body objectification have to date included Barrett (1994), Chapman (2000), Chapman and Gaydarska (2007), Fowler (2002), Hill (2000), Meskell (1999, 13), Pluciennik (2002), Shanks and Tilley (1982), Sofaer (2006), Thomas (2002) and Yates (1993). As such, bodies have (pre)historically been subject to fragmentation (Chapman 2000; Chapman and Gaydarska 2007; Fowler 2002; Hill 2000; Lally *pending*; Joralemon 1995; Thomas 2002), and partability and mobility across landscapes (Chapman 2000; Chapman and Gaydarska 2007; Fowler 2002, 2004; Hill 2000; Meskell 1999, 18; Thomas 2002).

As *translation* (Latour 1993) suggests, the human body is often constituted through materiality, and likewise, materiality through the inference of the body (see also Barrett 1994; Chapman 2000; Chapman and Gaydarska 2007; Fowler 2002; Hill 2000; Meskell 1999, 13; Pluciennik 2002; Shanks and Tilley 1982; Sofaer 2006; Thomas 2002; Yates 1993). This belief is something that Brück (2001) has recently drawn upon when examining the Bronze Age relationship between pottery and people. Brück suggests that during the Bronze Age, pottery was perceived as having humanlike qualities. Pottery was conceived through intentionality, born through creation, lived through usage, and died when expired or broken. At this point, pottery was either deposited – likened to burial – or fragmented to be reincorporated into newly conceived objects as temper – likened to excarnation and reincarnation. I have recently suggested elsewhere (Lally *pending*) that a similar relationship may have existed during parts of the Iron Age. This is reiterated by other recent research, which in particular, has identified a similar treatment of human and animal bodies and bones during this period (Hill 1995; Fitzpatrick 1997).

1.4 'Lifecourse'

This is not a thesis on lifecourse theory. The Iron Age mortuary record is intentionally fragmentary (see Section 5.2). As such, one would not necessarily choose to investigate the presence or absence of a lifecourse concept for this period in southern England. However, as this thesis explores infancy as an informer upon identities, it is necessary to compare the treatment of young bodies with that accorded to older ones. How else is one to recognise difference in age related treatments and to identify whether the concept of infancy was a part of life and death at this time?

In its most basic form, the term 'lifecourse' describes an embodied (Meskell 2000; Sofaer 2006) transition of age ranges across a human's lifetime (Hareven 1978, 2), from conception through to death (Gottlieb 2004). In particular, it sub-defines the periods of transition between different age categories (Myerhoff 1984), or *lifescapes*, commonly including: infancy, childhood, adolescence and adulthood. These have primarily evolved through a modern western biological model (Baxter 2005; Crawford 2000; Gowland 2006, 143; James, Jenks and Prout 1998; Lucy 2005, 54; Sofaer 2006) and inevitably fail to take into account the variable nature of age (Crawford 2000; Gottlieb 2004; Jenks 1996; Sofaer Derevenski 1994) and lifecourse construction through time, place and space (after Gowland 2006, 145; Spencer 1990, 20; Stoodley 2000).

It has been suggested that lifecourse is fundamentally intertwined with the processes of socialisation and the construction and embodiment of gender and other social roles (Gilchrist 1999; 2000; Ginn and Arber 1995; Gowland 2006; Harlow and Laurence 2002; Joyce 2000; Lucy 2005; Sofaer Derevenski 1997; 2000; 2006;

Stoodley 2000), and the underpinning of wider society (Gowland 2006, 143; Hareven 1978; Sofaer Derevenski 1994; 1997; 2000; 2006).

Returning to Latour's (1993) methodological concept of *translation*, one finds that the fluid inferring primary agency of body-mind-materiality lends itself well to wider lifecourse theory. The lifecourse is biologically and socially constituted. Furthermore, as authors such as Sofaer Derevenski (1997, 876), Meskell (2000) and Stoodley (2000) have suggested, functional and symbolic forms of material culture are often employed to enchain concepts such as age, status and gender. In this way, material culture serves to create, bond and transmit cultural values and normative mores (Dant 1999; Sofaer Derevenski 1994, 14; 1997; 2000; 2006). As Lucy (2005, 43) suggests "age is, of course, the one identity that is *expected* to change over an individual's lifetime, and its role in the reproduction of social norms and material culture is a fundamental one".

While an understanding of lifecourse undoubtedly contributes to an informed appreciation of identity transformation during an individual's lifetime, infancy constitutes a much neglected area of archaeological research. As Lucy (2005, 43) suggests, archaeologists have traditionally approached the human lifecourse through a lens of adulthood. In recent years this has been extended to incorporate childhood. Yet this extension has failed to integrate any concept of infancy.

Archaeology – as with wider anthropology (Gottlieb 2004; Hewlett 1992; Le Vine *et al* 1994) – has yet to fully appreciate the importance of infancy within the formation of identity and culture in past populations. This is because the subject of infancy carries "too low a level prestige to invite… scholars to tackle it" (Gottlieb 2004, 38). Gottlieb (2004, 39) has suggested that many childhood researchers hide the fact that they study children. This is especially true for male researchers. During a past conversation, a colleague of mine informed me that he has even been asked whether he studies childhood because he had been subjected to abuse as a child. While I have never experienced comments of this extreme nature, I have been asked whether I research infancy due to the loss of a child. For those not researching them, babies – in particular – risk looking boring to outsiders, even where the prospect of researching childhood looks attractive (after Gottleib 2004, 47-48).

Infancy has failed to benefit from the kind of attention given to older individuals in the past. Infants retain an unknown or ambiguous ability to inform on Iron Age identity. Without having an informed understanding of the first corporeal stage of biological humanity at this time, one is limited in ability to appreciate any further concept of an Iron Age lifecourse. While this thesis will primarily investigate infancy – using infant death and deposition as a means for considering the formations of different forms of Iron Age identity – it will also consider the role and position played by infancy in the wider lifecourse at this time.

Chapter 2: The Importance of Infancy

2.1 Introduction

2.1.1 The importance of infancy

This chapter will highlight the importance of infancy as a pivotal stage in the construction of human identity. Infancy, as both the first stage of corporeal humanity and the beginning point for the earliest cultural formations of Self and Other, represents an important and necessary departure point for exploring constructions of identity in the Iron Age record. As suggested in 1.1, the current thesis is not a study of either infancy or mortuary treatment alone. The thesis employs infancy and infant death to investigate a range of questions which are intended to inform upon the formation of human identities in Iron Age southern England.

The chapter begins by asking 'what is infancy', before then moving to highlight traditional archaeological and sociological approaches to identity formation; intertwining infancy with Bourdieu's (2000) Habitus and Cultural Field model, Gamble's (2007) recent *Childscape* model, and Alfred Gell's (1998) models of the index, indexing experience, prototype agency and ambassador agency. Complementing this, the chapter then considers the nature and potential of infant and child agency.

This chapter discusses a range of complex theories and methodologies, many of which may not initially appear to be related, relatable or similarly applicable to the task of investigating infancy and identity, though in each case they are. Although each is described and detailed in full, highlighting possible associative relationships whenever and wherever applicable, the chapter ends with a summarizing discussion (see Section 2.3); bringing together all the different facets of investigation into one larger discussion.

2.1.2 What is infancy?

The term 'infancy' constitutes a problematic category of study, in as much as, whilst being the first biological stage of human existence, the conceptual nature of infancy tends to be constituted through either a juxtaposed, or biased temporal understanding of human biological development and social constructionism. In many cultures biological age does not necessarily equate itself with either chronological or social age (Lucy 2005). Rather terms such as ‘infant’, ‘infanthood’, ‘child’ and ‘childhood’ are social constructions (Baxter 2005, 97; James and Prout 1990).

Infancy is always a fluid and dynamic concept, grounded somewhere between nature and culture (Lally 2008a; 2008b; 2008c; Lally and Ardren 2008), with constitutions and interpretations varying locally throughout time, place and space. The challenge for both archaeologists and osteologists working on age and identity therefore relies upon recognising the importance of variable social constructions of age, and the degree of significance placed upon biology within them (Sofaer 2006).

Social and biological models of age require detailed and specific localised attention. As such, constructions of infancy – whether in the present or the past – should be perceived as being complex and not assumedly transferable. As Toren (1999, 1) highlights well in her descriptions of Inuit and English babies, one cannot easily extract a generalised version of infancy, as gauged from either modernity or from any one particular example in time, and transplant it elsewhere.

Infancy is always constructed ‘in-the-now’, or within the historical present moment. This localised *otherness* dictates that different people undoubtedly constitute and understand infancy in different ways. As such, infancy is always modern, being enacted in the present, while also being underpinned by what came before, or by previously existing concepts, biographies and narratives.

It will be shown that the concept of infancy has traditionally been linked to the temporality of modernity itself, as defined and under-pinned by historical narratives embodied throughout both the historical record and through the lives of those constituting any understanding of infancy at any one time.

2.1.3 Taphonomy and the archaeological identification of human infant remains

Human infant skeletal material can "provide a wealth of information on the populations from which they came" (Baker *et al* 2005, 1). However, infant remains are often less prevalent within past mortuary assemblages. Traditionally, taphonomy, or the study of the processes that operate between the time of death of the organism and the time of study by the osteologist (White and Folkens 2005, 49), has been used to explain this under-representation (Baker *et al* 2005; Scheuer and Black 2004).

The loss of human infant remains due to taphonomy

Taphonomic factors may have an influential affect on the survival and identifiable presence of human infant remains on archaeological sites. The deposition of human bone in a particular place may affect the associated remains in a number of different ways (Baker *et al* 2005, 1; Scheuer and Black 2004, 18). For instance, the physical conditions of the place, in terms of temperature, type of soil, disturbance by humans or animals, may all contribute to poor preservation or the loss of infant bone (Scheuer and Black 2004, 18). The same may be said for excavation sampling strategies. Often human infant remains may be misidentified or simply not recognised during excavation (Baker *et al* 2005, 1).

Some taphonomic studies have suggested that the unmineralised nature of infant bones result in their poorer preservation, when compared to that of older skeletal remains (Gordon and Buikstra 1981; Guy et al 1997; Henderson 1987; Johnston and Zimmer 1989; Scheuer and Black 2004, 18-19). As Scheuer and Black (2004, 18-19) suggest, the physicochemical properties of infant bones generally mean that they are more fragile than older examples. It is therefore possible that on certain archaeological sites, where the physical conditions are poor, some infant bones may have become lost because of taphonomic factors over time (Scheuer and Black 2004, 19).

Rethinking loss through taphonomy alone

However, a number of researchers have suggested that the apparent under-representation of human infant remains in past mortuary populations may have been more influenced by poor excavation methods, than taphonomic preservation (Baker *et al* 2005, 1, 11-13; Scheuer and Black 2004, 19; Saunders 2000; Sundick 1978). While some infant bones are susceptible to loss through taphonomy, others, such as the base of the skull, parts of the vertebrae and most of the long bones can, and do survive as just as well, if not better (Baker *et al* 2005, 11), than similar bones belonging to adults, under the same conditions (Baker *et al* 2005, 11; Scheuer and Black 2004, 19). This suggests that infant bones may often be under-represented because of poor excavation techniques rather than taphonomic factors; their bones are smaller than those of older individuals, and so are more easily missed as part of test excavations or sampling procedures (Baker *et al* 2005, 11).

This has significant importance for any study of infant deposition during the Iron Age in southern England. As detailed in Section 3.5, adult human skull and long bone fragments are frequently found on Iron Age hillfort and settlement sites. Therefore, if originally deposited there, one might arguably expect to find human infant bones at the same sites.

The selectivity of infant deposition is also an important factor that may be masked by a taphonomic debate. As highlighted by Baker *et al* (2005, 11) and Scheuer and Black (2004, 19), many past cultures appear to have treated human infant bodies in different ways to adults. Often infant remains were segregated away from burial or depositional spaces reserved for older human remains (Baker *et al* 2005, 11). The theme of selectivity appears to have been important during the Iron Age in southern England (Lally 2008; Section 3.5) and it is therefore likely that an absence of human infant remains on many Iron Age sites either originated through poor excavation techniques or a conscious decision to exclude them from site based depositional or burial rationales, and not just because of taphonomic factors alone.

2.1.4 Caught between nature and culture

Terms such as 'infant', 'child' and 'adult' are culturally loaded and arguably "gloss over" (Hockey and James 1993, 47) the diversity of definitions constructed and embodied by different social groups (Lucy 2005, 58). While the biological development of an infant - from embryonic state to later maturity - may be apparent in any period of human (pre)history, its importance within contributing towards, and defining a given meaning and temporal interpretation of infancy (and indeed other age stages) varies from culture to culture (Lucy 2005; James and Prout 1990, 8).

Osteology, for example, has sought to 'understand' and define infancy through a perceived knowledge of human biological skeletal development; with authors such as Scheuer and Black (2000, 10; 2004) having drawn attention to the historical formative development of osteological methods, practices and terminology used to understand and define human age. Scheuer and Black (2004) describe how the term 'juvenile' was once commonly adopted to represent the age range of embryo to adult. In a bid to be more definitive about age definition – as terminological inconsistency has traditionally plagued both the osteological and archaeological reporting of young age – Scheuer and Black (2000) stipulate that the term 'infancy' should be used to describe individuals aged between birth and one year. However, as highlighted by Baker *et al* (2005, 10), there is no current agreed definition of when infancy either begins or ends:

> "Many different terms are employed to describe individuals who are not yet considered mature adults. In fact, there is no agreement on exactly when an individual becomes adult. … All those younger than adults can be referred to as subadults. Some Osteologists prefer to label these individuals as nonadults. Additional terms used within this volume are fetus, perinate, infant, child or juvenile, or adolescent" (Baker *et al* 2005, 10)

Age definition and sub-categorisation is useful, even essential, for osteological, and subsequently, archaeological reporting. However, rigid definitions are, by their very nature, biased towards one standpoint or another, and are subsequently prone to inaccuracy when offset against different cultural backgrounds and socially determined age strategies and constitutions. Despite the importance of osteology and the biological paradigm, there are numerous examples in which culture dominates biology when construing age related identities.

For instance, the Beng of West Africa believe infants to be returning ancestors or spirits from the other-world, a concept Gottlieb (2004) cites as being common within many other cultures, including that of the Iwaj (Leis 1982), Mossi (Bonnet 1981), Yorba (Okri 1991; Oluwole 1992), Bobo and Burkino Faso (LeMoal 1981). For the Beng, human agency begins via the returning process of spiritual agency. As such, the concept of infancy is intrinsically related to a Beng understanding of life, death and the other-world. As such, the Beng believe infancy to begin prior to birth, at the point at which a returning ancestor decides to become the returning foetus. Such a belief system poses a significant challenge for both archaeologists and osteologists alike, and any reliance on rigid age definitions.

Gilchrist (1999, 89), Sofaer Derevenski (1997, 194) and Lucy (2005) suggest that age groups are socially contingent and constructed, "lacking fixed parameters, roles and meanings" (Lucy 2005, 66). Indeed, the modern western model of skeletal-defined infancy "which suggests 'infancy' begins at birth" (Gottleib 2000, 123), is becoming increasingly challenged by notions of an in-utero lifecourse and history (Isaacson 1996, 459). The social beginning of infancy may therefore commence at any moment from conception to birth, and even thereafter (Gottlieb 2004). Gottleib (2004, 45-46) highlights the importance of this, when stating that for some African cultures, "fetushood" is believed to extend into biological life (post-birth), with some people, such as the Murgin of Arnhemland continuing, after birth, to name their living babies by the same term used to describe the unborn foetus. We cannot assume that the reproduction of society follows unproblematically from the biological reproduction of individuals.

2.1.5 Liminality and pollution

As traditionally discussed within both the archaeological and anthropological literature on childhood, infancy is often seen as a liminal life stage, situated somewhere between pre-birth and social existence. This period of liminality is often intertwined with a social desire to segregate the infant from full society until such a time that he or she is able to demonstrate either a real or symbolic action or attribute. In these instances - prior to the infant's 'social attainment' - infants are often thought to be polluting or dangerous, and may thus be avoided in certain instances. Many cultures perceive the polluting infant to be conceptually similar to the polluting female (Scott 1999). The Kaulong of New Britain, for instance, believe that childbirth equates with the spreading effect of female pollution, which in turn necessitates the physical separation of the mother and infant from all male locations. Oyuela-Caycedo (1991, 327) describes such a belief as being connected to a social desire to protect largely male dominated spaces in Kaggaba society:

> "For example, in a household a husband lives in a separate dwelling from his wife and children. A female never goes inside the male dwelling, while a man does not enter the females. A wife takes care of the children and cooks meals inside her dwelling. When the food is ready, she takes it to her husband, but does not eat with him; she returns to the dwelling… Sex roles in traditional families have been supported by the differential use of household space. The separation is sanctioned through pollution beliefs… focusing on menstruation and sexual activity."

In some instances, this need for separation also extends to an understanding and definition of who can use certain objects at certain times. Scott (1999, 61-62) for example, suggests that in Judaism, a mother who has given birth to a son will not be allowed near hallowed objects for forty days; while a female who has given birth to a daughter will face the same 'pollutant' status for an extended period lasting up to sixty-six days.

In many cultures, the unpredictability of infancy, by way of uncontrolled desires to feed, secrete urine, faeces and vomit, combined with the infant's association with birth enabling fluids such as semen, vaginal fluid and blood, are also all cited as being especially taboo (Douglas 1966, 1970; Erikson 1995, 161; Gottlieb 2004, 55; Turner 2003; Knight 1991). Arguably, prior to the achievement of social recognition, the liminal infant may be understood to be semi-detached from humanity: in a similar way to that frequently cited in relation to other periods of life transition; including for example, puberty, older age and death (Van Gennep 1977; Barley 1995; Gottlieb 2004; Knight 1991).

2.1.6 Infants and identity: Achieving status through the attainment of socially defined 'benchmarks'

Social *benchmarks* associated with the infant's attainment of identity are often cited to include one or more of the following: the provision of a name (Ardren 2002; Aria and Dunham 1991, 157; Gantz 1976; Gardner 1986; Rogers 1989; Scott 1992, 2; Sonne 1997, 176); an ability to stand or walk (Gottlieb 2004, 44); speech (Crawford 1999; Gottleib 2004, 44; Scott 1999, 1-2; Rawson 2003, 344); the ability to smile (Gottleib 2004, 45; Hamilton 1981); the ability to eat either real or symbolic food stuffs (Curtis 1930; Sonne 1997); or to become mindful and knowledgeable about one's peers and environment (Gottleib 2004, 44).

The Ability to Walk

Many cultures place great social value on an infant's ability to walk. In the modern western world the moment an infant takes his or her first steps is a memorable occasion – one to be celebrated, even captured in pictures or on film. For the Lahu of south-western China (Du 2002), these first steps signify the end of the 'red and naked stage' of infanthood and the beginning point of Lahu childhood.

However, some cultures intentionally restrict walking. For instance, Beng parents actively challenge any early attempt to walk (Gottlieb 2004, 229-232). They do so in three ways. If caught attempting to walk, an infant may be chastised by smacking, carried by their mothers everywhere they go, or given a magical waist-level charm, believed to prevent the ability to walk (Gottlieb 2004, 229-232). This is done for serious reasons. As detailed above, the Beng believe that infants are returning ancestors, and therefore return back to earth from the otherworld. Until the time at which Beng infants begin to speak Beng, an infant is thought to be caught betwixt and between worlds – that of the otherworld and earth. From conception onward, the Beng infant negotiates a pathway from the otherworld to that of Beng life. Any premature development is thought to jeopardise the welfare of both the infant and parents.

In addition, Gottlieb suggests – although never confirmed by her Beng research subjects themselves – the practicality of preventing infants from walking too soon. She highlights the dangers involved in everyday Beng life, including, for instance, the local presence of snakes and the constant dangers placed by domestic fires (Gottlieb 2004, 231). In contradiction, the ethnographic record offers multiple examples where infants become conscious of danger from an early age and adapt the behaviour accordingly. For example, by the age of eight to twelve months, Aka Pygmy fathers have already started to teach their young sons how to competently use miniature sharp pointed ‘digging’ sticks, throw small spears, use miniature axes with sharp metal blades and how to carry small buckets (Hewlett 1992, 32). Complementing this example, Pawleta (2005) has discussed numerous cultural examples in which infants learn tool usage by the age of two years, including the acquisition of skilled machete usage by the age of 18 months in some instances.

It is therefore possible that a fear of danger played little if any part in the Beng’s reasoning for limiting their infant’s ability to walk. Rather, for the Beng, walking plays a significant role in the steady progression from the infant-as-returning-ancestor to the eventual reintroduction of infant-as-human, or more specifically, of infant-as-Beng (after Gottlieb 2004, 229-232). If a Beng baby walks either too soon or too late his/her spirit is believed to be in peril. At the same time, if a Beng infant learnt to walk too late, it is believed that he/she may never walk. Furthermore, the infant’s ability to walk is also directly associated with the taboos of parental sexual life following the birth of the baby. An infant is strictly not allowed to walk before one year of age. Following this period, the infant is subtly encouraged and will learn to walk at some point between one and two years of age. In many instances, if left too long, the father may be tempted to sexually stray. Gottlieb (2004, 232) provides an example where a baby took its first steps after the age of sixteen months.

Scott (1999, 1-2) has highlighted the history of the word ‘infant’, which, she argues, is a derivative of the Latin term *infantia* meaning ‘unable to speak’ or ‘not speaker’ (after Karl and Löcker *pending)*. Prior to being able to speak, Roman infants held lower social status, being thought of as ‘not yet fully human’ (Rawson 2003, 344). This cultural perception seems to have intentionally coincided with the fact that suitable infants received official Roman citizenship at the age of one year (Rawson 2003, 345).

This Latin definition is similar to that provided in Cormac's Glossary (and may in fact have influenced it), in which an infant was defined through the term *noìdiu*, which probably derived from the common Celtic word *ne-weyd-u:s*, meaning 'not-knower' (Karl and Löcker *pending*; Vendryes 1960).

However, these examples dictate that speech was learnt in later infancy – a thesis that we too in the modern western world have come to adhere to – but there are other ethnographic examples in which infants are born with an innate and highly complex understanding of both speech and language. As suggested above, the Beng believe infants to be returning ancestors. For the Beng, baby-babble *is* in fact the true language of the ancestors and the otherworld: a belief shared by many African societies, including, for example the Ijaw (Leis 1982), the Mossi (Bonnet 1981), the Bobo (LeMoal 1981), the Akan and Côte d'Ivoire (Ephirim-Donker 1997), the Yoruba (Okri 1991; Oluwole 1992) and Igbo (Bastian 2002, Uchendu 1965): for additional examples see Creider (1986), MacGaffey (1986) and Orubu (2001).

Contradicting Butt's (1998, 21) belief that infants are always "partial persons, according to local ideologies, made complete by the social, ritual, and nurturing actions of others", the Beng – and many of the other societies (including those African ones detailed above) - believe that from foetushood onwards, the infant is a complete person, fully equipped with both ancestral and human desire, memory and language (Gottleib 2004, 93). Beng infants are believed to be able to understand any earthly or otherworld language. Gottlieb (2004, 99) suggests that the period in which a Beng infant begins to speak in only Beng marks the point at which they consciously decide to give up their innate multilingual capabilities.

The provision of a name

In many cultures the provision of a name serves to differentiate the infant-as-human from the infant-as-animal (Sonne 1997, 176). From an archaeological perspective, Rawson (2003, 344, 346) and Scott (1992, 2) have discussed Suetonius' (*Nero VI*) account of how Romans would often name their offspring at eight to nine days of age, depending on sex. Before this, the baby had no social status and was widely understood to be a non-entity (Scott 1992).

A review of ethnographic literature would tend to support this view. Aria and Dunham (1991, 157), Curtis (1930, 259) and Rogers (1989) have discussed the symbolic aspect to naming a baby. As cited by Scott (1992), both Aria and Dunham and Rogers have described how, for the Kafirs of Afghanistan, the literal translation of the term 'name' is 'to pour into'. This was taken by Scott as implying a direct relationship between the provision of a name and the formation of a social identity and the accreditation of the infant as having a human soul.

Karl and Löcker (pending) suggest that the provision of a name was also of vital importance in the Celtic mythological literature. For instance, in the fourth branch of the Welsh *Mabinogi* (MacCana 1992; Gantz 1976), the hero of the story, *Llew* (often thought to be a Welsh version of the Celtic god Lug (Birkhan 1997, 602)), is cursed by his mother never to receive a name, weapons and a wife unless she should give them to him. This prevented *Llew* from becoming a full member of society. Eventually, with the help of his Druid uncle *Gwydion, Llew* tricked his mother into giving him these gifts. This story resonates well with the Irish epic *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, in which the main hero of the story, *Cú Chulainn*, is not only fathered by a certain *Lug mac Ethlenn* (commonly also interpreted as the Irish version of the Celtic god Lug (Maier 2000, 215), but only receives his name, weapons and a wife after initiatory adventures.

While the ethnographic and historic records support a general notion that providing a baby with a name is important to fermenting a given social identity, the naming of an infant may actually occur at any point from foetushood onwards. The Beng of western Africa believe that the foetus will refuse to be born without first being given and called for by a name (Gottlieb 2004). In this case, the failure to provide a name is thought to have dire consequences and may well lead to the infant deciding to terminate its own life, and possibly that of its mother as well.

As returning ancestors, Beng infants are often named after deceased family members. Furthermore, they are addressed and treated accordingly, as if they are that person returned. This custom is widely attested within the Ethnographic record (see for instance Curtis' accounts of the Greenlandic Eskimo (Sonne 1997), who also name new babies after deceased relatives, therefore ensuring that individuals always return back to the same family). If given the wrong name or inappropriately ignored, the Beng believe that their infants have the power and will to terminate their own biological lives, choosing instead to return back to the otherworld and to their spiritual parents.

Smiling: Marking the end of infancy and the starting point of childhood?

Hamilton (1981, 17) has described how the Murngin of Arnhem Land call newborn infants by the same term used to describe a foetus. The foetus/newborn only become formally recognised as a child when able to smile, which Hamilton suggests, normally occurs at around three to six weeks of age. Childhood then lasts until the age of twelve years (*ibid*). This example is well paralleled by the Baganda peoples of Uganda (Kilbride 1974).

Smiling is a facial action thought to be indicative of both pleasure (Fogel *et al* 2000, 497), emotional development and earliest social behaviour (Messinger *et al* 2003). Until recently, smiling was believed to subconsciously develop during neonatal sleep (as suggested by Fogel *et al* 2000, 497) - with associated smiles termed as *endogenous* smiling (Messinger *et al* 2003) - but as modern 3D ultrasound scanners have recently demonstrated, smiling actually begins during foetushood, occurring inside the womb (http://news.sky.com/skynews/article/0,,30000-12773312,00.html, 29/7/07).

Smiling has recently become a contested area for infant research, used to underpin both the 'pro' and 'anti' abortion factions in the modern Western World. In particular, anti-abortionists have suggested that the foetal smile is indicative of human life, while pro-abortionists have argued this to be linked to physical - not social- development, occurring - for reasons currently unknown - in a similar way to that expressed by young neonates when passing wind or toileting (http://www.prochoiceforum.org.uk/ocr_ethical_iss_1.asp, 29/7/07). This, they suggest, is significantly different to the social development of the smile which first occurs from around one month of age.

Foetal smiling is irrelevant to any study of the Iron Age, on account of the lack of modern medical knowledge and scanning equipment at this time. Therefore, it is likely that the first infantile smiles experienced by people living at this time, were of the endogenous variety. However, endogenous smiles occur exclusively during sleep time and do not therefore reflect an immediate reaction to social interactions between infant and human other.

Smiles indicative of social interaction and emotional development begin to develop from the age of one month post birth. There are two different kinds of interactive smile: that of *Duchenne* and *non-Duchenne* varieties (Fogel *et al* 2000; Fogel *et al* 2006; Messinger *et al* 2003). *Duchenne* smiles occur when the *obticularis oculi, par lateralis* muscle raises the cheeks around the eyes (Ekman et al 1990). *Duchenne* smiles also often result in the lowering of the jaw and the opening of the mouth – commonly termed 'open mouth smiles' (Dickson *et al* 1997; Ekman *et al* 1990; Fogel *et al* 2000; Fox and Davidson 1988; Messinger *et al* 1997). *Duchenne* smiles most often occur during moments of positive interaction and play (Dickson *et al* 1997; Ekman *et al* 1990; Fogel *et al* 2000; Fogel *et al* 2006; Fox and Davidson 1988; Messinger 2001; Messinger *et al* 1997) and have been termed 'play smiles' by Dickson et al (1997). A similar configuration is also seen among nonhuman infant primates, especially during play involving physical contact (Messinger *et al* 1999, 702; Plooij 1984).

Non-Duchenne smiles are distinguishable by the absence of both raised cheeks and/or an open mouth. These types of smiles have commonly been associated with "the approach of an impassive stranger" (Fox and Davidson 1988).

Historically, *Duchenne* smiles were thought to have been associated with mother-infant interaction (Ban and Lewis 1974; Feldman and Ingham 1975; Field *et al* 1987; Fox and Davidson 1988), though this model has been challenged, with some researchers suggesting that *Duchenne* smiles more commonly occur during father-infant interaction (Belsky *et al* 1984; Clarke-Stewart 1978; Lamb 1976a; 1976b).

However, Dickson *et al*'s (1997) more recent research has clearly demonstrated that gendered smile differences do in fact occur during early infancy, with *Duchenne* smiles most commonly occurring during mother-infant interaction (see also Dedo 1991) - while *non-Duchenne* smiles most often occur during father-infant interaction. They suggest that this may be related to the fact that mothers more frequently engage in conventional object play – involving patterns of object action that require less visual attention by the infant (Dickson *et al* 1997, 931; see also Clarke-Stewart 1978; Yogman 1982) – and that *Duchenne* smiles often evolve through moments and situations in which smiling is encouraged (for a fuller discussion see Messinger 2002, 652). They also argue that fathers tend to engage in idiosyncratic object play, more frequently requiring the infant to focus their gaze upon the object rather than the pattern portrayed by the parent or object (Dickson *et al* 1997, 931; see also Clarke-Stewart 1978; Yogman 1982). Regardless of gender interaction, both types of smile develop from around the same age period (Messinger et al 1999, 705).

In returning to the Murngin example, it is likely – though entirely speculative – that the kind of smile most valued for their culture was that of the *Duchenne* variety. Resulting through moments of conventional direct mother-infant interaction, *Duchenne* smiles demonstrate an infant's awareness of both Self and Other. This may be understood as marking the formative start of personal awareness, socialisation and – on the basis of type of smile - a possible knowledge of gender and social relationships.

2.2 Infancy and social theory

2.2.1 Bourdieu's (2000) 'Habitus'

In order to explore the presence or absence of both local and temporal constructions of infancy, one must first attempt to understand something about how identities are constructed. By engaging with the social construction of both Self and Other, one is able to situate people, persons and concepts (such as categories of age and gender) within their wider cultural frames. Archaeologists have traditionally approached identity using Bourdieu's (2000) *Habitus*.

Habitus has been defined as “a concept that expresses, on the one hand, the way in which individuals ‘become themselves’ develop attitudes and dispositions – and, on the other hand, the ways in which those individuals engage in practices” (Webb *et al* 2004, xii). Habitus may be understood to be the unconscious absorption of rules, values and dispositions. Specifically, it represents the values and dispositions gained from our accumulative cultural and biographical history that tend to stay with us across contexts and over time (Webb *et al* 2004). Habitus is the unconscious self, or rather, the learnt unconscious knowledge of how the Self should act and react in given situations, and in worlds filled with interaction, rules and institutions. As Bloom (2004, Chapter 1) suggests, a child, for example, learns throughout their experience of sociality what is and what is not deemed to be socially acceptable, how self and groups should behave, and what is constituted within an understanding of conformity, reasonability, alterity and barbarism.

Habitus primarily seeks to explain the hidden processing of how we become who we are – or what makes us tick. As such, its focus, although claiming to incorporate early childhood, is geared primarily around later age; at times in which the developing or developed body comes into social contact with cultural fields and their associative capital. However, as noted by a growing number of authors, Habitus presents as being especially problematic in relation to the sociology of childhood, in as much as inadequately catering for infant and child agency, except in relation to the concept of *child-as-an-inferior-copy-of-adult* (Lillehammer 2000, 22; Bourdieu 1997, 87; James *et al* 2006, 161; Rudolph Schaffer 2004, 21-22); concepts also advocated by Ariès (1962) and Erikson (1995, 99))

2.2.2 Bourdieu’s (2000) *Cultural Field*

Cultural fields may be taken to imply “a series of institutions, rules, rituals, conventions, categories, designations, appointments and titles which constitute an objective hierarchy and which produce and authorise certain discourses and activities” (Webb *et al* 2004). Cultural fields are both fluid and dynamic, being open to influence and change through interactions between one field and another (Bourdieu 2000).

Bourdieu (2000) suggests that cultural fields provide arenas for cultural, social and personal gain and loss, which he defines as capital. Capital may be taken to have either cultural or symbolic attributes (Webb *et al* 2004). The capital within any given cultural field may be seen to constitute the field itself, via ‘the conflict which is involved when groups or individuals attempt to determine what constitutes capital within that field, and how that capital is to be distributed’ (Webb *et al* 2004). For Bourdieu, capital acts as a form of social glue, binding systems of exchange, which Harker *et al* (1990, 1) define as including, “all goods, materials and symbols which present themselves as being worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation”. A person’s or group’s power within the field is perceived to be determined by the amount of capital they possess and the “subjective hope” of advancing their position within the field (Bourdieu 2000, 216).

An example of how Bourdieu’s (2000) model of the cultural field and capital may be relevant to a study of infancy and the formation of identity is unknowingly given by Hewlett (1992) in his anthropological accounts of Aka Pygmy parenthood. Hewlett suggests that the Aka structure much of their domestic and occupational lives (both potentially definable as Aka cultural fields) around the presence and socialisation of their young infants. Infants are frequently held, spoken to, and interacted with, even during dangerous activities such as hunting. From birth to childhood, Aka infants occupy a central role in how the Aka structure their social worlds and extended kin units. As such, Aka infants hold a high level of capital within their associated cultural field. However, from the onset of childhood, or from the point at which an infant’s parents have another baby, the infant begins to lose this high-level capital. Rather than occupying a central position within his or her cultural field, the infant is relegated, being treated as a normal member of the family or community. The Aka infant now jostles for position within more homogenous fields.

Bourdieu (2000) defines the hybrid union of field and habitus as ‘bodily hexis’, or when field and habitus function to produce agent bodies and bodily dispositions which shape the way in which people carry themselves through, for example, stance, gesture, ways of walking, ways of standing and ways of looking (Tilley 1999, 38). Bourdieu suggests that the body is both open and exposed to the world. The body therefore becomes culturally capable through the conditioning the world provides - as shaped by the conditions of culture and material culture in which humans find themselves located from the very start – from infancy!

2.2.3 Infancy and Gamble's (2007) *Childscape*

Cultural conditioning through overt or covert social conceptuality, plays a role in what Gamble (2007, 6) defines as *childscape*; a term created to reference environments of development. *Childscapes* can be spaces, places or objects that require nurture and care in a similarly perceived way to infants and young children. At the same time, they often function to unite people, acting as forms of social glue, in the same way that the birth of a newborn baby might unite a family or community. Gamble provides the example of a hearth and fire as forms of childscape. The fire requires care and nurturing to continue with life. At the same time, hearths and fires are often places where people gather for warmth, cooking and socialising. In this respect, Gamble posits that the identity of the hearth-fire is similarly constituted to that of an infant or young child. In this way, childscapes arguably contribute towards the creation and maintenance of social identities.

2.2.4 Gell's (1998) *Index* and *Indexing* experience

Where Habitus fails to include infant and younger child agency, Alfred Gell (1998) unknowingly provided a complementary, yet alternative, and conceptually more inclusive framework for approaching young identity. In a similar way to Bourdieu's Habitus, Gell (1998) suggests that people embody different identities through overt and covert processes derived through a culturally collective consciousness. He provides the example of a landscape artist who learns to paint landscapes based on his/her biographical experience of landscape painting, as established through the accumulatively constituted indexing biographies of other landscape painters through time and space. Through this process the painter both embodies and indexes this historically laden biographical process.

Gell (1998, 13) defines an index as a natural sign or entity from which an observer can make inferences of some kind about his or her self and the intentions or capabilities of others. Indexing may be taken to describe the embodied or subjective experiences inferred by an index.

An index may be taken to represent the process by which conscious or unconscious abductions become possible. For instance, with infancy, the temporal social inference of how couples should have sexual contact prior to conception (and afterward), how a baby should be birthed, and how subsequently the infant should be understood and cared for within the sociality experience of the family environ and wider world (for examples see, Gottlieb 1992, 1997, 2004; Crocker and Crocker 1994; Knight 1991; Moore *et al* 1999; Rudolph Schaffer 2004, 80), are all examples of indices.

Gell (1998) suggests that the self's understanding of the world comes through an understanding of *abductions* given by different sets of indices. According to Gell (1998, 14), "abduction is a case of synthetic inference 'where we find some very curious circumstances, which would be explained by the supposition that it was a case of some general rule, and thereupon adopt that supposition' (Eco 1976: 131)". For instance, smoke may not necessarily originate from a fire, but the fact that a person understands that fire produces smoke, may become in-grained on the subconscious psyche of a person, to such an extent that even where a fire is not visible to the naked eye, fire as an explanation of smoke becomes the natural abduction to make (Gell 1998, 13).

Indices therefore permit the abduction of agency, and specifically social agency (Gell 1998, 15). In addition, indices may be perceived as resulting through, or inferring, social agency. Gell provides a good example of this in relation to the discovery of a stone on a beach:

> Let us suppose then that, strolling along the beach, we encounter a stone which is chipped in a rather suggestive way. Is it perhaps a prehistoric handaxe? It has become an 'artefact' and hence qualifies for consideration. It is a tool, hence an index of agency; both the agency of its maker and of the man who used it …it certainly may be said to possess the minimum qualifications, since we have no a priori means of distinguishing 'artefacts' from 'works of art' (Gell 1996, cited in Gell 1998, 16).

Indexing assumes the presence of relationships of power. We find such an example occurring in relation to infancy, in situations and moments where society infers what is and is not acceptable within the worlds, or networks-of-association relating to, all things infant. Even prior to birth, the infant index is apparent within social conceptions of normative and non-normative sexual contact. Society may choose to reward and punish conformative and non-conformative behaviour, as stipulated by, for example, the societal mores inherent within a sexual index. Catholicism in twentieth century Ireland provides a good example of this. Children born into wedlock were commonly accepted as a natural part of marital development within Ireland throughout this time (O'Beirne and Sheridan 2005). However, mothers falling pregnant outside wedlock were often chastised, the obvious example being that expectant mothers were frequently removed from society and placed within Magdalene Laundries for reformative behaviour. As the emotive account of Kathy O'Beirne (O'Beirne and Sheridan 2005) details, this often resulted in the removal of the infant from the mother following birth, and the subsequent adoption of the infant by families perceived as being more positive role models within the wider community.

This very process happened to my own father, leading to a punishment of both mother and son, and the social redemption of the mother's sin via some act of reformative separation. Thus, for the expectant and post-birth mother, the reformative punishment, coupled with the removal of her baby, constitute her indexing experience. For the infant, indexing might involve any of the effects of this process, e.g. the uncertainties of who one's mother was and what subsequently happened to her.

Indices tend to be constructed through social consciousness. That the majority of Catholics in Ireland during the twentieth century either believed in, or supported a need for corrective behaviour programmes via inaction for social change, may arguably be perceived as constituting one facet within the construction and constitution of its associative Index and Indexing experience.

As being an adult demonstrates a biological survival of infancy (James and Prout 1990; Crawford 1999; Lillehammer 2000; Baxter 2005; Sofaer 2006), the collective social memory of that time spent as an infant and child (Lillehammer 1989, 90; 2000, 23), infers upon and underpins the collective perception of how infancy should be indexed in the future (after Bourdieu 1990; Bloom 2004; James *et al* 2006; Potolsky 2006; Tausig 1993; Toren 1999). As Sally Crawford (1999, xvi) has suggested, "the child is father to the man", or rather, a successful infant growing into adulthood, subsequently contributes towards, and reinvents, the indexing experience afforded to other individuals. This *cyclicity* takes on a major contributory role within De Mause's (1974) theory on 'generational pressure', in which adults-who-successfully-lived-as-children attempt to overthrow or improve upon their own parental model.

A key aspect to the indexing experience can be found within models of mimesis and mimetic behaviour (imitation), which are perceived to enable alterity or difference. It could be argued that in order to engage with the social world, one must initially understand something – even in the smallest sense - of the world in question, and the placement and ordering of both the Self and Other within it.

2.2.5 Gell's (1998) *Prototype Capacity*

Gell (1998) described the Self's unfulfilled potential of *becoming* as a form of *prototype capacity*. Destined in part to be shaped by the inference of Others, or by the indexing experience, prototype agency is associated with the social fulfilment of some conscious or unconscious potential role. Gell (1998, 26) defined prototypes as being "entities held, by abduction, to be represented in the index, often by virtue of visual resemblance, but not necessarily".

It is my belief that the notion of a *prototype capacity* in human culture constitutes an important and underplayed aspect of identity construction. For instance, and using an example outside of Gell's (1998) artistic sphere, an infant may be perceived as representing the ultimate *prototype*. As a blank canvas, or rather, as the first corporeal stage within the inductive processes of sociality, it might be suggested that the infant *hexis* (see Section 2.2.2) is enabled to transform through age and experience into something other than merely corporeal.

To use an Iron Age analogy, if one were to imagine a small farmstead and adjacent agriculture tenure, any infant being born into its associated family might be expected to eventually - in time - assist and replace older, more fragile family workers. In borrowing Claude Meillassoux's (1992) model of 'birth enables the replacement of old worker by new worker', one may view the destined child as a *prototype* of his or her kin, environs and economic conditions.

From a sociological and child development perspective, one may rightly argue that the *prototype capacity* of a child may be positively or negatively constituted. A powerful example of a negative *prototype capacity* can, for instance, be found in the cyclicity of child abuse, in which the abused child subsequently goes on to abuse others persons themselves (Buchanan 1996; Fong 1992; James *et al* 2006).

It might be argued that human beings always have some unfulfilled prototype capacity. Just as one aspect of the *prototype* is reached, another may arguably emerge. At the same time, a person may be deemed as having multiply existing *prototype capacities*. For instance, in returning to Claude Meillassoux's Marxist model of 'new worker replaces old worker', while one *prototype capacity* might involve the replacement of a family (or other) worker by a new worker, the new replacement worker might also be expected to achieve a range of co-existing *prototype* potentialities, including for example, prolonged good health, strength and agility, an engendered identity, a sense of loyalty, and a reputation for reliability and achieving socially determined goals. As suggested earlier, these coexisting, multiple *prototype capacities* need not be only positively constituted, with the above examples being easily transplanted by negative type fossils.

Prototype capacities are dynamic in nature. In a similar way to Bourdieu's (2000) model of cultural fields and capital, *prototype capacities* should be perceived as being open to both the external influencing of others - via indices and indexing , and self influence via one's agency and inference within them (Gell 1998).

2.2.6 Gell's (1998) Ambassador and Ambassador Agency

Gell's (1998, 98) model of the Ambassador - although discussed by him in lesser detail to that of the index and indexing experience - provides an important an under-explored dynamic within the processes of infant led identity construction. An ambassador is a representative image of an enchained relationship. To highlight the importance of the Ambassador, Gell (1998, 98) provided the following example:

> "Although the Chinese ambassador in London does not look like China, or the Chinese government or people, he does *have to be visible*, and he does *visibly represent* China on official occasions. He does not look like China, but in London, China looks like him."

Despite the circumstances of Gell's unfortunate death in 1997, before his influential book on Art and Agency was fully revised (Thomas 1998), the ambassador model presents a powerful and highly relevant tool for archaeologists studying past constructions of identity formation.

For Gell, the Ambassador took on the role of representation. Following this approach, infancy may be seen as being commonly associated with ambassador agency. In certain instances, an infant may be taken to represent not only its parents, lineage, wider family, community, culture, and all other infants, but he or she may also visually embody or represent a temporally existing or historical concept of infancy or childhood itself.

Even before birth, the unborn foetus may be perceived as the ambassador of sexual partners and all their associative indices (e.g. mores of union, marriage, social acceptance / contempt, etc.). In negative contexts, the unborn baby may even take on the ambassador identity of an unfaithful or forced sexual partner.

2.2.7 Mimesis and Alterity

This section seeks to investigate how socialisation begins, and how infancy and the body's formative moments in social worlds, continue to shape both the identities of Self and Other. The key to this, I believe, lies in understanding the importance of mimesis, and its role in enabling the Self's understanding of alterity or difference. Potolsky (2006, 116) defines mimesis, "human existence as a series of copies without a true original". Models of mimesis are often portrayed as being models of sentience. Mimesis and the innate mimetic faculty (Benjamin 1978, 333-336; Gell 1998; Potolsky 2006; Taussig 1993) are perceived to enable the body to become its Self via the mimicking of others and otherness. This is especially apparent within the literature on sociological and psychological models of child development, in which sociality is seen as a primary factor enabling the infant to become socially adept.

As James *et al* (2006), amongst countless others, suggest, childhood theorists once perceived children to be inferior copies of adults; as supported by Bourdieu (2000) in his model of Habitus. Plato, himself suggested that the malleability of a child's mind enables their ability to take on whatever 'stamp' one chooses to give it (cited in Philippe Lacone-Labarthe 1998; Potolsky 2006, 116). In this way, for Plato, and others since him, the framework of mimesis encouraged the pacification of both infant and child agency (see also Sofaer Derevenski 2000, 8). Mimesis, or the copying effect of Self derived through Other, was thus once deemed to provide an appropriate platform for exploring this disjuncture between human agent and malleable object.

However, as highlighted by Benjamin (1978), Potolsky (2006) and Taussig (1993), mimesis - as both a model of mind and self – offers great potential for exploring the processes of identity formation, and the importance of infancy within them. For example, building on the influential work of Benjamin, Taussig (1993) concurred that mimesis is "two layered: the nature of sentience and copying" (*ibid* 80), but, importantly, he further suggests that mimesis constitutes the process by which "the splitting of the Self, of being Self and Other, as achieved by sentience" (*ibid* 36) occurs. Mimesis thus presents as the process that enables difference, or rather the enabling factor for alterity.

The term 'mimetic faculty', as used to describe the functionality which enables the formative processes of mimesis to occur, may be understood to be both a faculty of body and mind - as embodied within given historical processes (*ibid* 46). It is therefore the mimetic faculty that allows us to recognise sameness, and in doing so difference. As suggested in Taussig (1993, 9-10), the ability to recognise sameness constitutes the primary factor within understanding what constitutes difference (see also Fowler (2002, 47) for a discussion on actions and agency becoming empowered via a reiteration and subversion of previous actions and agencies). The mimetic faculty is thus conceptually dynamic.

Arguably, the process of indexing produces ‘a fascination with the Other’s fascination’ (Taussig 1993). Via mimesis, or an internalisation of external indices, one empowers the ability for alterity or difference (Benjamin 1978; Taussig 1993; Potolsky 2006). In this way, knowledge of what *sameness* means enables a comprehension of how *difference* is constituted. One may ask, how two different people know they are different, whether physically or socially, unless they first each have some conceptualised understanding of what sameness entails.

2.2.8 Infant Actors

It has previously been suggested that understanding the processes of the index, and more importantly the indexing experience, highlights important discrepancies within Bourdieu’s notion of habitus and infant agency (see Section 2.2). While infants have traditionally been perceived as being *chora* entities, blending into the identities of others (Taussig 1993, 36; Lillehammer 2000, 17; Tilley 1999, 63-64), or as helpless others, dependant on those older individuals around them for all care needs (Ardren 2006; Bloom 2004; Erikson 1995; Rudolph Schaffer 2004, 20; see also Bowie 1991 on Lacan’s Mirror Stage), there is a growing body of data which demonstrates the importance and dynamic nature of infancy within the creation, constitution and abduction of (infant) self determining indices and cultural fields.

Perhaps the most dramatic example of infant agency can be found in Alma Gottlieb’s (2004) accounts of her anthropological field research with the Beng of West Africa. Beng infants are certainly not viewed as chora entities, nor are they perceived as helpless (a point which also challenges other models of infant / child development, such as Jacques Lacan’s Mirror Stage (Bowie 1991)). Although to a degree the Beng infant’s reliance upon both children and adults is apparent; albeit in relation to a wider societal concern for the spiritual welfare of the family, community and culture via the maintenance of the infant’s happiness and wellbeing.

As suggested earlier, the Beng believe infants to be the corporeal manifestation of returning spirits or ancestors, who, for the first few years of life, long for their previous existence in the otherworld (Gottlieb 2004, 49). As such the Beng infant is a powerful, wise and knowledgeable entity, one to be feared as well as nurtured and loved. As Gottlieb (2004, 49) argues, the modern western model of the passive infant, with a total dependence on others, is a non-issue for the Beng.

For the Beng, baby babble is culturally deemed to be especially important. Rather than viewing baby babble as inferior to a later developed language, the Beng believe it to be the language of the other-world itself (Gottlieb 2004, 52). As such, not only are infants the corporeal reincarnation of ancestors (Gottlieb 2004, 79), but they also return to earth with an innate understanding and ability of language and wisdom derived through their time in the other-world.

Infants are believed capable from birth to fully comprehend their own position within Beng society and, importantly, to have an innate sense of self awareness (Gottlieb 2004). Older children and adults are deemed “not enlightened enough” to understand the infant’s babble communication (Gottlieb 2004, 53), thus necessitating that certain ‘special’ people within Beng society fulfil a role of interpreter or baby-ancestor diviner. Diviners engage with the infant directly, determining what the baby babble noises mean, translating them into the demands made by the particular infant at any one time. An example of such an instance is provided by Gottlieb (2004, 90):

> “…a baby named Kouassi cried day and night when he was a month old. In despair, his mother consulted Kouakou Bah (the Diviner), who said that Kouassi was crying for two reasons. First, Kouassi “wanted” two bracelets on his left hand, one with cowry shells, the other of *ŋà ti* (silver). Second, he had been misnamed; his real name – which he apparently remembered from *wrugbe* (the Beng name for the Other-world) and now missed – was “Anie”, after a local sacred pool of water that was said to hold resident spirits. After hearing Kouakou Bah’s pronouncement, the baby’s mother found the required bracelets, and the baby’s family began calling the infant “Anie”. According to reports, after these two changes, Anie stopped crying.”

The Beng believe that should an infant not have his or her baby babble noises interpreted and attentively satisfied, then an infant has a self capacity for determining whether or not to continue in this life, or whether to terminate their biological existence in order to find a better, more suitable family (via reincarnation) who will meet their care expectations adequately (Gottlieb 2004). In this way, Beng infants dictate the cultural terms that surround them. They are deemed to 'exist' in both the corporeal and spiritual sense, from the point of conception onwards, and become demanding and powerful from "fetushood" (Gottlieb 2004, 45-46) through to the eventual dilution of their 'other-worldness' or agency, via the infants own decision to let go of baby babble for the adoption of Beng language.

Beng infants are often considered to be the reincarnation of deceased family members, and are frequently spoken to and treated in the way that the deceased family member was accustomed to when they themselves were alive (Gottlieb 2004, 98). Thus, from the outset Beng infants are believed to determine and shape their own social worlds. In this way, they are arguably perceived as masters of their own indices, actively contributing to the construction and implementation of both their and other peoples indexing experience.

Another example of infant agency is provided by Crawford (1999, 54-55) as part of her research into Anglo-Saxon childhood. Crawford cites several recorded known instances where the infant offspring of elite families reportedly independently chose to enter into an ecclesiastical life:

> Edith and Eadberga, were offered the choice between the jewels and garments of royalty or the dark veil, Psalter and cross of the religious life. They were aged two and three respectively at the time of this test, and both infants moved instinctively towards the ecclesiastical items, thus 'choosing' to dedicate themselves to the Church and effectively demonstrating self-determinism, ending their infancy as a period of total dependency. The precocious Æthelwold achieved this distinction at an even earlier age: as his mother sat nursing the baby Æthelwold on her lap, regretting that she could not go to

church, the infant, reading her thoughts, miraculously transported them both there. Thereafter, Æthelwold was dedicated to an ecclesiastical career.

A number of other authors have also drawn attention to the importance and role of infant and child agency, including, for example, Baxter (2005), Chamberlain (1997), Lillehammer (1989, 2000), Moore and Scott (1997), Sofaer Derevenski (1994, 2000), Bloom (2004), James *et al* (2006). From a child-development perspective, Bloom (2004, Chapter 1) in particular has highlighted how, even from their earliest stages of biological life, infants display a varied and expansive repertoire of 'knowing' actions (a point that equally resonates within many of the aforementioned studies). Bloom terms this as constituting their capacity for 'mindreading', or an innate capacity for artefactual knowledge; once thought to have only existed as a result of later child sociality (for a further discussion relating to the development of knowledge, including for example the infant's innate capacity for hearing and memory, and age related patterns of social development see Bateson and Martin 1999; Kellman and Arterberry 1998; Piaget 1975; Rudolph Schaffer 2004). After presenting the results of extensive sociological research, Bloom describes *mindreading* as including object cohesion, solidity, continuity and contact. These are summarised below (Bloom 2004, 11-12):

1. Cohesion: If a hand pulls at an object, babies expect the entire object to go with the hand; if it comes off in pieces, they are surprised, showing an expectation that objects are *cohesive*.
2. Continuity: Imagine a stage with two vertical barriers separated in space. A small object, like a box, goes behind the barrier on the left, continues between the barriers, goes behind the barrier on the right, and comes out the other side. Adults see this is a single object, and so do babies. Now imagine that a box goes behind the barrier on the left, there is a pause, and then the box emerges from the screen on the right, never appearing in the gap. Adults assume that there are two boxes here, not one. Babies make the same assumption; they expect *continuity*.
3. Solidity: If an object is put immediately behind a screen, and then the screen tilts backward, babies expect it to stop moving – it should hit

the object. When it goes through the space that should be occupied by the hidden object (a trap door is used), babies look longer. They expect objects to be *solid*.

4. Contact: One object heads toward another, but the second object moves away an instant before the first object hits it. For babies, just as with adults, this action-at-a-distance is surprising; it violates the expectation of *contact* – that objects can only influence each other by touching.

One might also add that although distinctively different in nature to both Beng and Anglo-Saxon infancy, these results demonstrate that infants are born with some innate knowledge of materiality, and thus some degree of agency awareness. Bloom suggests that this innate knowledge capacity shapes the infant's interaction and development with their associative social worlds. Infants have an innate understanding of materiality; something not discussed or accounted for within Bourdieu's model of Habitus or among the workings of other theorists including Lacan (as discussed by Bowie 1991).

2.3 Summary: Why infancy is important to the formation of human identity

This chapter has shown that infancy plays an important role in socially shaping both Self and Other. Conceptually, infancy is always culturally variable. It is not present in all societies. Where present, infancy is always modern, being constituted throughout (pre)history *in-the-now*. As such, any concept of infancy is embodied, and this embodiment later serves to shape the child's or adult's understanding of what infancy means or should mean. Infancy therefore marks the beginning point of self biography. It also marks the point at which corporeal identity and socialisation begin.

An infant is both a biological and social being. Indeed, constructions of identity variably rely - to greater or lesser extents - on biological and social development. In this sense, infancy exists between both nature and culture.

The historic and ethnographic records suggest that in many cultures, young infants are often perceived as liminal beings. Many cultures have social mores in place defining when social, rather than biological, life begins. One frequently encounters references to cultures in which, while biologically alive, the newborn baby or young infant is yet to socially exist. In this sense, for many people, young infants hold differentiated status and agency. This liminality often lasts for a culturally defined period of time – often ending in the provision of a name, or at the point at which an infant is able to demonstrate some socially stipulated developmental ability, such as smiling, interacting with others, eating, walking or talking. Before this, infants are often perceived as being socially taboo, polluting and powerful. This form of agency often extends itself to include the infant's mother or carers. Many societies have firm rituals and rules in place to combat this form of agency.

In order to structure a conceptualised understanding of how identity is constructed, I initially considered Bourdieu's (2000) model of Habitus and the Cultural Field. Habitus seeks to provide a way for explaining how the Self comes to understand itself and its place in the world. Bourdieu has been influential in past archaeological approaches to identity, yet while habitus works for explaining identity in the later-aged lifecourse, it fails to include infant and younger child agency. Bourdieu (2000) suggested that habitus begins at birth, and that self awareness and agency increase throughout time, or rather throughout life. This model is limiting. It does not take into account the fact that different cultures perceive and construct age and agency in distinctly different ways.

I have provided a number of ethnographic and historic examples to demonstrate this. These included the Beng of West Africa, who believe that foetuses and infants are returning ancestors; returning with a highly developed innate understanding of culture and all world languages. I also gave the example of 'special' Anglo-Saxon infants, who, during earliest infancy, apparently miraculously chose for themselves to live an ecclesial lifestyle. Conceptually, Habitus fails to allow scope for examples such as these. It also fails to consider the prospect that objects, spaces and places can be perceived as having human like qualities and identities.

Moving beyond Habitus, I showed how Gamble's (2007) model of *childscape* better explained the agency of objects, spaces and places, but only in relation to when their identities require nurture or maintenance, or when they serve to bring people together. In both instances, Gamble suggests that *childscapes* become analogous with the effects and agency of infancy or younger childhood.

I then turned to sociology and art theory to find a better frame of reference in which to place the importance of infancy and its role in shaping identity. This led me to adopt an unexpected framework, that of Gell's (1998) model of the Index. Conceptually, Bourdieu's Habitus and Gell's Index are similar. Both suggest that the Self socially *becomes* through a cultural consciousness. Both imply that experience and memory go on to contribute to this cultural consciousness, in a form of *inferred-upon/inferring-upon* cyclicity. Contrary to Habitus, Gell's index does not limit or stipulate itself as concerning only human agency or rigid age associated developmental frameworks. In fact, Gell produced the index model so as to explain the agency of non-human objects, or rather, in some instances at least, the agency of non-human objects with humanlike qualities. In a sense, Gell's model of the index allows one to consider the interwoven nature of the human body, the human mind and object materiality in configuring, shaping and constituting identity. This in itself is reminiscent of Bruno Latour's model of *translation* (see Section 1.3).

While an index may be defined as a collective consciousness relating to some situation or aspect of life or materiality, an indexing experience describes moments and situations in which the index infers itself upon either a Self or Other. I provided the example of a sexual index. The sexual index of a given society might, theoretically, represent social mores of sexual contact and behaviour. By itself, this index might, through either respect or fear of it, infer upon its members, the correct manner in which to conduct their sexual relations. This is an example of an indexing experience. Alternatively, individuals or sexual partners may come into direct contact with these mores, either by way or reward – as in for example celebrations of pregnancy – or chastisement – an example being couples or partners shunned by their families or community for conducting in certain sexual behaviours or relationships. These are also examples of indexing experiences. Indices and their associative indexing experiences exist in most networks of association (after Latour 1993), or rather, in most of our interactions with Others and the world.

In addition to the index model, Gell (1998) also established two further useful ways for approaching identity, both of which are applicable to a study of age and identity. These were defined as *prototype capacity* and *ambassador agency*. Prototype capacity may be taken to refer to some unfulfilled social or biological potential. Infancy marks the ultimate prototype stage, in as much as infants are often perceived socially, as forms of blank canvases, yet to be shaped and inscribed upon through the expectations of others and the indexing experience of sociality. One need only consider how some parents register their unborn or newly born infant for a placement at a certain respected school, to find an overt example of prototype potentiality. Even before socially ready, the infant has a prototype expectation that he or she will fulfil some expected intellectual role. Though specifically modern, this type of example may be built upon to demonstrate other instances of prototype capacity. Earlier I gave the hypothesised Marxist example of a baby destined through apprenticeship, to become a skilled replacement worker for a retiring worker. I applied this analogy to the Iron Age and to a hypothesised agricultural settlement and working family.

The second useful tool offered by Gell (1998), is that of *ambassador agency*. In returning to my previous example of parents who register their expected or newly born baby at a school, one arguably finds that while this infers a prototype status on the young infant, the same infant may carry this social expectation through their infancy and into pre-school age. In this way, this infant may become an ambassador of his or her parents, their desire to educate their child, the ability of the parents or others to privately fund this form of education – and hence a display of their wealth and status – and of the school itself. This is especially important for any study of prehistoric identity formation. As I will demonstrate in the next chapter, and throughout the remainder of this thesis, during the Iron Age depositionary practices were often highly selective, i.e. not all bodies and objects found their way into deposition. An understanding of ambassador status and, where possible, its associated prototype potentiality, offers a potentially important window into identity and activity at this time.

Having established a framework through which one may charter the importance of infancy within identity formation, I then turned my attention towards investigating how the Self establishes itself through contact with others. For this purpose I turned again to social theory, and in particular to mimesis and alterity.

Mimesis defines the process through which the body becomes Self via the mimicking or copying of others. In this way, identity is constructed through knowledge of both Others and the world. Though this knowledge, the Self becomes “two layered” (Taussig 1993, 80) in its ability to understand itself as both Self and Other. Alterity implicitly develops through an understanding of sameness. Only by understanding what sameness means, can one begin to comprehend difference. In order to demonstrate this, I questioned, how can two different people know they are different unless the already have some informed understanding of what sameness entails?

This model is useful for informing upon how sameness and difference may have been understood in prehistory. As I shall later discuss (see Section 3.5.2), archaeologists and osteoarchaeologists like to define human deposition as being ‘burials’. Many further this process by attempting to recognise and differentiate between ‘normative’ – i.e. normally similar – and ‘non-normative’ – different to normal - burials and practices. Using a mimetic approach, one is able to challenge this linear viewpoint by suggesting that non-normative actions are always normatively constituted, in as much as their ability to *be* different stems from a deeper knowledge of what sameness implies. Choosing to be different is therefore intrinsically intertwined with knowing what it means to be similar. As such, through difference, one is potentially able to trace the index of sameness. This model is yet to be tested against the Iron Age record.

I concluded my investigation of why infancy is important to the construction of identity, with an alternative consideration of infants as actors, highlighting how in many cultures, age and infant agency are perceived in non-western ways. I now wish to move beyond infancy, and to consider how Iron Age identities have been traditionally investigated in the past.

Chapter 3: Background and past approaches to the formation of identity in Iron Age southern England

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide the contextual background for this thesis. It will be broken down into three main sections, that of Iron Age chronology, the potentiality and limitation of taphonomy, and past approaches to identity construction in Iron Age southern England. This final consideration is further broken into three subsections, namely past archaeological approaches to group and ethnic identities, identity in relation to the settlement record and material culture, and the treatment of the body in death. By providing a synthesised account of theory formation relating to these subject areas, this chapter will enable the formation of specific questions with which to explore the potentiality of the infant-led data in relation to wider formations of Iron Age identity (see Chapter 4).

3.2 Chronology

Despite the fact that the subject of chronology or nomenclature (Collis 1977, 6) has received little direct attention in recent years (Moore 2006, chapter 3), it has nonetheless continued to dominate the ways in which interpretations of later prehistoric material culture and burial have been conducted since the 1930s. Hawkes (1931) was the first to attempt a definition for Iron Age southern England, via his ABC model - with 'A' being representative of 550 to 350BC, 'B' being 350 to 150BC and 'C' being 150BC to AD43. He later reclassified these in light of further recognised developments (1960), adapting his ABC categories to include a further chronological breakdown, namely A1 (c.550 to 425BC) and A2 (c.425 to 350BC); B1 (c.350 to 300BC), B2 (c.300 to 200BC) and B3 (c.200 to 150BC); and C1 (c.150 to 100BC), C2 (c.100 to 50BC) and C3 (c. 50BC to AD43). These were derived through his belief in invasion / migration theory, with changes in British material culture having been attributable to the introduction of new ideas and objects from the continent.

Hawkes' classification scheme was subsequently criticised by Hodson (1960, 1962, 1963, 1964a, 1964b) as being too reliant upon invasion theory. Instead of accepting Hawkes' ABC framework, Hodson proposed that Iron Age chronology could be grouped collectively under the inclusive title of 'Woodbury Culture' (after the excavation of Little Woodbury in Wiltshire by Bersu 1940). Rather than looking to the continent and invasion theory to explain all changes in the native archaeological record, Hodson adopted the concept of cultural continuity within a largely insular southern Britain - with much of the record having originated through continuous native development since the Bronze Age. Hodson believed the only exceptions to this 'record of continuity' as being the intrusive Arras and Aylesford Swarling cultures, which he suggested did originate through migration (Harding 1974, 7). Hodson defined his chronological frame as comprising of Earliest Pre-Roman Iron Age (c.700 to 450/400BC), Earlier Pre-Roman Iron Age (c. 450/400 to 100/50 BC) and the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age (c. 100/50BC to AD43). However, as Harding (1970, 6-7) suggests, Hodson's classification scheme, comprising of three "type fossils", namely the permanent use of large round houses, the use of ring headed pins and the use of bone weaving combs, was itself problematic, in as much as ignoring the role, range and potentiality of other artefacts in constituting chronology at this time.

By the 1970s, Collis (1977, 6-7) had simplified Hodson's classification scheme into Earliest (c.700 to 500BC), Early (c.c.500 to 250/200BC), Middle (c.250/200 to 100/50BC) and Late Iron Age (c.100/50BC to AD43) categories, which he hoped might provide an intentionally vague and flexible terminological framework through which further analyses of chronology could be encouraged and developed. Subsequent to this, Collis' framework was refigured by Cunliffe (2005), who, in association with wider ceramic evidence for this period, retained the use of both Hodson's and Collis' terminology, but further sub-classified the Late period into two phases – namely the Late Iron Age and the Latest Iron Age. With regard to dating, Cunliffe defined the Earliest Iron Age as being from c800-600 BC, the Early Iron Age as being c.600-400/300 BC, the Middle Iron Age as being c.400/300-100BC, the Late Iron Age as being c.100-50BC, and the Latest Iron Age as being c.50BC-AD 43-100.

While Collis argued for an intentionally vague chronological framework, Cunliffe (2003; 2005, 30) more adamantly called for the establishment of a firm chronological framework, which he suggests, "is essential to enable data to be ordered and compared and to allow the rate of change to be assessed". To date, Cunliffe's greatest success in establishing his ordered and testable frame came via his investigations at Danebury (1984, 1991), where, using ceramic analysis to formulate the site's occupational history, Cunliffe was able to define nine main ceramic phases (termed 'CP'). These were CP1 (800 to 760BC), CP2 (760 to 470BC), CP3 (470-360BC), CP 4-5 (360 to 310BC), CP6 (310 to 270BC), CP7 (270-50BC) and CP8-9 (50BC to AD 43). Since this time Cunliffe has sought to employ Danebury's CP phasing as a chronological framework for further local investigations: namely as part of the Danebury Environs. Programme (Cunliffe 2000).

While much of our understanding of chronology at this time comes via ceramic analysis and research (Barrett 1980, 279; Willis 2002), a total reliance upon ceramics to define chronology is somewhat problematic. Indeed this is equally true for past attempts to define chronology through coin and brooch analysis (Creighton 2000; Haselgrove 1997; Moore 2006, chapter 3).

Ceramic forms, types and styles differ significantly from one site and time to another (Willis 2002). This suggests that such rigid definitions, as interesting and useful as they appear to be, risk standardising the Iron Age in misleading ways. For instance, as both Hill (1995b) and Willis (2002, 6) suggest, the division between the Bronze and Iron Ages cannot be readily discerned ceramically. Indeed, in reality, both the Early and Middle Iron Age remain poorly understood, as do their general chronological profile (Haselgrove *et al* 2001, 26-31; Moore 2006, chapter 3). In particular, pottery traditions and styles appear to have manifested themselves in different, non-linear ways across both space and time, with little or slow typological change occurring in some southern regions throughout the course of the Iron Age (Willis 2002, 5). Thus, the term 'Iron Age' is in fact ambiguous, representing a period in which both people and their *worlds* were constituted in multiple ways, being constructed and embodied within local networks of association.

This is certainly the case in the Severn-Cotswolds area at this time. Moore (2006, 172-173) has recently highlighted how the sourcing and supply of regional ceramic traditions occurred long after the earlier sourcing and supply of briquetage.

Arguably, in this instance, and within this specific area, studies relating to the production of briquetage may present a more reliable way for exploring and categorising the chronological profile for the area's earlier Iron Age period.

Although there is a fundamental need for a working chronological framework for Iron Age southern England, it should however be suggested that where possible, Iron Age chronologies must in fact be investigated at the micro level prior to any formative attempt to define macro group identities and cultures. For the immediate future, therefore, any chronological frame must remain caught betwixt and between both Collis' (1977) and Cunliffe's (2005) models, in that specific chronologies should be achieved where possible, but that a more loosely defined phasing still retains some degree of useful potential, especially in light of the fact that radiocarbon dating is still relatively elusive (as defined by the fragmentary nature of the Iron Age record) or rarely employed on any wider scale level due to costing issues.

For the purposes of this thesis it is essential to use a chronological framework from which to explore issues of continuity and change in respect to infancy, body treatment and identity formation. Therefore, as the most recent model, and despite the potential over reliance upon ceramic phasing, Cunliffe's (2005) framework has been adopted here - albeit in association with Collis' scepticism over rigid definition and the need for some chronological flexibility. In association with this, any specific dating evidence (e.g. radiocarbon dates) shall be provided where possible.

3.3 The role of taphonomy in shaping the Iron Age Record

One cannot underestimate the importance of taphonomic processing within the shaping of the Iron Age archaeological record. Most of our current knowledge for this period has originated through archaeological excavation, and thus considering the cause and effect of taphonomy upon supporting the presence and absence of Iron Age material culture and human osteology is essential.

This importance has recently been highlighted in relation to the presence and absence of Iron Age pottery (Willis 2002) and other forms of material culture (see for example Hill 1997; Willis 1997). The effects of taphonomy in shaping the mortuary record has been widely discussed elsewhere (see Baker *et al* 2005, 11-13; Beckett and Robb 2006; Brothwell 1981; Carr and Knüsel 1997; Gowland and Knüsel 2006; Morlan 1984; Parker Pearson 1999; White and Folkens 2005, chapter 5); a specific consideration of human infant bone and taphonomy is provided in Section 2.1.3. Morlan (1984, 161) has argued that human bone is susceptible to change and modification during any period of body exposure on the ground prior to burial, as a consequence of erosion, as a result of redistribution, and via archaeological excavation, shipment to the laboratory, post-excavational analysis and subsequent storage. However, as suggested in Section 2.1.3, certain human infant elements may be expected to preserve equally well, if indeed not better than, those belonging to adults. Archival records suggest that on at least some Iron Age sites, deposits of human bone were placed in deep, contextually and taphonomically stable features. Danebury provides one such example (Hooper and Walker 1984; Hooper 1991). As such, it would be reasonable to expect to find human infant bones, such as crania and long bone fragments on sites containing comparative adult materials.

It should also be noted that taphonomy cannot be cited as the only cause of human and object absence for this period. In many instances, one may argue that it was the treatment accorded to objects and bodies which led to their archaeological invisibility in the first place. This is evident within practices associated with body and object fragmentation and via mortuary treatments such as excarnation and cremation (see Section 3.5).

3.4 Past approaches to identity in Iron Age southern England

3.4.1 Introduction

Having explored the potentiality and limitations of past approaches to Iron Age chronology and taphonomy, this section will seek to explore past considerations of Iron Age identity formation. As suggested in section 3.4.2, these can be broken down into three main categories, that of traditional approaches to group and ethnic identities, attempts to recognise identity through the settlement record, including material culture, and finally, through a consideration of the types of treatment accorded to the human body in death. In each of these cases, past research has suggested a paucity of identity associated evidence for much of the Early and Middle

Iron Age, with the overwhelming majority of identity-associated studies having been conducted in relation to both the Later Iron Age period, and the evidence for continuity and change, Romanisation and insular resistance (see Section 3.4.3).

3.4.2 Traditional approaches to group and ethnic identities in Iron Age southern England

Prior to the birth of New Archaeology, the issue of human identity in Iron Age Southern England was dominated by a focus upon a unified Celtic Europe, in which native Britons were perceived as constituting one part of a much larger unified conglomerate of continental tribes and peoples (Beresford Ellis 1990; Green 1995a; 1995b; Hawkes 1959, 1977; Hodson 1964). This was an understandable early standpoint as pioneering archaeologists, such as Christopher Hawkes, sought to marry the British Iron Age archaeological evidence to references about Southern England as contained within the classical sources, such as that of Caesar. Although never using the term ‘Celtic’ to describe Britons, Caesar did make some reference to Late Iron Age Southern England as part of his De Bello Gallico (5.12-14). In particular, he referred to an Iron Age Belgic migration into Britain, that interior Britons chose not to sow wheat but preferred a diet of milk and meat, whilst wearing skin clothing and that those persons living in Cantium (Kent) looked and lived in a very similar way to those persons also found in Gaul at the same time. As such, it was logical that early archaeologists attempted to correlate the archaeological record for this period to such references and that a perceived native life at this time (and presumably throughout much of the Iron Age) must have been very similar to that of the continent.

In recent years, researchers have questioned and largely dispelled any idea of a unified Celtic Europe, of which Britain was once thought to have been a part. Furthermore, recognition for the fact that Roman sources were created and embellished for a Roman audience has also led archaeologists to move away from largely relying upon them (Braund 1996). It is now widely accepted that Britain was different in many ways to that of its continental neighbours (Collis 1994, 1996, 1997, 2003; Hill 1989; James 1999; Merriman 1987; Morse 2005), with distinctive chronological, regional and site variable patterns of occupation, development and material culture (Hill 1995, 2001, 2002; Knight 2002; Willis 1997, 2002).

Recent studies have also dispelled Caesar's comments of an inferior interior native life, with numerous archaeobotanical reports, including, for example, van der Veen (1992), demonstrating this claim to represent an inaccurate account of life and subsistence practices in such places at this time.

Caesar's descriptions of a Belgae migration into Britain from what is now modern Belgium and Northern France led early academics (especially Christopher Hawkes) to believe that the Isles had been subjected to invasion by non-native tribes at some point prior to the Late Iron Age period (Hawkes and Dunning 1930; Hawkes 1931, 1967; Radford 1955; Allen 1960; Alcock 1972). For a great many years invasionist theory, incorporating issues of migration and cultural diffusion represented a prevalent part in how archaeologists approached studies of this period, and indeed formed a central role in the ways in which archaeologists conducted their investigations (Hawkes 1939; Bersu 1940; Matthews 1976). During the 1960s, the 'invasionist' model gave way to an appreciation for a Childean cultural approach (Hodson 1962, 1964, see also Collis 1997) before eventually settling upon current issues of a largely insular native development (although Hodson was arguably associated with this theoretical move, see Section 3.2.1). Each of these early models had at their core a desire to identify both ethnic and group identities.

It is now widely accepted, especially in relation to the Belgae, that there is a lack of evidence for mass migration and incursion into Britain by continental tribes (Arsdell 1989, 4; Bishop 1971; James 1999; Stead 1976; Hill 1997). In spite of this, both Collis (1977, 1997) and Whimster (1981) have suggested that invasion and migration theory still retains a certain degree of potential, thus reserving judgement on what otherwise might be perceived as a conclusive and isolated model of a purely insular Britain.

Both regular and irregular patterns of trade and contact with non-insular peoples is still commonly accepted as representing one of the primary ways in which aspects of material culture found their way into the British Iron Age record. However, as recent studies have begun to highlight, there is also some evidence to suggest that many of these non-native goods were adapted and used by insular peoples as part of their own identity make-up, being adapted and adopted in some instances as a paradoxical means of resisting against external cultural inference (Carr 2000, 2006; Hill 2002).

This includes the 'localised' adaptation and mimicking of continental brooches for purely native usage (Carr 2000, 2006), and the replication of pedestal vessels prior to the adoption of the wheel in parts of the south-east (Hill 2002). Taken together, this evidence appears to suggest that certain groups of insular people lived in similar but distinctively different ways to those living on the continent at the same time (Hill 1995; 2002, 152; Willis 1997). That artefacts were used within the formation of emic and etic identities highlights the growing acceptance of a far more complex Iron Age, in which the constructions of identity were entwined within localised and non-linear ontologies.

3.4.3 Past approaches to identity through the settlement record and material culture

Previous approaches to identity formation in Iron Age southern England have been heavily reliant upon both the settlement record and its associated material culture. These approaches have also tended to centre upon the Late Iron Age period. Archaeologists have sought to use these records to extract identity associations, including, for example, the construction and social meaning of settlement boundaries, houses and orientation in relation to group and individual identities (Bersu 1940, 90; Hingley and Miles 1984, 62; Boast and Evans 1986; Cunliffe 1992; Hingley and Miles 1984; Hill 1993; Fitzpatrick 1994, 1997; Moore 2006; Oswald 1997; Parker Pearson 1996); craft production (Cunliffe 2003; Fitzpatrick 1997; Hill 1995, 2002; Morris 1994; Willis 2002), including the resistance and subsequent mimicking of continental wheel thrown pottery and their association with gender and age defined "foodway" strategies (Hill 2002); occupation, agricultural regimes and practices (Fitzpatrick 1997; Gent 1983; Grant 1984, 1984a, 1984b; Hambleton 1999; Hill 1994, 1995; Jones 1996; Wait 1985, 138); and the similar treatment of human and animal carcasses (Fitzpatrick 1997; Hambleton 1999; Hill 1995, 1995a; Lally 2008a).

Material culture and the Earlier Iron Age

The overwhelming majority of attempts to define patterns of human identities in Iron Age southern England have been conducted in relation to the exploration of questions regarding the (non)Romanisation of Late Iron Age Britons (Carr 2005; Haselgrove 1997; Hill 1997). This is largely due to an archaeologically attested increase in object deposition at this time, marking a suggested (but not necessarily exclusive) difference to that of the earlier Iron Age periods (Carr 2000; Hill 1997, 2002; Willis 1997; see also section 3.4) which presents as being – in quantitative terms only – significantly inferior to that of the later period.

The apparent lack of earlier associated personal items, including toilet instruments and other objects associated with the body, has been taken to imply that individual identity was a less familiar concept during both the Early and Middle Iron Age (Hill 1995, 1997; Willis 1997; Jundi and Hill 1998; Carr 2000, 2005, 2006; Creighton 2000; Cunliffe 2005; Fitzpatrick 1997, 2000; Haselgrove 1982, 1987, 1989; Wait 1985; Whimster 1981). However, as highlighted by Willis (1997; see also Section 4.3), it is possible that a combination of taphonomic processes, the misidentification of finds on the part of archaeologists, and the limited nature of excavation, have all contributed to this perceived earlier absence of identity associated items.

Despite its reputation, there is some evidence for identity associated objects during earlier periods. This includes the discovery of a Middle Iron Age grooming kit at Gussage All Saints (Wainwright 1979; Hill 1997; Willis 1997), likely early examples of mirrors, such as those from Yorkshire (Joy, Pers. Com.), and the discovery of bronze, silver and gold torcs or neck rings from the 3rd century BC (Hutcheson 2004, 34) onward. In the case of this latter example, the discovery of Iron Age neck rings, Hutcheson (2004) suggests that these may be indicative of an insular tradition that spanned from at least the Bronze Age through to the Late Iron Age period in Britain.

Material culture and the Late Iron Age

The sharp visible increase in object deposition during the Late Iron Age has been described by Willis (1997) as representing a 'deposition geist', although this need not necessarily imply a greater circulation of items and objects within the Late Iron Age alone, but merely a greater preference for the specific deposition of certain objects at this time (Willis 1997; Hill 1997).

Late Iron Age studies associated with identity have included: coinage, power, elites and elite lineages (Creighton 2000; 2006; Haselgrove 1987; Bean 2000); 'The Fibula Event Horizon' (Hill 1994, 1997; Willis 1997; Haselgrove 1997; Carr 2000); the deposition of toilet instruments and sets (Hill 1997, 100; Carr 2000; Hill 1997; Thomas 1989); the deposition of mirrors (Fitzpatrick 1997c; Hill 1997; Jope 2000); the deposition of torcs or neck rings made in bronze, silver and gold (Bushe-Fox 1914; Clarke 1954; Megaw 1970; Eluère 1987; Stead 1991; Jope 2000; Hutcheson 2004); woad, tattooing and cosmetic sets (Carr 2000, 2002, 2005; Hill 1997, see also Van der Veen *et al* 1993; Pyatt *et al* 1991); the adoption of continental styled pottery and later acceptance of the potters wheel, both of which initially appear to have been linked to patterns of settlement rather than cemetery deposition (Hill 2002); iconographic depictions of hairstyles and associative objects (Green 2004); drinking and feasting (Arnold 1999; Hingley 1990); art, including the depiction of humans and animals on coins and buckets (Carr 2000; Creighton 2000; Cunliffe 1981; Haselgrove 1987, 1988; Macready and Thompson 1984; Pudill and Eyre 2005; Van Arsdell 1989); coinage and elites (Van Arsdell 1989, 1994; Creighton 2000; Pudill and Eyre 2005); and the changing nature of the late-Pre Roman Iron Age mortuary record in general (Whimster 1977, 1981; Wilson 1981; Hill 1997; Haselgrove 1997; Carr 2000; see also Chapter 4).

Many of these have been discussed in relation to possibly associated age and gender roles (Arnold 1999; Bradley 1990, 154-189; Carr 2000; Fitzpatrick 1984, 186-187 and 1997, 80-81; Green 2004; Hill 2001, 2002; Hingley 1990; Jundi and Hill 1998), although in reality, most remain purely speculative, with no diagnostic evidence.

Whilst the study of Late Iron Age identity formation, as derived through an analysis of material culture, is important to our formative knowledge of personhood in later prehistory, such studies are not without complication. For example, Carr's (2000) discussion of Colchester type brooches and their derivatives, Hill's (1997) discussion of Late pre-Roman Iron Age toilet sets and items, and Green's (2004) discussion of the (virtually non-existent) British iconographic evidence for hairstyles, are all based upon extremely small sample sizes. Therefore their ability to inform upon complex macro patterns of identity construction remains limited and largely speculative.

The fact that so few of these items have been found directly associated with large numbers of human depositions, raises important questions in relation to how archaeologists traditionally interpret and define often elite social status at this time. Rather than associating such objects with only elite individuals, Helms (1988), Willis (1994) and Carr (2000) argue for the possibility that these items, including for example non-native brooches, might have been perceived as being emically socially polluting, legitimising a need to sanction them by means of controlled small scale circulation.

Associative chronological profiling is also problematic in the case of deposited toilet instruments and sets, mirrors, neck rings and coinage. Although attributed to the Late Iron Age, both toilet instruments and sets (Hill 1997; Carr 2000) and neck rings (Hutcheson 2004, 34) are known to have originated during the Bronze Age. The fact that a toilet set was found at Middle Iron Age Gussage All Saints (Wainwright 1979), suggests that objects such as these may have always been in small scale circulation, but that we as archaeologists have either failed to recognise them when they have been found, or are simply missing them due to issues of poor preservation (Willis 1997). The chronology of coinage, as with mirrors, stems largely (especially in the case of coins bearing names not referred to within the classical sources) from typological and metallurgical development, with the majority of finds originating from stray contexts (Creighton 2000; Moore 2006, 38; Nash 1987; van Arsdell 1994), or from post-conquest levels (Moore 2006, 38), and as such lends itself to speculative patterns of chronology and complexity.

One of the most reliable indicators for wide scale changes to social identity construction at this time can be found within the evidence for innovations in ceramic construction, typology and use. Although, as suggested earlier, this reliability should not mean that archaeologists solely employ ceramic analysis as a means of constituting chronology. Hill (2002) has highlighted this in relation to insular ceramic specialists, rather than accepting the traditional wholesale explanation of immigrant craftsmen (Hill 2002 cites Hawkes and Dunning 1930; Birchall 1965; Stead 1976; Cunliffe 1991). Hill's (2002) study specifically explores wider changes in ceramic "tool" use and foodway strategies, which present as first appearing in parts of southern England during the Late Iron Age period. Of particular importance, was the shift from a resilient limited assemblage during both the Early and Middle Iron Age, to the adoption of a much greater range of vessels, forms and sizes in parts of southern England during the late period.

That some handmade imitations of continentally inspired wheel turned pedestalled vessels are know from the fifth to the second centuries BC suggests that native potters had first hand experience of continental examples, but chose not to adopt the use of the wheel prior to the Late Iron Age period in parts of southern England (Hill 2002, 152). Hill suggests this to have serious implications for the way in which earlier Iron Age communities structured their worlds – using pottery as a form of cultural make-up, resilient to changes from contact with non-insular groups and identities. As such, pottery appears to have constituted one of the ways in which native identities were confirmed and reinforced throughout the Iron Age.

Hill (2002, 148) suggests the eventual expansive adoption of Late Iron Age ceramic tools to be indicative of changes in the types, ways and look of foodstuffs at this time, with an apparent shift from carbohydrate rich stews and porridges in the earlier periods to a much more expansive range of food and drink-stuffs during the latter. This new range of food and drink certainly included imported goods, such as olive oil and wine. However, Hill is correct to highlight the possibility that native peoples may have used new vessel forms and tools – including imported amphorae - in non-continental or non-Roman ways, such as in using amphorae for the containment of native alcohol (Hill 2002, 150). It is possible that many of the newly fashioned forms of pottery complete with the new range of food and drink stuffs, were used in similarly more traditional ways, thus bridging the role of food and drink in the earlier Iron Age with the expectations of new objects and ways of thinking about foodways in the later period.

Based on the associative Late Iron Age evidence for steamers, firedogs, new ingredients and tablewares, Hill (2002) suggests that much greater care and attention would have been placed on drinking and dining at this later time, resulting in people spending increasing amounts of time preparing both of these. Subsequently, this may have led to new or reconfigured definitions of separate ‘kitchen’ and ‘dining’ space (Hill 2002, 148).

Importantly, these changes in foodway ontology appear not to have been accepted and adopted in all parts of southern England (Hill 2002). As Hill (2002, 157-8) highlights, the failure to adopt these vessel forms and their associative practices is just as important in terms of identity make-up, to the fact that they were adopted elsewhere. This implies a degree of persistent resistance to the adoption of changed or modified forms of material culture and their respective ontologies, with parts of Southern England, such as Cambridgeshire continuing to primarily rely upon handmade vessels into the late period, with very few examples of wheel thrown pottery appearing on associative sites (Hill 2002; 157). This may be seen to confirm that pottery was used within the social construction and maintenance of both group and individual identities throughout the Iron Age as a whole.

In relation to this, Hill (2002, 155-6) has also drawn attention to the apparent correlation between expansive settlement practices and ceramic adoption in East Anglia. He suggests that there is little Middle Iron Age ceramic evidence in places such as Hertfordshire, compared to the abundance of Late Iron Age forms - implying a shift toward permanent settlement at this later time. Furthermore, he argues that settlement expansion into previously unutilised areas is a representative key feature of the Late Iron Age and that many of the previously marginal areas later developed specialist economic activities or allowed for novel social forms of identity to emerge (Hill 1995, 2002, 156; Haselgrove 1989; Sharples 1990).

The settlement record, material culture and gender

Largely originating through Bersu's (1940, 90) recording of gender oppositions at Little Woodbury, Wiltshire - where he proposed the floor, ground and south sides of houses were associated with women, and the roof, sky and north side with men - discussions of occupation and sacred space have further supported a disjuncture in engendered domestic and ritual activities (Fitzpatrick 1984), although surprisingly not considered as part of Smith's (2001) consideration of the use of structured space.

In particular, both Fitzpatrick (1984, 1997) and Bradley (1990, 154-89) have suggested that specific acts of deposition within boundary areas are attributable to the structured placing of male warrior items: which were apparently made by male smiths, with the intention of reinforcing a male dominant ideology by reproducing it in unassailable public rituals and rites (Fitzpatrick 1997, 81). Fitzpatrick (1997) suggests that in these instances, women and children, or at least those not yet old enough to be considered adults, contributed to the deposition of these male items – thus legitimising their inferiority in terms of vertically ranked identity. Such a suggestion serves only to deflate the important role that both women and children played in Iron Age societies. In reality there is little evidence for the engendered construction and use of artefacts in this period as being exclusively attributable to either just male or female persons. Such a suggestion is purely speculative and reliant upon a debatable understanding of 'male' versus 'other' items.

The same might be said for Hill's (2002) notion that Iron Age pottery specialists were primarily female (Hill 2002, 152), and that women and children dedicated their days to food and drink preparation for primarily male consumers (Hill 2002, 150). To date, no specific consideration of Iron Age gender roles or childhood has been conducted thus necessitating a need for caution when considering and prescribing such speculative relationships.

Despite the wealth of ethnographic examples for engendered spatial associations (for example, Evans-Pritchard 1940; Moore 1986; Hastorf 1991; Toren 1999), there is little diagnostic evidence for this during the Iron Age, either in the form of associative material culture or human deposition. Despite the fact that structural oppositions appear to have played some role within complex deposition rationales (Fitzpatrick 1984; Oswald 1997), especially in features such as house structures and gullies, these are rarely attributable to the segregation of male and female bodies within patterns of occupation and ritual space – one exception being that of Late Iron Age Gussage All Saints. Indeed, whilst Hill (1995) has further suggested a difference in the locations of adult and infant burials at this time, his evidence for this was based on a tiny and inconclusive skeletal assemblage from Easton Lane, Hampshire, and should not therefore be taken to imply even a specific or widespread practice.

The same could be said for any gendered construction of craft practices, such as that proposed by Hill (2002) in relation to female potters. Rather than conforming to our expectations of gender roles, it is possible that tasks such as weaving were completed equally by both sexes, or, as implied by the discovery of segregated male and female depositions at Late Iron Age Gussage All Saints, with spindles being deposited primarily with biologically male bodes (Hill 1995, 56), that this activity was completed by men.

3.5 Treatment of the body in death

3.5.1 Introduction

This section of the chapter will review theory relating to the various treatments accorded to the Iron Age body in death, and the contexts within which bodies were subsequently deposited.

3.5.2 Past approaches to death and burial

The Iron Age mortuary record has traditionally gained a reputation for being too fragmented to reason. In receiving what can only be described as limited attention prior to the late 1970s (Harding 1972, 67-9; Hodson 1964), the overall state of the mortuary record at this time has been suggested, in a similar way to object deposition during the Early and Middle Iron Age, as having a paucity of what researchers constituted as burial deposits.

This lack of available evidence led Hodson (1964) to suggest his “negative type-fossil” theory, in which he argued that no major visible burial tradition existed in southern Britain prior to the advent of cremation during the Late Iron Age. Since the late 1980’s very few researchers have considered death and burial (exceptions being discussed below); paradoxically leading to a paucity in theory formation as well as archaeological bodies. As a result, early archaeological investigations tended to centre on specific forms of material culture, such as pottery and metalwork. This led to a situation in which discoveries of human bone - which presented as rarely being provided with associated grave goods - received comparatively little attention (Whimster 1977, 1981; Wait 1985). Frequently any encountered bones were subsequently discarded or lost, thus making any later osteological analysis impossible.

In the same way that early investigations of this period attempted to correlate the archaeological record with the ‘Celtic’ occupation of the isles, early archaeologists equally strove to align instances of burial with invasionist traditions. For instance, the Aylesford Swarling culture was linked with the appearance of the Belgae from what is now Northern France / Belgium (Hawkes and Dunning 1930; Hodson 1964; Birchall 1965; Harding 1974; Whimster 1977, 1981).

By the late 1970s, Whimster (1977, 1981), in particular, had attempted to produce an overall synthesis of Iron Age burial practices in Britain. As part of this, Whimster defined six main forms of burial groupings. These consisted of:

Group 1. Pit burial and related inhumation forms in central southern England
Group 2. Durotrigian burial in southern Dorset
Group 3. South-western cist-grave burial
Group 4. Inhumation in eastern Yorkshire
Group 5. Warrior burial
Group 6. La Tène III cremation

Early attempts to correlate burial deposits with ‘culture’ have carried through into the present day, especially in relation to references toward a pit ‘burial’ or ‘belief’ tradition (Whimster 1979, 1981; see also Cunliffe 1991, 526; 1992). These have been linked to a suggested widespread and largely assimilated native culture, which might imply a revival in Iron Age times of the kinds of belief systems originating during the Neolithic (Cunliffe 1991, 507).

Whimster's (1977) group 1 classification, of which pit burial was a part, not only maintained the status quo for how deposited bodies were classified, but further contributed towards the future of how references to deposits of human bodies and bone should be described, in other words, as 'burial' deposits and 'grave' (Whimster 1981; Wilson 1981; Wait 1985; Hill 1995). This use of bounded terminology shall be considered below.

In a similar way to studies of Celticity (see section 3.4.2), interpretations of burial practices have undoubtedly been affected by recent, and often political, agendas. Whilst this has been discussed elsewhere (Hill 1995), it is worth noting that many of these interpretations originated during the pioneering years of archaeological investigation, with Victorian attitudes towards, for example, children and the lower classes, being reflected by the way in which archaeological discoveries of 'low status' burials – including children, criminals and outcasts were recorded and reported.

In recent years the apparent paucity of burial deposits has been reassessed (Carr and Knüsel 1997; Carr 2007; Hill 1995; Lally 2008a; Moore 2006, chapter 6). It is now thought that the fragmented nature of human deposition at this time is indicative of a temporal selection of certain bodies or body parts for deposition at the expense of others (Ellison and Drewett 1971; Harding 1974; Wilson 1981; Walker 1984; Wait 1985; Cunliffe 1992; Carr and Knüsel 1997; Carr 2007). As such, archaeologically visible forms of body deposition, including pit and ditch practices, should be seen as constituting a minority practice (Lambrick and Allen 2004, 248).

Deposition as a minority form of body treatment

Using the site of Danebury as his model, Wait (1985) assessed that only c.5% of the estimated living population found their way into the visible archaeological record. The remaining 95% had since vanished, leaving no osteological trace of their existence in the first place. This conclusion has since been challenged by Bishop and Knüsel (2005) who have suggested that the Danebury skeletal record is representative of a living population. However, Bishop and Knüsel's response is flawed by the fact that while the actual number of estimated bodies at this site might be representative of a contemporarily situated living population, Danebury had actually been occupied on either a permanent or more seasonal basis (Hill 1997) for around four and a half centuries (Cunliffe 2003, 47). Therefore, that only around 300 individuals could be identified as part of the site's excavations to date, remains clearly at odds with the estimated number of individuals who may have been in occupation at any one time, which Cunliffe (2003, 93) suggests is likely to be in the region of 204 to 335 people.

Nonetheless, although the general absence of Iron Age human remains from southern England has become an accepted normality for anyone working with this period, Wait's estimated 5% 'visibility' margin is likely, in some instances at least, to be too high an approximation, as many sites continue to yield little, if any, human bone at all for analysis – a good example being Crickley Hill, where only one finger bone was found despite large scale excavation (Savage 1988). Sites producing no bone deposits at all include, Gilders Paddock, Evesham, Midsummer Hill, Chew Park, Butcombe, and Lydney (Moore 2006, 116).

Undoubtedly this will have been influenced by a range of factors including taphonomy, excavation techniques and sampling strategies, yet the evidence we do have to date suggests that these factors alone did not constitute the only explanation. Rather, as suggested by Hill (1992, 106), from the Neolithic period onwards in Britain, archaeological deposits of human remains were never simply to do with the treatment of the dead. This has certainly become apparent within more recent research into the role played by human remains within structured deposition practices (Lally 2008; Hill 1995), in which human bones present as playing a similar role to other forms of deposited objects and materials (see also Section 3.5.5).

I now wish to consider the use of mortuary associated terminology in defining how approaches to body treatment and deposition are configured.

Rethinking terminology

The ways in which archaeologists and osteologists label discoveries of human bone and their associated deposition contexts continues to impact upon the way in which bodies are subsequently interpreted, reported and theorised. This has proven to be especially problematic when considering the complex nature of the Iron Age mortuary record. For instance, the term 'grave' has been used to describe encountered human bodies and bone at a number of sites, yet many of these associative bodies were actually deposited not within formal graves but rather within pre-existing features such as pits and ditches.

Hill (1995) has also drawn attention to this, by highlighting an interpretive tradition of disjuncture, in which archaeological analyses of human and animal bone, along with other forms of material culture and materials, have been perceived and reported in both differential and ranked ways – through the inclusion of separate specialist reports, rarely contextualised well within archaeological reporting. As such, deposits of human bone have been traditionally perceived as always being superior to that of any other kind of deposit (Cunliffe 1992; Wait 1985). Therefore, the primary position of human bodies and body parts within depositional features thus led to their interpretation in purely linear ways, e.g. 'burials', with all other forms of deposits, whether appearing to be associated or not, occupying a secondary level of significance. This led Whimster (1981, 194) to assume that, where present, burial traditions were a powerful and influential body of common tradition at this time (Whimster 1981, 194). This subsequently enabled archaeologists to 'understand' the mortuary practices from one region to another, through a transferable framework of 'burial' inference. 'Traditions' therefore emerged with the potentiality of misleading archaeologists away from the possibilities of localised and wider scale difference.

The site of Poundbury in Dorset provides a good example of conceptual difference. At Poundbury, many of the children, although found in what one may assume to represent a cemetery, actually lay in association with other earlier features. Farwell and Molleson (1993, 171-181) have highlighted how, in the Later Roman cemetery, children were buried in a formal way; something in clear contrast to the Late Iron Age period, during which children were frequently deposited in close proximity to the settlement site, occurring in: ditches (SK 273); buildings (SKs 1249; 1371; 1376; 1379; 1380; 1383; 1386; 1387-1394); and construction trenches (SK 253) (Farwell and Molleson 1993, 13, 253, 260, 300, 301, Fig. 5).

This is further supported by the fact that ‘graves’ have also been found in previously existing ditches at Puddlehill, Micheldever Wood and Owslebury; within former gullies at Gravelly Guy and Owslebury; and within disused ‘house’ structures at Danebury (see Section 3.5.5). As such, these examples suggest that ‘cemetery’ sites may not have been temporally perceived in conceptually linear ways, but rather, and in a similar way to the Iron Age mortuary record as a whole, were often associated with complex belief and performance systems.

These examples highlight the inconsistent ways in which site features have been technically described. They also raise important questions regarding the functional and symbolic nature and use of such features and site areas. It is highly likely that the use of features and areas for deposition was associated with complex belief systems and rationales (Hill 1995; Cunliffe 2005). In such a way, a ‘cemetery’ site may have always been more than just a place for depositing one’s dead (after Hill 1995). Certainly this structured way of thinking has, in recent years, become evident, for example, within the appreciation for the way in which Iron Age settlements and roundhouse structures were set out (Hill 1995 and Oswald 1997).

Whilst it is possible that cemetery sites such as Poundbury display a new facet of Later Iron Age culture, as possibly derived through contact with the Continent, the fact that human bodies were placed in association with both the settlement site and chronologically earlier features raises the question of intentionality. To date this subject has received little detailed attention.

3.5.3 Traditionally accepted methods of body treatment

Past approaches to Iron Age body treatment have been dominated by three main, but not necessarily exclusive, means of body disposal. This has included, recognition for the use of excarnation by exposure as constituting the main form of mortuary disposal during the early and middle Iron Age periods; an assumed inhumation tradition

(Whimster 1977, 1981), incorporating the formal deposition of bodies within pits, ditches and designated cemeteries; and the so called introduction of the Belgic Aylesford-Swarling cremation culture (Hawkes 1968; Rodwell 1976). In more recent years, this latter category of treatment has been reconfigured as the 'Aylesford Culture' (Fitzpatrick 1997b, 208) after the acknowledgement that most of these burial deposits were actually deposited after Caesar's contact with the region in 55 BC, thus postdating his hypothesised invasion of the Belgae (Rodwell 1976). Until recently, cemetery burial deposits remained relatively elusive (Whimster 1981, 191). However, in recent years, sites such as Cockey Down (excavated by Wessex Archaeology in 1996), Owslebury, Salmonsbury, Suddern Farm and Yarnton, have provided possible evidence for the formal inhumation of bodies in cemetery locations.

In order to fully explore the various types of Iron Age body treatment, it is necessary to consider the archaeologically visible ways in which bodies appear to have entered the record in the first place. By considering these, it becomes possible to explore any juxtaposed or differential association between human identities in life and death. Due to the fragmentary nature of human bone deposition at this time, categorising the variously encountered forms of body disposal is essential if we are to make any sense of the many varied ways in which bodies were treated in the moments leading up to, and following the point of biological death. If one were to simply examine the mortuary record for any one particular site in isolation, it would seem reasonable, if not logical, to suggest that the discovery of whole bodies might be seen to equate with deliberate acts of burial deposits, whilst discoveries of body parts and/or isolated human bone might represent little more than casual, disturbed or accidentally scattered deposits. By considering these various forms, one is also able to consider the potentiality of a range of body treatments, and not just those classified by the terms 'burial', 'excarnation' and 'cremation' for instance.

As part of the Danebury analysis, Walker (1984) recorded six main categories of body deposition. These categories enabled Walker, and others since her, an entry point into exploring the social dynamic of the mortuary record itself - allowing comparative considerations of treatments to occur, not only within the record for Danebury but also between different sites and regions. These deposition categories were broken down into: whole bodies (termed Type A deposits); incomplete skeletons

(Type B); multiple partially disarticulated skeletons and skulls (Type C); skulls or frontal bones (Type D); pelvic girdles (Type E); and individual bones or bone fragments (Type F). Cunliffe (2003) in particular has argued for the deliberate inclusion of individual bones within deliberate deposition rationales, suggesting that the 211 different contexts in which isolated human bone was found at Danebury did not constitute a random scatter but rather a preference for the deposition of certain bones in isolation. The repeated nature of these categories across much of southern England suggests that Iron Age bodies were being subjected to repeated forms of selective deposition and practices associated with body fragmentation. Indeed, both Wait (1985, 94) and Brück (1995) have suggested that it is the presence of single bones in isolation on both hillfort and settlement sites which characterises the mortuary record for the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages.

Excarnation

Excarnation by exposure has become one of the principal means of explaining the general absence of skeletal remains dating to, especially, but not exclusively, the Early and Middle Iron Age in southern England (Carr 2007; Carr and Knüsel 1997). This form of body treatment is thought to have originated during the Neolithic (Smith 2006) and has also been recognised within the Late Bronze Age record (Brück 1995; Carr and Knüsel 1997). As such, its ‘adoption’ during the Iron Age might actually be reflective of some continuity in practice from much earlier times.

Excarnation has previously been discussed, to varying degrees by Ellison and Drewett (1971), Harding (1974), Whimster (1977, 1981), Wilson (1981), Walker (1984), Wait (1985), Cunliffe (1992), Carr 2007, Carr and Knüsel (1997) Moore (2006) and Sharples (1991). The most comprehensive of these studies has, to date, been that of Carr and Knüsel (1997), who, in reassessing the osteological evidence for excarnation from 33 mainly unlisted sites from Dorset, Wiltshire, Somerset and Hampshire, provide a detailed discussion of the specific evidence for four sites (Danebury, Glastonbury, Cadbury Castle and Chalbury Camp). With regard to the remaining 29 unidentified sites, they suggested that all of these provided “interesting” results, with many having produced the kinds of evidence attributable to such a practice (ibid: 171).

It is possible that excarnation was complemented by a range of other forms of secondary body treatments (Carr 2007; Carr and Knüsel 1997; Whimster 1981; Hill 1995). Suggestions for these included the potential defleshing of bodies by burning, as evidenced at South Cadbury, the removal of flesh by boiling (in a similar way to the cooking of animal carcasses at this time), and the exposure and incorporation of human remains within middens, as attested during the Bronze Age (Lawson 2000). Although not entirely absent, there is little current evidence for animal gnawing and cut marks from Iron Age sites (Carr and Knüsel 1997): both of which may be indicative of assisted excarnation by both animal and human agency. In light of this, Carr and Knüsel suggest that exposure may have been associated with protective environments, such as houses or sealed four post structures (Carr and Knüsel 1997, 171).

There is some limited evidence to suggest that some bodies may have been retained among the living after biological death. Indeed, Fitzpatrick and Morris (1994, x) have suggested that it is the juxtaposition of the living and the dead which sets the Iron Age apart from other periods.

Allen (1990) and Foster (2002) have suggested, using beetle evidence, that at Watkins Farm, Oxfordshire, a female aged around thirty years was deposited within a water-logged well some five months after biological death. In this instance, it is likely that some care was taken to protect her body from decaying over a sustained period of time. It is likely that this involved the separation of her body away from the potential agencies of weathering and predatory animals. This may also be attested within the more general evidence for excarnation by exposure, in which bodies appear to have been placed on excarnation structures, often also employed for the storage of grain (Carr and Knüsel 1997). At the same time, the evidence for protective retention or protective exposure certainly differs in some instances, to situations in which bodies appear to have been exposed *in situ* within their depositional features. Evidence for pit exposed bodies has, for instance, been found at both Danebury (Walker 1984) and Puddlehill (Hawkes 1976, ix), where seemingly bodies were left exposed to both the elements and animals.

It is possible that the Watkins Farm female was kept socially 'alive' within her respective community during a liminal period of time in which her living status transformed itself into a social conclusion or death. Similar examples of such practices are well attested within the ethnographic record (Carmichael *et al* 1998, 220; Barley 1995, 54-5). This would support the notion that during the Iron Age, biological death need not have correlated itself with a perceived social death. The keeping of the dead among the living has also been suggested by Carr and Knüsel (1997) at Danebury, where many of the internal four post structures used for excarnation are situated within the internal occupation area. Complementing this, Sharples (1991, 87) has suggested that the processes of excarnation "would limit the significance of the individual and symbolically tie them to the community".

In certain instances, the processes of excarnation appear to have been prematurely interrupted – based upon the premise that excarnation was intended to bring about the total corporeal disintegration of the body in the first place - in a bid to redistribute either the entire partially decayed corpse, or, as appears to have been more frequently preferred, specifically selected or harvested parts of the body, including, for instance, the removal and secondary treatment of articulated limbs and other bones. This is attested at sites such as Danebury (Walker 1984; Cunliffe 1992), Heacham (Wilson 1981, 132) and Segsbury (Lock *et al* 2005, 120).

There is also evidence for the harvesting of successfully excarnated dry bone - as attested by associative osteological indicators such as weather and gnaw patterning - in the form of deliberately deposited isolated bone(s), frequently consisting of skulls and/or long bones on a number of sites (Whimster 1977, 1981; Wilson 1981; Fitzpatrick 1997, 82; Cunliffe 1991, 505, 508). Possible examples include South Cadbury, Danebury, Suddern Farm, and North Foreland.

At Danebury, for instance, Deposition 61B (an articulated forearm, crania and other bits of bone, Sk. 61B) appears not to have represented an act of mutilation in the same way as that of the butchered pelvis (see below). However, it is likely, given our understanding of excarnation at this time that these remains were taken from a meaty corpse during some period of exposure (Lally *forthcoming*). Certainly, Walker (1984), Cunliffe (1992) and Carr and Knüsel (1997) have highlighted the evidence for excarnation at Danebury. There was also on-site evidence for the deposition of exposed bodies, several of which appear to have been exposed in situ within their depositionary feature. This may be supported by Wilson (1981, 135) who has argued that female bodies may have been exposed in pit features at Winklebury. As such, it is likely that deposits such as the articulated forearm (Sk. 61B) from Danebury originated through such practices. Certainly, the forearm had been removed from its trunk after some initial period of partial decay (Carr and Knüsel 1997). This appears to support the suggestion of there being a practice of exposing limbs at Danebury (Wilson 1981, 135).

Another example of a seemingly mutilated corpse comes from Suddern Farm, where Cunliffe (2000, 128) reports having found the remains of an unsexed young individual, whose skull, ribs, sacrum, pelvis and femora were damaged by a pointed weapon of some kind. Whilst the skull injury may have occurred in life, all the other cut markings appear to have been conducted against the corpse when partially decomposed. Indeed, Cunliffe suggests that the injuries found on other Suddern Farm bodies, may have also originated through such practices, which themselves appear to have been intrinsically intertwined with the exposure of the body prior to burial. Interestingly, this kind of practice, i.e. the partial exposure of a corpse prior to inhumation, has also been implied for the late Romano-British site at Frocester (Price 2000, 203), where a male (grave 14) body had also been allowed to decompose for a long time prior to formal deposition.

These patterns of both articulated and isolated bone selectivity are also mirrored by parallel practices attested in the cremation record for Late Iron Age southern England. In particular, Fitzpatrick (1997b, 227 and 236) has brought attention to the selectivity of certain cremated skeletal elements deposited at Wheathampstead, which will be discussed below.

Cremation

Despite the recent move towards a more insular consideration of native Iron Age culture, Whimster (1981, 163-6) has cautiously continued to maintain a linkage between the advent of cremation during the Late Iron Age in south-east England and the use of cremation on the continent (Fitzpatrick 1997b, 210). This has been recently supported by Fitzpatrick's (1997b) consideration of the evidence found at Wheathampstead in which he suggests that cremation was introduced to central-southern England from parts of Normandy or its adjacent environs as part of cross Channel contact during the later Iron Age period (Fitzpatrick 1997b, 210, 239).

The evidence for a purely Late Iron Age cremation rite remains problematic, in light of both charred (see Section 3.5.4) and fully cremated bone found in pre-Late contexts. Although the Aylesford culture may appear distinctively different to these, charred human remains from sites such as South Cadbury and Glastonbury and the fully cremated Middle Iron Age infant found in a Banjo terminal at Owslebury (complete with associated items including two broken pots and a burnt glass bead and bangle; see Collis 1977), has received little attention in relation to a possible continuity of practice in the use of cremation from at least the Bronze Age period onward. This is primarily due to the differential nature of Late Iron Age cremation, in terms of its associated forms of body containment and the potential for accompanied grave goods in some instances.

This issue has recently been considered by Carr (2007) who has argued that the adoption of cremation in the Late Iron Age might itself extend out of the earlier practice of excarnation in parts of the south-east, with inhumation coming to represent a form of excarnation beneath the ground, as opposed to above it. However, whilst it is important to consider the potentiality of treatment continuity, such a suggestion fails to consider the dynamic nature of excarnation in complementing a range of other secondary treatments and practices, which by their very nature are distinctly different to that of both inhumation and cremation.

Massacre through warfare

A number of recent authors have argued for the possibility of periodic massacres in explaining the presence of multiple bodies found in either a decapitated state or to possess trauma marking on the body. These forms of treatment have been cited on a limited number of Iron Age sites, including Danebury, Maiden Castle and South Cadbury (as discussed by Alcock 1972; Barrett et al 2000; Bishop and Knüsel 2005;

Cunliffe and Poole 1991; Craig, Knüsel and Carr 2005; Green 2002; Sharples 1991; Wheeler 1943).

As well as the injury evidence itself, the fact that many bodies found on both "war cemetery" sites - such as proposed at South Cadbury (Alcock 1972; Barrett et al 2000) and Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1943; Sharples 1991) - and within the deposition record for Danebury (Cunliffe and Poole 1991; Craig, Knüsel and Carr 2005) were adolescent male, has also been cited as evidencing periods of warfare incursion and subsequently, the massacre of settlement residents. This obviously assumes and locates violence as a primarily male behaviour – for which there is no conclusive evidence to date.

Craig, Knüsel and Carr (2005) have argued that instances of human deposition at Danebury were implicitly linked to warfare, settlement attack and population massacre, supporting Cunliffe and Poole's (1991) notion that the site may have witnessed an assault leading to a demise and maltreatment of residents (Craig, Knüsel and Carr 2005, 166). Craig, Knüsel and Carr (2005) suggest that this included the intentional killing of human infants, deemed to have been perceived as being 'warriors in waiting' and thus validating a need for the removal of potential revenge-seeking individuals (Bishop and Knüsel 2005, 210).

However, as part of their conclusion, Craig, Knüsel and Carr (2005) assume that the majority of the Danebury skeletal material originated via short lived acts of deposition, in line with the cleaning up of massacred bodies. This is something clearly at odds with the site's overall deposition record, which demonstrates that Danebury in fact had a lengthy tradition of often structured deposition, which, over the course of over 400 years, human bone, from both male and female bodies and of all ages, played repetitive roles (Hill 1995, Lally 2008a). Rather than implying instances of human massacre, these appear to indicate some other deposition rationale, in which whole bodies, body parts and individual bones played a similar role to that played by both animal bone and other deposited items (Hill 1995).

I will now explore other forms of Iron Age mortuary practices which seem to support the notion of a multiply constituted and complex pattern of body treatments in death at this time.

3.5.4 Other forms of Iron Age body treatment

Mutilation and dismemberment

This section considers the evidence for mutilation and dismemberment. Although it is possible that both forms of act held different rationales and belief systems during the Iron Age, the fact that both are intrinsically intertwined within past archaeological reporting, necessitates their juxtaposed consideration here. This is further supported by the fact that no osteological re-evaluation was conducted as part of this thesis.

There is growing evidence to demonstrate that a number of deposited Iron Age bodies were subjected to acts of ritualised violence, mutilation and dismemberment. Although, even when including mutilated bog bodies (Coles *et al* 1999; Glob 1969; Ross and Robins 1989; van der Sanden 1996), the number of examples remains relatively small when compared to the overall record for human deposition at this time.

Whimster (1977; 1981) has suggested that such acts may be taken to imply a borderline between what constituted normal disposal practices and the burial of individuals used in sacrificial or votive rituals. At the same time, Wilson (1981, 147) has further suggested that such occurrences may have been attributable to acts of aggression as part of some punishment or insult based behaviour.

Whimster (1981) identified eight examples of dismemberment and possible mutilation from six separate sites. These sites include Wandlebury, Salmonsbury, Danebury, Woodcuts, Heacham (which remains unpublished, discussed in Wilson 1981), and Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire. As discussed below, the site of Suddern Farm can now also be added to this list.

The mutilation evidence from Wandlebury, as first reported by Hartley (1957, 15), consisted of two different bodies – that of a six year old child and an adult female. The inclusion of a child suggests that acts of mutilation were not confined to the bodies of adults. It is uncertain if these acts were carried out on already biologically deceased individuals, or whether they were conducted while these individuals were still alive.

Both of the bodies from Wandlebury were discovered within pit features. The child had had its legs hacked off prior to deposition, whilst the female had been subjected to a wider range of treatments, including the removal of her head - which was discovered separated from her trunk, the intentional breakage of both femurs a few centimetres below the pelvis, and the intentional crushing of her pelvic girdle by the deposition of a huge block of flint.

This latter deposit appears to mirror other known instances of crushed bodies also found dating to the Iron Age, although they are more frequently associated with chalk blocks (see below). Other examples of flint crushed bodies, as detailed by Whimster (1981), include examples found at Fifield Bavant (Clay 1924), Rotherley (Cunnington 1933), Maiden Bower (Matthews 1976, 162) and Wilbury Hill (Applebaum 1933, 352-61; 1949). Instances of chalk crushed bodies include: a crushed skull of an adult female also from Fifield Bavant (Clay 1924); a crouched adult male found crushed at Twywell (Jackson 1975); an adult found at Worlebury (Dymond 1902) along with two other bodies, who had received several swords cuts prior to being crushed; and an adult female deposited at Bury Hill (Wilson 1981) - although, in the case of the latter site, Wilson (1981) interpreted this as representing the weighing down of the body so as to protect it from animals (as was attested by animal gnaw markings to the skull). This, however, presupposes that those depositing the body were incapable of finding something to cover the head area and, as such, remains an unlikely scenario.

A similar example to that of the Wandlebury child was found at Woodcuts (Whimster 1981, 11), where a severely mutilated child was also placed in a pit. Although in this instance the child's body remained intact, it was noted that the head of this individual received numerous sword cuts prior to being thrown "head first into pit 62" (Whimster 1981, 11). It is also possible that this example represented some bridging practice between mutilation and facial depersonalisation (discussed later in this section).

As first detailed by Dunning (1976, 116-7 and Pl. XI), the mutilation evidence from Salmonsbury consisted of the discovery of the remains of a single adult female. Parts of her skull, arms and legs were found scattered over the course of an ‘occupation floor’. Among these bones were an intentionally broken ulna and right femur, which Dunning suggests, were dismembered immediately following death.

Whimster (1981, 179) listed the discovery of three mutilated bodies at Danebury, all of which were discovered deposited in pit 1020. These depositions comprised of the well documented deposit 47, consisting of a butchered pelvis, the articulated bones of a human torso, two associated legs heaped together along with a lower mandible, and the discovery of an articulated forearm and associated bones, found sandwiched between a lower complete and extended adult and an upper crouched infant (Walker 1984).

There can be little doubt that deposition 47 from Danebury demonstrates the end product of an act of mutilation. Detailed osteological analysis revealed that the pelvic girdle had been cut away from the main trunk and legs (Walker 1984, 471). Walker (1984) suggests that the pelvic girdle had been subjected to a form of clumsy butchery, in which longitudinal and horizontal chopping strokes, combined with forceful manipulation, eventually succeeded to free the body of its legs. Following the cutting of the muscles and soft tissue, the lower organs would have then been removed from the trunk, before attempts were made to chop through the spinal column. Walker (1984: 472) suggests that the “butcher” would have used a thin-bladed weapon for this, as implied by the narrowness of the cuts and impact fractures upon the illium. She suggests that this was probably carried out using a sword, rather than an axe or knife.

Cunliffe (2003) has interpreted this ‘butchered pelvis’ as an act of fertility ritual. This represents a plausible notion, as it is possible that the pelvic area, still having been associated with its visible male genitalia at time of extraction (as there is no associated evidence for excarnation), had been intended to metaphorically present a synecdochical representation of all genitalia, and thus, perhaps fertility. This is further supported by the fact that it had been carefully deposited at the base of a pit, thought to have originally been used for the storage of grain (Cunliffe 2003). As such, this act of deposition, linking human reproductive genitalia with that of the storage of grain, may have originated through some reproductive rationale, in which both human and agricultural (re)production was marked or promoted.

The selection of articulated body parts might also go some way to explain the unusual deposition of an adult female, aged 20-30 years, in Danebury pit 266. This individual had had her spinal column and sacrum removed from its associative pelvis, which was then laid around her feet and lower legs. Her body was found to be incomplete, with her right fibular and scapula, left clavicle, both arms and head missing.

These examples closely mirror the discovery of articulated legs belonging to a child from Heacham (Wilson 1981, 132) and an articulated adult torso from Segsbury Camp (Lock et al 2005). However, as with the above Danebury forearm example, it is possible that the isolated legs from Heacham were also removed after a period of excarnation by exposure. Sadly, without further detailed osteological analysis this hypothesis cannot currently be confirmed, although this might be supported by the discovery of an articulated torso from Segsbury (deposition 1254) which, Lock *et al* (2005, 120) suggest, is likely to have originated from a partially excarnated corpse.

Another example of a seemingly mutilated corpse comes from Suddern Farm, where Cunliffe (2000, 128) reports having found the remains of an unsexed young individual, whose skull, ribs, sacrum, pelvis and femora were damaged by a pointed weapon of some kind. Whilst the skull injury may have occurred in life, all the other cut markings appear to have been conducted against the corpse when partially decomposed. Indeed, Cunliffe suggests that the injuries found on other Suddern Farm bodies may have also originated through such practices.

It is uncertain whether known examples of mutilation or dismemberment practices originated from the sites in which the associative skeletal material was found. It is possible that living, or already deceased bodies and body parts were brought to these sites from elsewhere, implying the portability of not only dry human bones, but also meaty corpses and body parts across the Iron Age landscape. This might be supported by the suggestion that Danebury was only seasonally occupied (Hill 1997). In this way, it is possible that bodies were being exposed at a time in which the hilltop site was not occupied by the surrounding population. In this way, Danebury itself might have been employed as a mortuary area for the treatment of the dead, and that during these periods of exposure certain individuals had access to the site for ritual purposes, some of which included the selection, harvesting and secondary deposition of partially fleshed and completely meat free human carcasses and bones.

Decapitation and display

The decapitation of heads has been well described within the literature on Iron Age Britain and the Continent (Chadwick 1966; Whimster 1981; Wait 1985; Wilson 1981, 147). In particular, encounters with headless bodies have generally been explained as constituting some part of a widespread practice of head hunting and trophy taking on the part of masculine warrior elites, successful in war and with a "fetish for skulls" (After Wilson 1981, 147).

As with examples of burned bodies from South Cadbury, there is growing evidence to show that Iron Age bodies were subjected to acts of decapitation, and that, in a relatively limited number of instances, skulls may have been displayed on a number of British Iron Age sites (for discussions of this see, Craig, Knüsel and Carr 2005; Cunliffe and Poole 1991; Hooper 1984, 1991; Walker 1984; Whimster 1981; Wilson 1981).

A number of individual skulls and skull fragments are thought to have originated via decapitation at Danebury. For example, Hooper (1991) and Craig, Knüsel and Carr (2005) have set out descriptions relating to three confirmed instances, that of Deposition 238, comprising of a portion of the left side of a possibly adult male mandible, complete with sword cuts, which it has been suggested was consistent with decapitation by sword (Hooper 1991, 429), and a further two deposits discovered in pit 2509 (Walker 1984, 451), consisting of mandibles, found to possess traumatic injuries in the form of a small chip forming a knick on the posterior left of both mandibles. Craig, Knüsel and Carr (2005) suggest that this would be consistent with the decapitation of the skull at the C2 and C3 vertebrae.

By closely examining the photographs for this deposit as detailed in Cunliffe and Poole (1991, 420), Craig, Knüsel and Carr (2005) further suggest that these heads were subjected to some period of display before being eventually deposited in pit 2509. The evidence for this, they suggest, can be traced to the fact that both mandibles appear to have been greatly displaced from their respective crania, indicating that they were not attached to their crania at time of deposition. Whilst acknowledging the fact that it is common for some degree of bone movement as part of natural taphonomic processes, the fact that these skulls were tightly packed into a collective mix containing animal bone, appears to have presented a stable environment for their deposition, thus excluding any possibility of movement. This, combined with an absence of cut marks relating to disarticulation, suggests that the mandibles became separated from their crania at some point before the two were deposited. It is likely that this occurred after the strong temporomandibular ligament had decayed (Craig, Knüsel and Carr 2005).

Whimster (1981) lists a further five sites with evidence of decapitation from across Britain. This includes a further three sword damaged skulls from Glastonbury (Bullied and Grey 1917, 676-8, Pl. C1). In this instance, according to Bullied and Grey (1917), all three also have spear damage to their foramen magnum, possibly indicating that they had been displayed for some period of time prior to deposition. However, as part of a reconsideration of the skeletal evidence for Glastonbury, Barber, Wiggins and Rogers (1995, 174) concluded that only skull deposition M8 definitely boasted evidence of display. This, they suggest, was evidenced by the presence of a large rectangular cut mark found at the base of the skull, which would be consistent with the placing of some object through the underneath of the head.

Both Bullied and Grey (1917) and Barber, Wiggins and Rogers (1995) suggest that at Glastonbury, skulls were more frequently deposited toward the edge of the settlement area. Nearly all of the skulls from Glastonbury bore evidence of numerous cut marks, many of which showed no sign of healing, thus being contemporary with time of death (Barber, Wiggins and Rogers 1995). Similar to the evidence discussed above in relation to Danebury, the majority of these cut marks at Glastonbury were thought to have been inflicted by a sword (Barber, Wiggins and Rogers 1995).

At Hunsbury, Northants, a skull boasted a triangular arrangement of three separate bore perforations, possibly being made for suspension, which Whimster states was mirrored by an identical discovery at Hillhead Broch, Caithness (see also Green 2002). Another perforated skull from Hunsbury is reported to have been very similar to another found locally at Hardingstone, also in Northamptonshire (Whimster 1981). Parry (1928, 96) argued that all three of these perforated skulls had bore marks made with metal tools. In light of the fact that this association was defined in 1930, and the fact that no reassessment has been conducted to date, suggests the possibility that this may not have been the case.

Numerous broken skulls were encountered at both South Cadbury in Somerset (Woodward and Hill 2000, 111; Craig, Knüsel and Carr 2005) and Bredon Hillfort in Herefordshire (Hencken 1938). These were all discovered within the main area of the site's gate structure, and as such, were attributed to the display of heads. At Bredon, Hencken (1938, 57) argued that the heads may have been nailed upon the lintel of the main gate structure, coming down when the gate later burnt down. The notion that the skulls had been displayed around this structure is further supported by the fact that many appeared to display clear evidence of having been burnt (Craig, Knüsel and Carr 2005). However, bearing in mind the evidence for facial burning (see following section), it is also possible that these heads had been subjected to fire prior to their display, or that these heads belonged to individuals being subjected to humiliation in the same way that the Danebury pelvis may have served as a warning to others about their social position and associated rites and responsibilities. In addition to these examples, one might also add the discovery of a headless body found at Worthy Down in Hampshire (Hooley 1929, 178-92) and the seemingly displaced crania from Hanborough in Oxfordshire.

Wilson (1981, 147) has suggested that deposits of isolated fragmentary or complete skulls and mandibles, associated with acts of decapitation tend to have been more commonly deposited during the Early Iron Age. Certainly, the extremely limited evidence from Danebury might be seen to support this, for while the two decapitations detailed by Craig, Knüsel and Carr (2005, 170-1) were deposited during Danebury's CP3 phase, only deposition 238 was associated with the later CP7 phase (Hooper 1991, 429). This is also implied by the discovery of numerous skull fragments from the Early to Middle Iron Age period at Frocester (Price 2000, 204).

Burning and the depersonalisation of the body

Carr and Knüsel (1997) and Craig, Knüsel and Carr (2005) suggest that at South Cadbury, Somerset, bodies were occasionally subjected to charring by fire at around the time of biological death. In particular, this evidence of burning was often centred on the facial region, thus likely removing and depersonalising the soft facial features. For instance, many of the bones found within the "massacre deposits" from South Cadbury (Woodward and Hill 2000, 110; Craig, Knüsel and Carr 2005) were found to have been fired, with traces of intense burning discovered on both the interior and exterior of the skull fragments (Woodward and Hill 2000; Craig, Knüsel and Carr 2005).

Attention has been drawn to the fact that several of these examples also bear evidence for decapitation, while Craig, Knüsel and Carr (2005) have suggested that these heads may have been displayed prior to having been burned. It is equally plausible that these individuals had their facial features erased as part of an act prior to secondary treatment, part of which may have then involved decapitation. Although this was associated with some desire to depersonalise the body for derogatory reasons as attested within both the historical and ethnographical literature, or formulated as part of a site specific mortuary ritual, remains uncertain. Based on the similar evidence from Glastonbury Lake Village (Barber, Wiggins and Rogers 1995), it would seem possible that both practices may have been in use at around the same time.

At Glastonbury, a number of bones, mainly from the facial region but also including examples from all parts of the body, were found in a charred state. Deposition M13 likely suffered charring as part of a house fire (Barber, Wiggins and Rogers 1995, 172) but a number of other examples cannot be so easily explained.

Deposition M11, comprising of the charred remains of numerous animal and human bones, likely represents a form of site specific treatment in which the bodies of at least one adult and one infant were burnt in association with other selective animal parts. This specific instance is unlikely to represent an attempt at cremation, as the bones were only charred, rather than well burnt. Deposition M26, consisting of a fragmented charred skull, mandible and teeth of an adult male aged between 35 and 45 years (Barber, Wiggins and Rogers 1995, 172-3) appears to mirror the South Cadbury examples, in as much as suggesting the removal of facial tissue, possibly in association with depersonalisation.

Although not charred, the remains of a severely mutilated child from Woodcuts may also suggest an attempt at depersonalising the face. That this child had received numerous severe cut marks to the head, made by what has been described as a sword (Whimster 1981, 11), would almost certainly have served to eradicate the individuality of the facial features. As such, and despite its limited potential (in being an isolated incident), this discovery theoretically may in fact bridge the gap between our understanding of mutilation and the charring of bodies at this time.

These examples need not suggest that such acts were only associated with insult or punishment behaviour, as suggested in part by Wilson (1981, 147). Whilst excarnation by exposure may have presented a more time consuming way of depersonalisation, direct mutilation, incorporating the removal of body features by fire or tool, would undoubtedly have provided those controlling such acts with a much quicker desired end result.

The branding of heads

Cunliffe (2000, 128) has cited thirty two known examples in which humans were apparently branded by heated metal instruments. These individuals originate from both Danebury and Suddern Farm in Hampshire and therefore might imply a localised practice, although Cunliffe suggests this is the subject of ongoing research. Of the 32 examples, 27 were male, 3 were female, along with another possible female, and one was a child aged c10 years. A total of 22 individuals came from Suddern Farm, representing 32.3% of the skulls available for inspection at this site (Cunliffe 2002).

In relation to the possible reasons behind such acts, Cunliffe (2002) uses the ethnographic and historic record to show how branding has been attributed to both the attempted treatment of mental illness, and as part of ritual practices. Alternatively, branding may have been linked to the branding or humiliation of slaves or polluting bodies (Rodriguez 1998, 89-90) or torture (Kellaway 2003), both of which are attested elsewhere in space and time.

Body binding and human sacrifice?

Both Cunliffe (1984) and Green (2005) have highlighted how some of the Danebury pit bodies were found in sufficiently tightly flexed positions to suggest that they had been bound before death. Indeed, Green suggests that several of the Danebury bodies were deposited with their hands crossed at the wrists, being consistent with the body having been tightly bound at time of deposition. Such practices are certainly attested elsewhere within the Iron Age (see for example Whimster 1977; 1981 and Wait 1985), on sites such as Puddlehill (Matthews 1976, 65-6), Woodcutts (Pitt-Rivers 1887, 35-6), Tollard Royal (Wainwright 1968, 117-9) and Worthy Down (Hooley 1929, 181-2).

Matthews (1976, 65-6) described having found the skeletal remains of a twenty year old female at Puddlehill, whose wrists and ankles appeared to have been bound prior to deposition. Furthermore, in this instance it was also likely that the young woman had had a squared block of chalk suspended from her neck (Matthews 1976).

At Suddern Farm, Cunliffe (2003) has described how some of those inhumed within the cemetery area must have undergone a period of exposure prior to deposition (see also Cunliffe and Poole 2000). This would have ensured that the muscle tissue had decayed sufficiently enough so as to allow the body to be bound tightly. This was evident from the way in which the bound bodies were placed within the smallest of quarry-hole features. This implies that the act of binding had to have taken place either before the onset of major rigor mortis (possibly even during life), or after a period of initial decomposition.

This latter example demonstrates the difficulty in identifying exactly when such processes occurred. Whilst Green (2002, 2005) has suggested that these acts may be linked to the humiliation of prisoners, the evidence from Suddern Farm suggests that bodies were bound in conjunction with other practices, including excarnation by exposure and inhumation at this time. Excarnation and the binding of the body may have constituted a practical means of ensuring bodies were so tightly crouched that they would then fit into their final deposition feature. This may also explain the deposition of a female in a bag at Late Iron Age Frocester (Price 2000, 206, fig. 14.5) and a number of other tightly crouched inhumations from this site.

As implied by the complex range of evidence discussed above in relation to the multiple methods of Iron Age body treatment, it is equally likely that such matters were not simple in terms of their rationality and carried with them individually complex meanings. However, that bodies were apparently bound whilst living (Green 2002, 2005), also implies that certain human bodies were objectified. This has been reinforced by the discovery of bound bog bodies (Coles *et al* 1999; Glob 1969; Ross and Robins 1989; van der Sanden 1996), and 'slave' or 'sacrifice' chains (Green 2002, 149), such as that from Llyn Cerrig Bach, Anglesey. It might be suggested that the binding of bodies for transportation, either in relation to slavery or human sacrifice, may have been perceived in a similar way to that relating to the movement of livestock across the landscape for either rearing or, in a similar fashion, slaughter or sacrifice. It should be noted that the juxtaposed treatment of humans and animals at this time, including some possibly similar sacrificial and butchering patterning, is apparent on a number of southern English sites (Cunliffe 2003; Fitzpatrick 1997; Hambleton 1999; Hill 1995, 105, see also 4.16), as is the proposed contemporary sacrifice of humans, animals, metalwork, plants and cereals (Fitzpatrick 1997b, 86).

Although often constituting a problematic and controversial area of research, the role and reasons for human sacrifice in Iron Age southern England have been suggested by numerous authors (Cunliffe and Poole 1991; Hill 1995; Green 2002, 2005; Carr 2002; Craig, Knüsel and Carr 2005; Bishop and Knüsel 2005). For instance, Green (2002) has provided a detailed consideration of the evidence for intentional sacrifice at Danebury, including the possible crushing, or live burial, of individuals.

The evidence for intentionally inflicted trauma at this time (Whimster 1981; Green 2002; Craig, Knüsel and Carr 2005; Bishop and Knüsel 2005) may have also been related to the sacrifice of live bodies. However, as demonstrated by both the ethnographic and historical records (Green 2002), there is also evidence to suggest that already deceased bodies may have also been subjected to secondary sacrifice through acts of transformation, including bone modification via human agency, at sites such as All Cannings Cross, Handley and Gravelly Guy, and subsequent acts of deposition. I shall now consider the wider evidence for body modification.

The modification of human bone into objects

Modified human bone has been reported at a minimum of eleven sites in Britain. Of these, five have produced intentionally shaped, perforated and polished (through use) cranial amulets. A further two sites have modified skulls, and three have modified long bone fragments.

Amulets were discovered at All Cannings Cross (Cunnington 1923, 42-44, pl. 26; Wait 1985, 358-9), where four worked skull fragments were formed into a roundel, complete with perforated suspension hole indicating differential wear patterning through extensive use; Fifield Bavant (Whimster 1981, 185), where a similar find to that of All Cannings was made; Glastonbury Lake Village (Bullied and Grey 1917); Handley (Whimster 1981); and more recently, at Gravelly Guy, Oxfordshire (Lambrick and Allen 2004), where a fragment of a frontal bone had also been shaped, perforated and polished into an amulet. It is possible that, at Hunsbury, what Wilson (1981) interpreted to be a case of trephination, may in fact be the intentional removal of a cranial roundel for modification and use in a similar way as these other 'amulet' producing sites, although to confirm this would require further analysis.

At a further two sites, crania had apparently been deliberately shaped into a bowl object (Wilson 1981, 129). These came from both Billingborough and Helpringham (Wilson 1981, 129).

With regard to the deliberate modification of long bone fragments, six instances are recorded from a total of three sites. These include a modified ulna shaped into a scoop like implement from Lidbury (Cunnington 1919, 35; and Whimster 1981, 185), a cut and polished humerus head, complete with perforated suspension hole, from Worlebury (Dymond 1902), and a total of four perforated femur heads from Ham Hill (Gray 1925, 64-74).

All of the above examples may be seen to mirror the discovery of modified animal bone which is more frequently found on southern English sites. This is very much in keeping with the suggestion that human and animal bone were often treated in similar ways throughout the Iron Age (Hill 1995; Cunliffe 2003, 98; Fitzpatrick 1997, 82).

3.5.5 Contexts of deposition

After exploring the various ways in which bodies were treated in death, I now want to turn attention onto the various contexts into which treated bodies were subsequently placed. Specifically, I shall consider theory relating to both pit and ditch deposition, before turning attention to foundation deposition, which has traditionally received lesser degrees of attention, and the practice of structured deposition as attested within the record of many southern English sites.

The deposition of bodies and body parts in pits and ditches

As suggested within this section and periodically throughout this chapter, bodies were traditionally, but not exclusively, deposited in both pits and boundary ditch areas throughout much of the Iron Age in southern England. While Wait (1985, 83-121) has suggested that during the earlier Iron Age human remains were often placed in ditch areas, unless not available, in which case they were deposited in pits, Fitzpatrick (1997, 82) has since argued that pit burial was the a priori form of human deposition throughout the Iron Age. There would certainly appear to be a conceptual difference in which type of depository feature was employed at any one time and between certain groups and regions (Hill *Pers. Comm.*; also discussed by Moore 2006, 110) in southern England. Thus any attempt to stipulate a blanket definition for which was normative throughout the Iron Age is misleading.

It has been suggested that pits provided an easily accessible and therefore convenient depository for dead bodies, excluding any need for the laborious excavation of graves (Whimster 1981). However, such a suggestion ignores the relative speed at which even the largest of pit features could be cut / excavated (Cunliffe 2003), and presupposes that pit features were circumstantially adapted to contain deposits of human bodies, bone(s) and objects once their original use was spent. It is possible, however, that many pit and ditch features were, at time of initial excavation, cut with a juxtaposed understanding of bounding the landscape, the storage of crops and other items, and the later structured deposition of human bodies and bones, along with other objects. This would suggest that these features may have served their communities by linking sources of life sustenance with cosmologies of death and deposition (Cunliffe 2003; 2005; Green 2002; Wait 1985).

Scott (1997, 62) suggests that boundaries impart cultural knowledge, cutting up the landscape into meaningful pieces. She further posits that as such, boundary areas are often prime places for ritual deposits of items. Certainly the ritualistic nature of boundary ditch deposition has been well documented within the Iron Age literature (Bowden and McOmish 1987; Fitzpatrick 1997; Hill 1995; Hingley 1990; Wait 1985), including the possibility of engendered differences in artefact deposition (critiqued in section 3.5), cultural statements about emic and etic identities (Fitzpatrick 1997; Hingley 1990; Parker Pearson 1999; 96) and temporal statements relating to cultural elitism (Fitzpatrick 1997). However, one should not overlook the fact that ditches were often employed for the control of people and animals (Cunliffe 2005; Hambleton 1999, chapter 1; Jones 1985). Thus both pits and ditches present as being multiply constituted, being at the same time functional and symbolic (Hingley 1984), with no apparent disjuncture between the cosmologies associated with the sacred and profane (Hill 1995, 2.4).

The deposition of bodies and body parts in ramparts

As part of his research into burial practices in Iron Age Britain, Whimster (1981, 249-252) identified a minimum of 19 instances of human depositions associated with ramparts. He suggests these as representing a specialised form of ritual performance (Whimster 1981, 29-31) distinctively different in nature to that of the Group 1 inhumation tradition (Whimster 1977). Whimster (1981) suggests that these came from a recorded 10 sites, namely, Solsbury Hill, Avon; Flower's Barrow, Hod Hill and Maiden Castle, Dorset; South Cadbury, Somerset; Budbury, Grovely Castle and Boreham Down, Wiltshire; Sutton Walls, Hereford and Worcester; and Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire. In addition to these, both Cunliffe (2003) and Wilson (1981, 133) further suggest that the site of Danebury also had rampart deposits, as did Bury Hill (Hawkes 1940, 322) and Segsbury Camp (Lock *et al* 2005). Bodies were found primarily in a crouched and sometimes bound position, both within and beneath the fabric of these hillfort ramparts (Whimster 1977, 318). However, as demonstrated by the cases of Segsbury Camp, Breedon and Budbury, these deposits did not necessarily consist of just complete or articulated bodies. For instance, the Segsbury deposition (Lock *et al* 2005) consisted of an individual humerus shaft in isolation (deposition 7365), whilst those of Breedon and Budbury consisted of disarticulated remains (Whimster 1981).

Multiple depositions of human remains were associated with ramparts at: Solsbury Hill (two individuals); Maiden Castle (four individuals); Bury Hill (two individuals); Breedon (possibly two individuals, although it is uncertain if associated); Grovely Castle (five individuals); and Budbury (numerous bodies discovered in two different rampart sections).

It has been suggested that such discoveries may be understood as representing acts of sacrificial foundation burial (Whimster 1977, 1981; Wilson 1981; Wait 1985; Scott 1988, 94). However, as argued above, acts of deposition now appear to have been far more complex than once envisaged. It is therefore possible that many different types of body treatment, such as structured deposition, mutilation, display, depersonalisation and excarnation were used in a number of different, but yet complementary ways.

The deposition of bodies and body parts in domestic contexts

A number of past authors have considered the possibility of foundation rituals (Whimster 1981; Wait 1985; Hill 1995; Green 2002, 2005; Bradley 2005), frequently involving the possible sacrifice of infants and young children (Green 2002, 154; Smith 2001), but very few have considered in detail the likely evidence of foundation offerings within a domestic context in Iron Age southern England.

To date, the most concerted effort for such a consideration has been provided by Scott (1988), who, as part of her unpublished doctoral research into Roman villas, concluded that the practice of domestic foundation offerings began during the pre-Roman Iron Age. Scott's limited research into this subject area was heavily skewed towards a consideration of intentionally offered bodies at shrine / temple structures, in which she cites several likely examples (Scott 1998, 73-80), including an associated infant burial at structure L1 from Maiden Castle (Drury 1980, 50), a young adolescent female and infant found in separate 'graves' on the northern and southern side of the stake built enclosure at Frilford (Harding 1972, 61-9; Whimster 1981, 180), an infant deposited into a pit feature within the 'shrine' at Uley (Ellison 1980, 309), and several examples of bodies in ramparts (discussed above). As part of Smith's (2001) consideration of constructed space in Iron Age southern Britain, he concludes however, that while the infants from Uley were deposited as foundation burials, those from Frilford were not. Therefore, while a matter of personal interpretation, this latter site obviously requires further specific investigation.

In addition to these examples, there is also evidence to show that intentional deposits of bodies were made within domestic structures at sites such as Beckford (Britnell 1973), Danebury (with three human deposits in house structure CS9: see Cunliffe 1984, 68), Gussage All Saints (Wainwright 1979), Winnall Down (Fasham 1985), and Poundbury (with numerous examples: see Farwell and Molleson 1993, 9 and fig. 5). This evidence contradicts the suggestion that 'house' associated deposits of human bone is absent for this period (Scott 1988).

The structured deposition of bodies and body parts

Traditionally, the ways in which archaeologists report their excavations and finds has served to provide a disjuncture in contextual analysis. As well as the fragmentation of specialist reports, each separately considered with little contextual comparison, Hill (1995, 15) has suggested that Iron Age researchers have continued to sub-classify categories of human deposition, into, for instance, ‘pit burials’, ‘burial customs’, and ‘religious and ritual locations’. Cunliffe (1983, 159-160; 1992, 76-77) has further contributed to this ontological classification by adding the category ‘special deposits’ (also discussed by Hill 1995, 2.4). This latter explanation for artefact deposition – ranging from non-preservable objects such as wood through to bodies (Hill 1995, 15) – has been specifically reconsidered by Wilson (1992), who has demonstrated its conceptual nature to be more problematic than previously envisaged.

Continuing a tradition of enquiry first set down by Richards and Thomas (1984) and Maltby (1985) in relation to the structured deposition of butchery waste in prehistoric pits and ditches (Craig, Knüsel and Carr 2005, 165), Hill (1995) first highlighted the evidence for such practices within an Iron Age British context. This important piece of research concluded that on a number of southern English sites, intentional and highly structured deposits of human and animal bone, along with other associated objects, imply a pattern of deliberate deposition, with acts of structured deposition occurring generally between every 10 and 20 years (Hill 1995, 75). Of the sites considered – all in the Wessex region – only Danebury stood out as suggesting a more frequent pattern of deposition, in which structured deposits may have been made as frequently as between once and three times per year (Hill 1995, table 1.1). Although Hill was able to demonstrate the possible frequency of deposition, ascertaining the precise timescale of such actions remains elusive. Nonetheless, Hill’s research evidenced the fact that the Iron Age archaeological record was meaningfully created and did not result through casual discard practices involving the disposal of rubbish. Rather, Hill (1995) successfully highlighted the complex nature of deposition at this time, in which humans, animals and other objects often shared some juxtaposed position within the schema of deposition. This marked an important break from more orthodox thinking, in which discoveries of human (and animal bone and other objects) was considered part of normal, everyday domestic refuse disposal, or as constituting part of a wider pattern of conventionally understood inhumation.

Hill (1995, 54-56) was able to demonstrate significant patterns of object inclusion, including that of human bone with animal bone and other small finds. Many Iron Age sites have now produced evidence of complex behaviour, in which acts of structured deposition, not only within pits but also within a number of other features (Hill, Pers. Com.), negotiated specific and temporally complex rationales. Furthermore, many deposits also appear to correlate with both vertical matrix and horizontal fill patterning, in which certain objects were intentionally placed (and not) in certain parts of feature fills (Hill 1995; Lally 2008a).

After considering the evidence for both body treatment and contexts of deposition in the Iron Age of southern England, I now wish to briefly consider the formative literature relating to who these bodies were and to why they were selected for such treatments.

3.5.6 The possibility that certain bodies were selected for certain types of treatment in death?

It appears that a minority of bodies were singled out for archaeologically visible deposition (see Section 3.5.2), and that the practice of selectivity equally applied to cremation at this time (as suggested at Wheathampstead (Fitzpatrick 1997b, 236)) and within the secondary distribution of partially excarnated bodies and limbs from sites such as Danebury (see Section 3.5.4).

Craig, Knüsel and Carr (2005, 169) recently argued that something set these people (deposited bodies) apart from the rest of the population, leading to them being treated in a way that made them archaeologically visible. Traditionally, archaeologists have cited the following explanations with regard to the identity of, and reason for, the inclusion of bodies within the Iron Age record: bodies originating through the disposal of enemies or outcasts (Bishop and Knüsel 2005; Craig, Knüsel and Carr 2005; Harding 1974; Moore 2006; Wilson 1981), the elite, unclean or sacrificed (Craig, Knüsel and Carr 2005; Cunliffe 1992, fig. 6; Green 2002; Harding 1974;

Moore 2006), those killed in warfare (Bishop and Knüsel 2005; Craig, Knüsel and Carr 2005; Cunliffe 1992; Moore 2006), victims of head hunting (Green 2002), those metaphorically capable of some synecdochical representation of the ancestors (Bishop and Knüsel 2005); those deemed suitable for inclusion within fertility rites (Bradley 1984, 159; 1990, 163-165; Cunliffe 1983, 164; 1991; 1992; Cunliffe and Poole 1991, 162; Hill 1995), and those associated with ancestral claims to the land and landscape (Bishop and Knüsel 2005). In addition to this, it has also been suggested that such individuals might represent undifferentiated, generic ancestors (Brück 1995, Fitzpatrick 1997; Parker Pearson 1996). Though, in reality, it is likely that different bodies may have been included within acts of deposition for multiple or different reasons.

3.6 Conclusions

This chapter has briefly considered past archaeological approaches to recognising human identity in Iron Age southern England. It has demonstrated that in our attempts to recognise formations of identity, we have tended to understand the Iron Age in distinctly linear ways. Until recently, this has been at the expense of recognising patterns of difference, including for example, the use of human remains in non-'burial' contexts (see Section 3.5.2). As such, rather than being part of a Celtic empire (3.4.2), southern England appears to have been distinctly different to its continental neighbours at this time, with preferential differences including the way in which bodies were treated in death (see Section 3.5) and in how people created, and interacted with, various kinds of material culture (see Section 3.4.2).

This chapter has sought to demonstrate just how complex the Iron Age really was. However, this has obviously been affected by both the agency of taphonomy (see Section 3.3), and the nature of the record itself (see Section 3.4). This later category has included the paucity of human burials and artefacts attributable to identity in the earlier Iron Age – as arguably many of these do not appear visible until the Mid-Late Iron Age onwards (see Section 3.4). This does not imply that items such as toilet sets simply did not exist prior to this, rather, as the evidence suggests, that they have not yet been recognised as part of our investigations (see Section 3.4). This has led many archaeologists to conduct research in relation to the (non)Romanisation of the body, of which there is some limited artefact-associated potentiality, at the expense of what evidence there is for earlier periods (see Section 3.4).

It is essential to recognise that any attempt to stipulate a chronological frame for the Iron Age is itself misleading (see Section 3.2). People at this time would have understood themselves in any number of different ways. Therefore, the visibility of iron working in constituting the start of an 'Iron Age' would have been understood and experienced to differing degrees by individual groups and communities. Certainly there was no wholesale change in identity formation and constitution overnight at this time.

The same might also be said for the numerous ways in which Iron Age communities treated their dead. There is indeed evidence to support some level of burial tradition – either in the form of excarnation, inhumation or cremation at this time – but, and importantly, these forms of treatments were not exclusively used in many instances and in fact present as being intertwined (see Section 3.5). Thus, excarnation may or may not have occurred in relation to inhumation and even cremation on a number of sites. It certainly did on a small number of settlements and hillforts (see Section 3.5). Furthermore, each of these forms of treatment was also used in association with the structured deposition of human and animal bone, and other objects (see Section 3.5.5). This strongly implies a juxtaposed understanding of human, animal and other object agency (see Section 3.5).

Human bodies were often treated in identical ways to animal bodies (see Section 3.4), even being butchered in a similar way in some instances (see Section 3.5). On a number of sites, there was no dichotomy-in-practice between life and death, with the exposure of dead corpses occurring within settlement areas (see Section 3.5). Bodies were also processed for deposition in multiple ways (see Section 3.5.4). Not only were they excarnated, inhumed or cremated, but they were also fragmented, harvested and even possibly moved across landscapes (see Section 3.5.4). As well as being formally buried, they were also objectified, with bones being manipulated into artefacts – as used (apparently) by the living (see Section 3.5.4). Thus, a human could become an amulet or necklace (see Section 3.5.4) as well as an ancestor – or even an ancestor through becoming an amulet or necklace!

Bodies were subjected to violence (see Section 3.5). The evidence for branding from the Danbury area may suggest either cultic or slave associations, either way, some of the bodies visible within the wider record for this period did boast skeletal trauma marking. This ranged from injuries gained during life – such as in having a broken leg or arm - through to the intentional butchering of an adolescent male as Danebury (see Section 3.5.4). Such practices were not limited to just adult bodies. There are several known examples of mutilated children also (see Section 3.5.4). The important question here relates to the reasoning and rationality behind such acts. Whilst warfare and massacre have been commonly cited in explaining such examples (see Section 3.5.4), it is also likely that these bodies and body parts come through more localised activities, possibly being inflicted upon captives or slaves (see Section 3.5.4), but also - when considering the growing evidence for structured deposition (see Section 3.5.4) - as part of the normal ways in which living people interacted with structured depositionary practices. In this way, and importantly, violence may have always been understood as normative and non-exceptional.

The presumption has been that such activities were conducted against living bodies. However, it is equally possible that those on the receiving end of such treatments were already biologically deceased (see Section 3.5.3). As the evidence from Watkins Farm suggests, biological death need not have correlated itself with a perceived social death (see Section 3.5.3). In this way, important questions can be asked in relation to when Iron Age bodies actually died: at time of biological death, or sometime after? The Watkins Farm female suggests that actual death occurred after a period of corpse retention - something also attested within the ethnographic literature.

The use of excarnation may also be seen to support such a theory (see Section 3.5.3). The fact that bodies were visually exposed (and not), has the capacity to say something of how people understood death at this time. It is likely that excarnation was employed for its processing ability to decay the corporeal body, leading, presumably, in the majority of instances, to the total invisibility of the individual through time. Perhaps this period of processing was itself associated with an understanding of life to death transition. If so, this would support the view that biologically deceased bodies were still perceived as having some form of living agency, thus possibly explaining their inclusion within the living internal settlement areas during their time of decomposition (see Section 3.5.3).

Chapter 4: Aims, objectives and methodological approach

4.1 Thesis purpose and rationale

Through an investigation of infant death, associated body treatment and deposition, this thesis will consider the formation of identity in Iron Age southern England. However, this is not a thesis solely on infancy or infant death. The aims of the study are much broader, being associated with questions such as, how was age conceptualised during the Iron Age? What did it mean to be human at this time? And, how was humanity constituted in relation to the identities of both animals and objects?

Of course, one can never fully understand the entirety of the past. Rather, for British prehistory at least, archaeologists overwhelmingly work with remnants of embodied times and lives long gone. We will never fully know what it was like to *be* human, or anything else for that matter, during the Iron Age; the chronological title itself a modern tool used to sub-define a specific period of British prehistory (see Section 3.2). We will never *understand*, in their fullest sense, either infancy or identity at this time. We will never fully *understand* anything of this period. Yet this inadequacy is to be expected and accepted. It forms part and parcel of the archaeological role. It does not *mean* that archaeology, and therefore archaeological practioners, are redundant of worth or importance. Rather, through archaeological investigative practices and methodologies, one is able to glean something about how people, animals and objects once existed in specific places, periods and, importantly, moments. This thesis therefore attempts to bridge the current modern, with an embodied period, commonly labelled as 'Iron Age'. It does not *say* that this is how things were. Rather it suggests that, based on the best evidence we have to date, *this* – meaning the interpretative value of the current thesis - is an interpretation of how things *may* have once been.

So how can archaeologists recognise suggestive patterns of reality in prehistory? Recognising a concept of infancy has primarily relied upon the recognition of skeletal remains and their osteological age, followed by the social treatment afforded to young deceased bodies in the past. However, this process relates to past treatment accorded to bodies-as-understood-through-current-modernosetological-knowledge. It does not necessarily relate to 'Iron Age' infants. In order to explore this, one must first attempt to discover whether there was ever a concept of infancy during the Iron Age. This can only be achieved by combining our modern knowledge of osteology with a wider investigation of how bodies of this age, and thereabouts, were treated socially. For the purposes of this thesis, hypothesising infancy relies on recognising patterns of different social treatments accorded to bodies of temporally differently perceived age groups, i.e. bodies of one age were treated differently to those of another age. By recognising difference, one is able to define difference. Therefore, for the purposes of the current study, recognising patterns of osteological age in the past is not enough. Identifying infancy must mean that theorised infant bodies were actually treated in different ways to those of a closely related age group, i.e. child and childhood. Otherwise, there is little to differentiate infants from children, save our own modern inventions.

As the current thesis relates to infancy and identity in Iron Age southern England, it is important to concentrate investigations on the English Iron Age data, and not to over simplify infancy by suggesting its presence based on osteology, or the presence of a similar concept in other cultures. The thesis is therefore selective in its use of both infant related discourse and mortuary data. For example, there is no attempt to off set the Iron Age results with those known for other periods in British (pre)history. Nor does the thesis cover standard mortuary analyses, such as orientation and body positioning. While details relating to these were collated where possible, they do not underpin the general aims of this thesis (as set out in the research aims, see Section 4.5). Though selective, standard forms of mortuary data are provided - where available – as part of Appendix 1.

The current chapter defines both terms and the approach taken within this study. It begins by providing a hypothesised working definition of infancy and other age ranges within the human lifecourse; both of which are subsequently tested in later chapters. This is then followed by a definition of Iron Age chronology, the investigated sample area, aims and objectives, and methods of data collation, recording and analysis.

4.2 Hypothesising infancy and a wider Lifecourse

Infancy

The term 'infancy' is variable, being defined by osteoarchaeologists and archaeologists in at least 30 different ways. In recent years, leading juvenile researchers have suggested that infancy should be defined as birth to one year of age (see Section 2.1). From the perspective of a social archaeological analysis, this model is limiting. There are numerous ethnographic and historical examples to show that infancy is often conceptualised in different ways. Many of which do not correlate with a birth to one year framework (see Section 2.1). This definition therefore allows little scope for conceptual differentiation.

However, for the purposes of analytical research, one must have some hypothesised framework in place with which to contrast the Iron Age data against. On the basis that the birth to one year frame is too restricting, I decided to base my framework upon White and Folkens' (2000, 341-2) methodology which defines infancy as occurring between birth and three years of age. Building upon this, I decided to expand the starting point to include foetushood, on the knowing basis that late foetal age and neonatal age are often hard to differentiate osteologically, and that foetal aged babies are present within the Iron Age dataset. For the purposes of this thesis, infancy is therefore hypothesised as covering the age range of late foetushood to three years.

The wider lifecourse

This is not a thesis about the Iron Age lifecourse. If one wished to undertake a study of lifecourse, then other chronological periods of (pre)history would undoubtedly lend themselves to such investigations. The Iron Age mortuary record appears to have been intentionally fragmentary (see Chapter 3); perhaps too fragmentary for an in-depth analysis to occur in relation to the identification of a socially perceived lifecourse for this period. Nonetheless, in seeking to investigate infancy, and its ability to inform upon different constructions of identity in Iron Age southern England, one must have some measurable framework within which to identify whether 'infancy' was ever a concept. Accordingly, I have continued to use White and Folkens' (2000, 341-2) aging methodology for the age categories of childhood, adolescence and adulthood.

They define childhood as being 3-12 years, adolescence as 12-20 years, and adulthood as 20+ years.

In the same way as infancy, these age categories and ranges were not adopted as a definitive model for the Iron Age lifecourse. Rather, they were employed to structure my approach to the Iron Age mortuary record, enabling me to produce a database, from which to recognise general age-at-death patterning.

While I manipulated White and Folkens' definition of infancy to include foetushood – an inclusion to be tested and not assumed – I decided not to manipulate the older age ranges.

4.3 Defining chronology

A detailed consideration of Iron Age chronology, including the framework subsequently adopted in the current thesis, is given in section 3.2. Based on Cunliffe (2005), the adopted chronological methodology defines the Iron Age as comprising: Early Iron Age (c.800-400/300 BC), Middle Iron Age (c.400/300-100BC), Late Iron Age (c.100-50BC), and Latest Iron Age (c.50BC-AD 43-100). In addition to these, and resulting through the nature of the data itself, I will further define ambiguous chronological deposits – know to originate from Iron Age contexts, though with no firmer dating evidence – as 'Iron Age' only.

4.4 Defining the study area

The investigated study area comprised 21 different modern county regions (figure 4.1); Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Essex, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Hertfordshire, Kent, London, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Somerset, Suffolk, Surrey, Sussex, and Wiltshire. Of these, 11 counties produced a total of 33 Iron Age sites which boasted infant depositions (table 4.1). Specific excavation details and a catalogue of infant depositions for each of these sites is given in Appendix 1.

• • • • •	Boundary of Study Area
•	County with Depositions

Figure 1: Map showing study area and Counties with Iron Age infant depositions (After http://www.itraveluk.co.uk/maps/england/, 13/8/07)

This is not to suggest that modern counties are representative of Iron Age regional or culturally defined occupational spaces. They most certainly are not. We have little understanding of how Iron Age peoples structured and defined their own cultural spaces, save in relation to the Roman imposed version of ‘tribal’ areas. Rather, the adoption of a county model represents a modern political entity, through which local organisations are structured. As such, many of those archaeological archives, units, trusts and societies approached for the purposes of this thesis, were structured around them. This fact made it logical to structure my data collation and analysis through them.

Counties with Depositions	Associated Site Names
Bedfordshire	Puddlehill
Cambridgeshire	Greenhouse Farm
Dorset	Flagstones
	Fordington Bottom
	Gussage All Saints
	Hod Hill
	Maiden Castle
	Poundbury
Gloucestershire	Guiting Power
	Salmonsbury
Hampshire	Danebury
	Houghton Down
	Jay’s Close (Viables II)
	Micheldever Wood
	Old Down Farm
	Owslebury
	Suddern Farm
	Winklebury
	Winnall Down / Easton Lane
Hertfordshire	Baldock
	Wick Avenue
Kent	Mill Hill
	North Foreland
Northamptonshire	Silverstone Fields Farm
	Wakerley
Oxfordshire	Frilford
	Gravelly Guy
	Segsbury Camp
Somerset	Glastonbury Lake Village
	South Cadbury
Wiltshire	Knap Hill
	Rotherley
	Yarnbury Castle

Table 1: Modern Counties and associated archaeological sites with Iron Age infant depositions

No depositions were reportedly found in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cornwall, Devon, Essex, London, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Suffolk, Surrey, and Sussex. Likely reasons for this are discussed in Section 3.3 and include taphonomic preservation (especially true for Cornwall, Norfolk and parts of Suffolk), general excavation strategies, the possibility of off-site deposition, and selective regional practices.

4.5 Research aims and objectives

4.5.1 Definitions

The following definitions are taken from MoRPHE (Management of Research Projects in the Historical Environment) Project Managers' Guide (2006, 54), primarily used for the structuring of archaeological post excavational research frameworks:

Aims: General subject areas or directions for research, generally identified in a research agenda or derived from strategic plans. For project planning purposes these are generally translated into specific Objectives.

Objectives: Specific research questions to be addressed by a project, which contribute to its high level Aims.

4.5.2 Thesis Aims

Introduction

The following seven aims set out the principal priorities of this thesis. They are complemented in the subsequent sub-section by their associated objectives, or rather, by a list of specific questions which seek to answer or inform upon the stipulated aims. Following this, the chapter then defines the methodological framework used here to achieve both the aims and objectives.

Principal Aims

1. To investigate the presence and absence of infant bodies and bones in the Iron Age mortuary record for Southern England

2 To establish a database and dataset for further investigation and analysis specifically in relation to five principal research aims, specifically:

3 (i) Was there a concept of infancy in Iron Age southern England? If so, did it vary in conceptual meaning and spatial definition throughout the period?

4 (ii) To define the nature of identity in Iron Age southern England, by investigating how the human body, animals and objects were perceived in relation to one another at this time.

5 (iii) To investigate whether temporal constructions of age played some part in defining different forms of human body treatment and deposition at this time.

6 (iv) To consider how the intentionally fragmentary human mortuary record for this period informs upon identity.

7 (v) To investigate the term ‘burial’ in relation to the term ‘deposition’; highlighting, where possible, the nature of body disposal in specific instances during the Iron Age.

4.5.3 Thesis objectives

Introduction

Drawn out of both chapters 2 and 3, the following list of objectives structures the analysis of my data and the remainder of this thesis. They employ infancy as an informer on wider identity construction in Iron Age southern England.

Objectives

- Were the bodies and bones of infants deposited on all types of Iron Age site?
- Did infant bodies enter the Iron Age record in a similar or different way to those of older individuals at this time?
- How were infant bodies treated in death?
- Did this treatment mirror practices accorded to contemporaneous older bodies?
- In what contexts were infants deposited and were these similar to those used for older remains?
- Were infants provided with grave goods?
- Is there any pathological evidence for violence against infant bodies during the Iron Age?

- Were infants structurally deposited?
- Is there any evidence for the modification of infant bone into functional objects?

4.5.4 Methodological framework

Data collection

Once I established my research aims and objectives, I set about locating and collating details of Iron Age infant depositions from across my study area. I initially sent out letters and emails to all of the archaeological SMR's / HER's, units, trusts and societies in this area. In order to achieve this, I employed the use of the IFA handbook, coupled with a wider internet search to identify which units, trusts and societies to contact. In addition to this, I also searched for and contacted a number of leading osteoarchaeologists. Knowing that this would generate mixed results – as some of these archaeological organisations and persons would be too busy to respond – I complemented this with a search of the archaeological literature for this period. This involved a general search of Whimster (1981) and Wait's (1985) publications on Iron Age burials, followed by a search of society journals and publications, the British and Irish Archaeological Bibliography (BIAB), and published Iron Age site reports.

I then compiled a list of sites and depositions, recorded on a standardised pro forma, based upon these searches, throughout my first year. Details were additionally recorded on both an Excel database and deposition catalogue. My initial attempts had been productive. From these, a number of published and unpublished sites emerged. I then spent six months chasing these details, with the aim of ascertaining whether the highlighted sites did in fact boast recorded Iron Age infant deposition details.

This involved contacting and visiting SMR's/HER's and various archives. These visits produced mixed results. Many of the sites I had previously listed as containing Iron Age infant depositions turned out to either contain no such deposits, or contained Early Romano-British burials. Furthermore, the quality of data varied immensely from one archive to the next. Many simply had 'child burial' recorded, with no further information regarding age and date. Only one archive produced a high level of recording; that of the Hampshire archive in Winchester. The remainder tended to produce poorly recorded, absent, or heavily fragmented data. In Dorset, for example, files relating to individual sites were stored in numerous places, both within the same building, or over several different parish areas. The same was true for the majority of other areas.

Further unexpected problems also involved the retention of site archives by their excavators, or societies, which, over time, were either misplaced or kept away from public viewing, and in gaining access to certain archives, due to high levels of official processing, and curatorial personal leave or absence.

Despite the complications, archival visits also allowed me access to a number of other site records. This, coupled with general subject discussions with archival staff and associated archaeologists / human osteologists, led to the discovery of additional published and unpublished depositions.

During my second year of the PhD, I reworked my pre-existing database and deposition catalogue, so as to update it with these new discoveries. I continued to search for sites up until the end of my third year, and with each additional discovery, amended my analysis accordingly. Following this, I stopped my search and concentrated efforts on the investigative analysis of what data I had.

The formation of a dataset

Database

All collated data was entered onto a coded purpose designed Windows Excel database. This comprised fourteen different subject headings, namely: County, Site Name, Type of Site, Deposition Number, Type of Deposit (state of deposition), Age at Death, Chronology, Deposition Feature, Additional Feature Details, Context of Deposition (Matrix), Orientation (if any), Body Position (if any), Associated Finds, and Additional Details/Comments. Data and additional details were listed accordingly. This enabled cross comparative analyses between counties, sites and depositions to be made.

Deposition catalogue

In addition to the database, deposition details were also updated onto a catalogue of deposits. This sought to provide easily readable basic details for each deposition in much the same way as the database, but also enabled the attachment of further details not suited to the database, including site associations, background data, and specific and problematic chronology details. A copy of this, rather than the database, is provided in appendix 1.

Subsequent analyses

Having completed my data collection and recording, I then set about analysing my data in relation to each of the principal aims and objectives. The methodology for each of these is provided, where relevant, within the following objective related chapters. It was possible to inform upon and answer each stipulated principal aim and objective; results of which are summarised in Chapter 9.

Chapter 5: Was there ever a concept of infancy during the Iron Age and if so, (1) how was it constituted, (2) did it change through time, and (3) was there any regional variability within the preferred selection of certain aged bodies for deposition?

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will seek to investigate whether ‘infancy’ was ever a conceptual life-stage within Iron Age southern England. In order to explore this, the infant dataset will be fragmented and reclassified into a number of micro sub-age categories. These will include: ‘Foetal to 3 Months’, ‘3 to 12 Months’, ‘1 to 3 Years’ and ‘Infant’. A further category of ‘0 to 1 Year’ will also be considered in instances where specific age patterning is not possible outside this twelve month period. The term ‘infant’ is replicated directly from any associated skeletal report, which, for whatever reason, failed to provide a detailed biological age other than ‘infant’.

These sub-age categories were configured through the age related evidence contained within the infant dataset itself, and therefore do not replicate the latest suggested osteological terminology used to define and sub-classify infancy (e.g. Baker *et al* 2005; Scheuer and Black 2004). While it would be desirable to have a standardized and widely accepted way for exploring the biological concept of infancy; that this was not produced in the past by the data’s associated osteologist / archaeologist, forces one to apply the best frame possible for recognising age patterning. Therefore, although this chapter will seek to fragment the dataset in order to recognise patterning, these sub-age categories seek to pull together what would have otherwise been thirty different ways of constituting and recording infancy, as determined by the dataset’s associated primary analysts (see table 5.1).

Following the sub-age investigation - and on the basis of any associated evidence - a consideration will be given to how infancy was constituted throughout the Iron Age. Specifically, this will seek to identify visible trends and changes in age related infant deposition during this time. Finally, the chapter will then consider the limitations and potentialities in exploring regional variations in infant age-related deposition through time.

Terminology Used in Associated Reporting for Defining the Presence of Infant Depositions
Infant
Foetus
0±
0+
0-1 Month
1-2 Months
0-2 Months
0-3 Months
1-3 Months
2-3 Months
3 Months
0-6 Months
4-6 Months
6 Months
6-7 Months
0-7 Months
6-12 Months
0-9 Months
10-11 Months
8 Months - 1 Year
0-1 Year
1 Year
1-2 Years
1-3 Years
18 Months
18-32 Months
20-22 Months
2-3 Years
2-4 Years
3 Years

Table 2: Terms used within associated reports for defining the infant dataset

5.2 The nature of the Iron Age mortuary record

As previously discussed (chapter 3), it is widely accepted that the deposition of human remains during the Iron Age in southern England had little to do with the formal burial of the dead. This is not to suggest that formal burial did not exist at this time, but rather that the majority of Iron Age bodies appear to have been treated and disposed of in non-visible ways. The recovery of what visible skeletal evidence there is from this time, clearly posits that only a small percentage of bodies and bones found their way into visible deposition practices. While this has inevitably been hampered by taphonomic factors (see chapter 3), it is apparent that the formal burial of corpses was not a frequent practice during the Iron Age, but rather sporadically constituted in certain areas, at certain times. Despite past attempts to associate all instances of human bone with burial, the vast majority of skeletal remains present as having originated from non-burial contexts (see Chapter 3).

This poses important limitations on interpreting Iron Age mortuary data. For instance, the fact that only a small percentage of bodies and bones appear to have been treated in archaeologically visible ways implies that they were intentionally selected for deposition, and not, therefore, treated in the same ways applied to the majority of other bodies during this period. This selectivity is especially problematic for anyone attempting to correlate the mortuary record with wider constitutions of age at this time. As a restricted and highly selective practice, it is possible that the discovery of skeletal remains for this period offers a greater potential for informing upon specific instances and acts of deposition, rather than on any temporal understanding of the wider lifecourse. However, to date, this hypothesis remains to be tested. If this was indeed the case, one might expect to find a random pattern of age-associated osteology within the deposition record at the 33 infant associated sites. While it is possible that any recognised age patterning - implying a preference in which aged human bodies or bones should be included in deposition – might also say more about the actual act of deposition itself, it might be strongly argued that the two conceptual issues – lifecourse and age-defined body or bone inclusion – were entirely intertwined.

5.3 Results

5.3.1 Was there a concept of infancy during the Iron Age?

An initial investigation in to sub-age patterning was conducted in relation to all 332 infant depositions recorded within the associated dataset. The results for this are demonstrated in figure 5.1. This evidence clearly suggests there to have been an overwhelming preference (59% of the entire dataset) for young infant bodies aged between foetus and 3 months for deposition during the Iron Age. Older infant bodies were also represented but in substantially lesser numbers (14% being aged between 3 months and 3 years). A remaining 5% of depositions were aged between 0 and 1 year. It is uncertain what role they played within age selectivity. The same can also be concluded for the presence of bodies and bones aged ambiguously as 'infant'. These constituted 22% of the entire dataset.

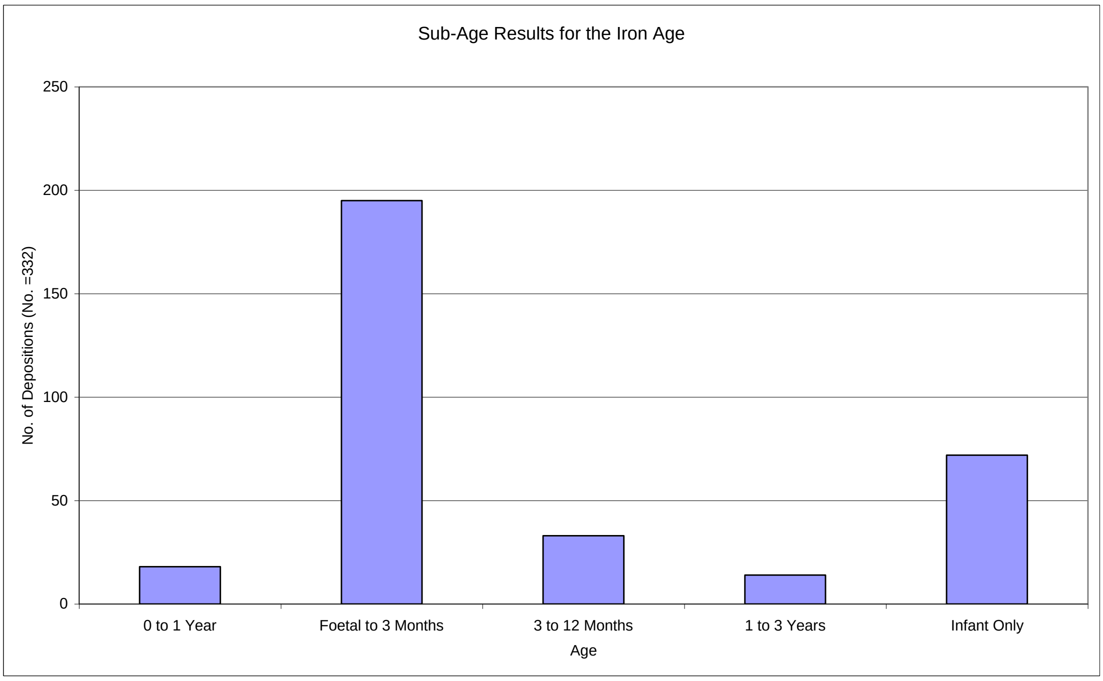


Figure 2: Breakdown of age in relation to deposition: Foetal period to 3 years

In light of this evidence, further investigations were conducted into the sub-ages of those constituted as being aged foetus to 3 months. Unlike the complex nature of the many terms used to record the older infant age categories (table 5.1), it was possible to sub-classify this category accurately (on the basis that their associative analysis was conducted properly). The results for this are displayed in figure 5.2, which clearly show an overwhelming preference for youngest infants, aged between foetus and 0+ (86% of the associated sub-sample) for deposition inclusion.

This investigation was able to show that bodies and bones aged foetus to 0+ were favoured over all other age categories. Overall, this age group constituted 50% of the entire infant dataset. This was sequentially followed (in terms of age) by 9% having been aged 0+ to 3 Months, and 14% being aged between 3 months and 3 Years. The remainder of depositions (27%) were ambiguously aged, although of these, 5% were aged somewhere between 0 and 1 year.

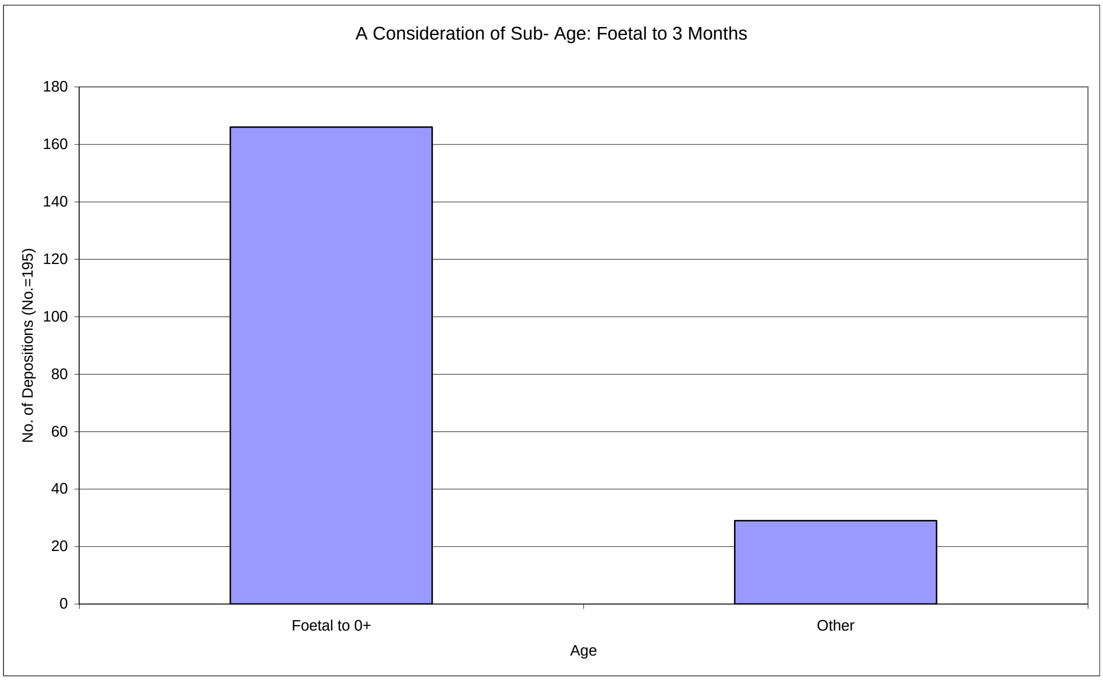


Figure 3: Breakdown of infancy (foetal period to 3 months) in relation to deposition

As such, it might be argued that (1) there was a clear preference in which bodies and bones, aged between foetus and three years, were selected and included in deposition during the Iron Age, and (2) on the strong evidence for sub-age clustering, it is indeed possible that this may have related to an understanding of the early lifecourse during this period. If this latter point is indeed an accurate reflection upon the lifecourse, then 'infancy' may have been broken into two distinct phases, that of around birth, followed by an additional period that does not appear to change significantly between 0+> and three years. It is entirely possible that what one is witnessing is in fact, a conceptualised version of infancy lasting from foetushood to 0+ (around one month) and an early transition into childhood following this time. This is discussed further in chapters 9 and 10.

5.3.2 Did the concept of infancy change through time?

In order to investigate how infancy was constituted throughout the Iron Age and whether any associated conceptual understanding of this early age category changed throughout the period, the above results were contrasted against a chronological background comprising of Early, Early to Middle, Middle, Middle to Late, Late and Late Iron Age to Earliest Roman (AD 43 ±50) periods. A consideration and definition of Iron Age chronology has been provided in Section 3.2. The results for this investigation are given in figure 5.3.

As detailed in figure 5.2, there was a clear preference for bodies and bones aged between foetus and 0+. This preference was consistently replicated throughout the entire Iron Age in southern England. There is a presence of ambiguously aged infant osteology in all periods other than the Middle to Late Iron Age, though this may be a result of the blurred nature of the adopted chronological frame. As such, there is no generic evidence to suggest that the concept of infancy, as discussed in the above section, changed during the Iron Age. Rather it would seem that the concept of infancy remained relatively stable throughout, although the inclusion of infant bodies and bones would seem to have increased during the course of 800+ years, peaking during the Late Iron Age.

On the basis that there was a correlation between age related deposition and a perceived wider Iron Age lifecourse, this evidence offers a potentially important insight into concepts of age throughout this time. This is especially significant for the Early and Middle Iron Age periods, at times which are commonly cited as having a paucity of identity associated evidence (see Chapter 3). While it is entirely possible that the Early and Middle Iron Age was constituted by group identities, with notions of individuality first becoming apparent during the later period, this investigation has clearly demonstrated that concepts of age may have been temporally static throughout. This would certainly appear true for infancy and remains possible for other age categories outside three years.

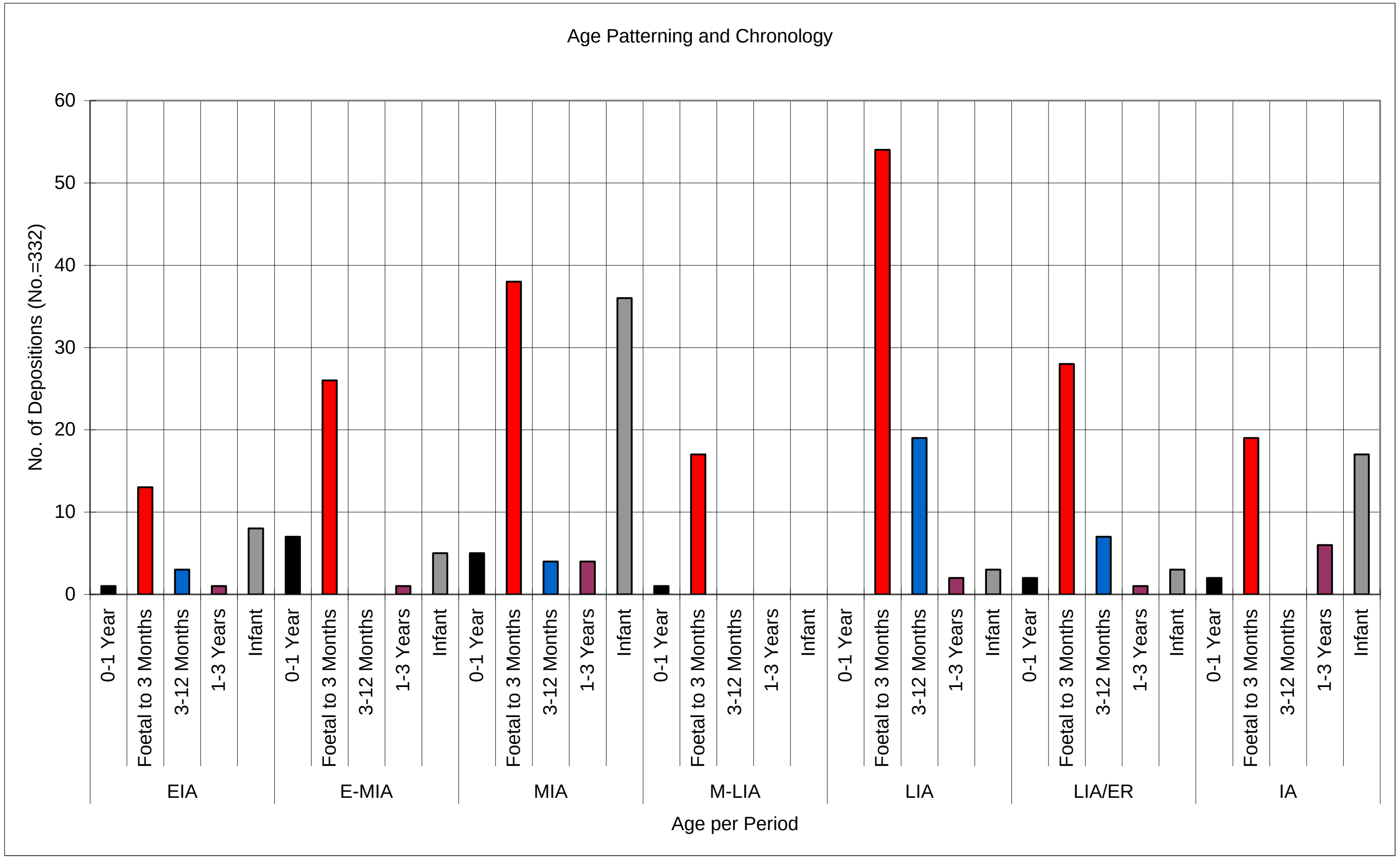


Figure 4: Breakdown of age in relation to deposition: Showing chronological patterning

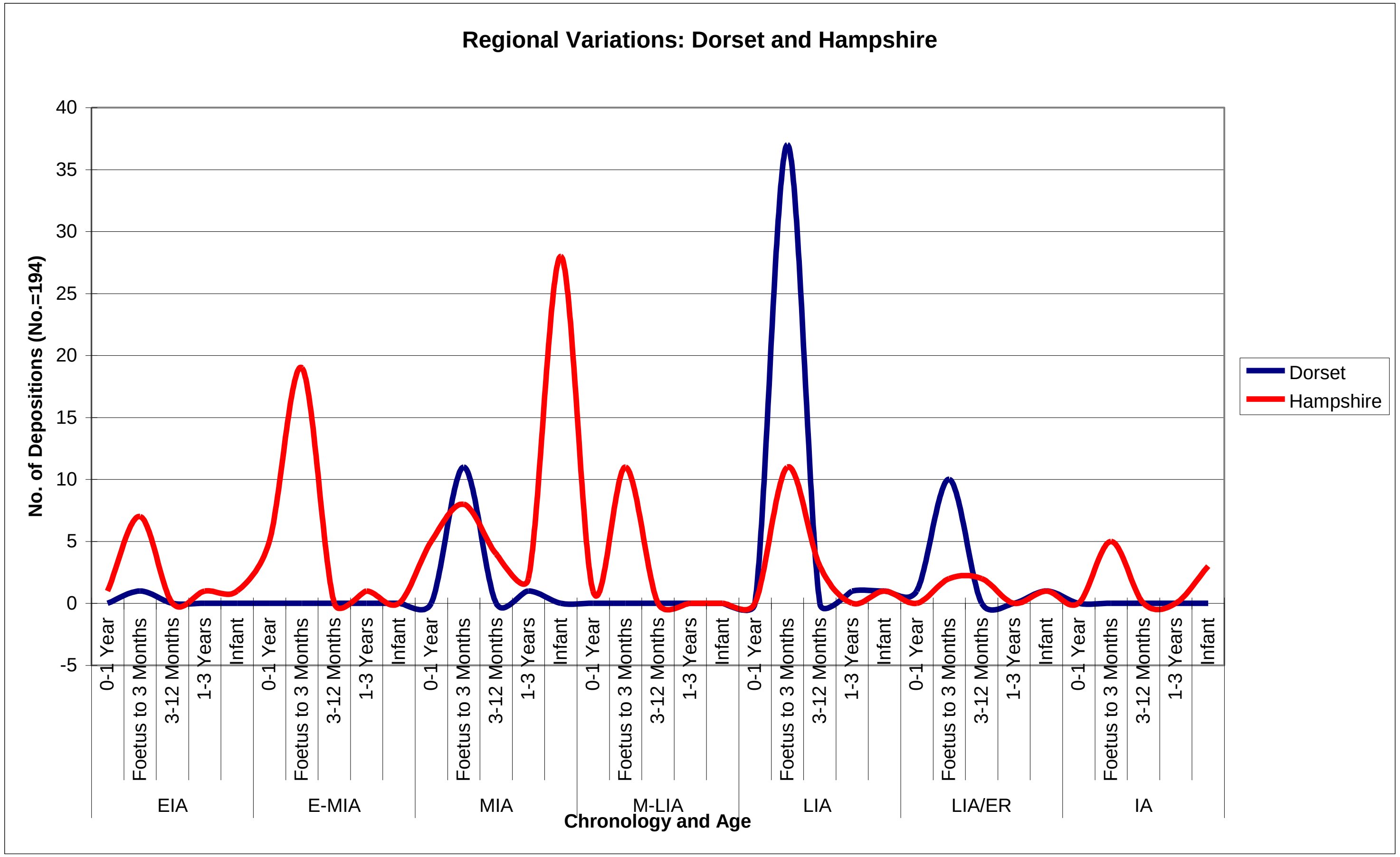


Figure 5: Variations in the regional selective use of infant bodies and bones throughout the Iron Age

5.3.3 Considering regional variability

In having established the stable nature of ‘infancy’ as a conceptual life stage in the Iron Age in southern England, investigations were then conducted in relation to any patterns of regional variability. However, ascertaining evidence in relation to this was problematic from the start. To begin with, the dataset was formed through recognised deposits of infant bodies and bones in eleven southern English counties (see table 6.1). Two of these produced only one associated site, with both Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire having only two associated depositions each. A further five counties contained just two associated sites, with: Gloucestershire producing just three depositions; Hertfordshire producing five depositions; Kent producing six depositions; Northamptonshire producing nineteen depositions; and Somerset producing thirty-one depositions. Two other counties produced just three associated sites, with Oxfordshire boasting forty-nine associated depositions, and Wiltshire, twenty-one.

Although four of these counties produced in excess of eighteen associated depositions (Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Somerset and Wiltshire), the fact that they all came from so few associated sites severely limits a proper consideration of regional variability. As such, the focus of the investigation turned onto the two largest site and deposition producing counties, namely Dorset and Hampshire, the first of which produced 73 depositions from six sites, and the latter 121 depositions from nine associated sites. It was decided that these two geographic neighbours would present more reliable sub-data sets with which to explore patterns of similarity and difference throughout the Iron Age (see figure 5.4).

As figure 5.4 demonstrates, there was some regional variation between Dorset and Hampshire in terms of which ages of infancy were preferentially included throughout the Iron Age. Hampshire produced a relatively stable profile for deposition, within infant bodies and bones first being encountered in Early Iron Age features, increasing in numbers up until the Middle Iron Age, at which time this form of deposition clearly peaked, before continuing into the Later Iron Age. This analysis concluded that young infant bodies and bones, aged between foetus and three months were favoured in Hampshire during all phases except the Middle Iron Age. It is likely that this age group was also favoured during this period, though the greatest incidence rate of ambiguously aged bodies and bones occurred at this time, making any formative conclusion inappropriate.

In contrast, the Dorset data suggests paucity in depositions dating to the Early Iron Age, with only a single foetus to three month deposit occurring at Hod Hill at this time. Rather it would seem that the deposition of infant bodies and bones first substantially occurred during the Middle Iron Age, peaking during the Later period in Dorset, from which time the bodies and bones of infants aged foetus to three months were also favoured in a similar way to elsewhere.

This evidence suggests a differential numerical and chronological patterning for Iron Age infant deposition in Dorset and Hampshire, yet in terms of which ages were most preferred for deposition inclusion, the evidence from both counties supports the overall patterning for southern England.

5.4 Discussion

This chapter has explored: (1) whether infancy was ever a conceptual lifecourse stage during the Iron Age in southern England, (2) if so, how infancy was constituted over time, and (3) whether there were any regional variations in how infancy was constituted. In order to investigate this, the infant dataset was fragmented into five sub-age groups, namely ‘Foetus to 3 Months’, ‘3 to 12 Months’, ‘0 to 1 Year’, ‘1 to 3 Years’ and ‘Infant’ (table 5.1). These sub-categories sought to order and structure the data in a suitable way for analysis. Prior to this, the 332 associated infant depositions were recorded in thirty different ways, each within the foetus to three year age range (table 5.1).

Prior to conducting the investigation, the nature of the wider Iron Age mortuary record was again considered (discussed in detail in chapter 3). In particular, emphasis was given to the fact that the record for this period was both intentionally limited and created, with a highly selective rationale employed by Britons in relation to what bodies, body parts and human bones should be included within acts of deposition. In contrast, the majority of bodies for this period were directed into different acts and practices, commonly associated with the disintegration of the corpse and its associated presence visibility.

This intentional selection of bodies and bones places important limitations of interpreting mortuary data for this period. For instance, the majority of skeletal remains appear to have originated from non-burial contexts, being included in specific acts of deposition. On this basis, encounters with human bone dating from the Iron Age might actually say more about deposition rationales rather than any perceived understanding of wider age and its associated lifecourse. It has been suggested that one might therefore expect to find a random inclusion of all aged bone within these deposits and that any contradictory evidence might actually imply a juxtaposition between the lifecourse and deposition rationale (see Section5.2).

Evidence of juxtaposition did indeed emerge as part of the initial investigation, which specifically sought to identify sub-age patterning within the entire infant dataset. What emerged was an overwhelming preferential selection of bodies and bones age foetus to 3 months for deposition inclusion (figure 5.1). These constituted 59% of the entire dataset, followed by just 14% of depositions being aged between three months and three years.

This cluster patterning was then further explored at the micro level, with the age range ‘Foetus to 3 Months’ being further fragmented into two other sub-categories, namely around birth (foetus to 0+) and 0+ to three months. As demonstrated by figure 5.2, 86% of the associated infants were aged ‘around birth’ at time of deposition. Just 14% were aged between 0+ and three months. In returning to the entire dataset, these results meant that 50% were now found to have been aged ‘around birth’, while 23% were aged 0+ to three years.

On the basis of this evidence it is now possible to demonstrate that (1) there was a clear preferential selection and inclusion of bodies aged ‘around birth’ within Iron Age infant-associated deposition rationales across southern England, and that (2) there was a likely juxtaposed relationship between the wider lifecourse and the rationale for deposition selection and inclusion at this time – implied by the strength of the sub-age cluster evidence. Furthermore, (3) there were no other obvious age preferences within the 0+ to three year age range.

After exploring these issues, the above results were then contrasted against a chronological background, so as to explore sub-age preferences over time. The results for this (figure 5.3) showed no changes, with the previously apparent preference for youngest infants having been evidenced throughout the Iron Age. The only variability came in relation to the numerical presence of infant bodies and bones, which appeared to increase throughout the course of the period.

This evidence is of particular importance to understanding how conceptual infancy was constituted throughout the Iron Age, especially in relation to the Early and Middle periods, both of which are commonly interpreted as having a paucity of identity associated evidence (chapter 3). The infant data provides some fascinating insights into the likely formation of earliest age at this time. Specifically, it implies that the concept of infancy remained relatively stable throughout the Iron Age. This suggests the possibility that earliest age may have been a socially structuring factor of identity throughout the entirety of the Iron Age (discussed in relation to other age groups in chapter 6).

In order to explore this stability further, investigations were then made in relation to the possibilities and limitations of regional variability through time (see Section 5.3.3). This consideration was hampered by the fragmentary nature of the infant record for this period and specifically the fact that the record presents as having largely been constituted through (1) either few depositions from a limited number of sites and regions, or (2) a greater number of depositions from a limited number of sites and regions. As a result of this, it was decided that the analysis would be conducted in relation to the two numerically largest deposition and site producing counties from within the sample area, namely Dorset and Hampshire.

The results for this consideration are provided by figure 5.4. These results clearly reinforce the fact that the conceptual nature of infancy remained relatively stable throughout the Iron Age, even though there were apparent chronological differences in when infant bodies and bone were included within deposition rationales. For instance, the Hampshire data demonstrated a relative consistency in the selection and use of infant bodies and bones for deposition in all periods, peaking during the Middle Iron Age. In contrast, the Dorset data suggests that infant deposition was less favoured (but still minimally apparent) during the Early Iron Age, visibly increasing from the Middle Iron Age and peaking during the Late period.

The next chapter will seek to explore this data further in relation to regional concepts of the wider lifecourse as attested within the infant-led record for the associated 33 sites.

Chapter 6: Infancy as an informer on possible wider concepts of the lifecourse in Iron Age southern England

6.1 Introduction

Having established a correlation between the rationale for Iron Age deposition and the earliest lifecourse in chapter 5, this chapter will explore the possibility that other lifecourse stages are also represented in the deposition record at the 33 infant associated sites. The following analysis therefore specifically aims to identify other transitional life stages, such as childhood, adolescence and adulthood and to compare any representation with the above infant data.

6.2 Methods and data

In order to explore the possibility that other lifecourse stages were represented in the associated deposition record, a general database for all ages of encountered human bone at the 33 sites was created. Minimum numbers of depositions and associated aging details were drawn directly from the available primary sources, including field notes and later reports. The reason for cataloguing this record was to provide a comparative demographic body of data relating to 'age included in acts of deposition', with which to then contrast and explore the infant dataset against, in relation to repetitive age patterning. Although referenced as part of table 6.1, for the purposes of this contrastive analysis, any encountered un-aged human bone was excluded from the following investigation.

The results of this investigation are given in table 6.1, where each of the age categories: infant, child, adolescent and adult are recorded, along with non-specifically aged human bone deposits. With the exception of infancy, all other sub-age categories were based upon White and Folkens (2000, 341-2), who defined a 'child' as being 3-12 years, an 'adolescent' as 12-20 years, and an 'adult' as 20+ years. The methodology for sub-classifying infancy has already been provided in 6.1.

Counties	Sites	Infant	Child	Adolescent	Adult	Non-Specific
Bedfordshire	Puddlehill	2	1	0	1	0
Cambridgeshire	Greenhouse Farm	2	0	0	2	0
Dorset	Flagstones	1	1	1	5	0
	Fordington Bottom	3	0	0	12	0
	Gussage All Saints	38	0	0	15	0
	Hod Hill	1	1	0	6	3
	Maiden Castle	13	6	3	65	0
	Poundbury	17	15	0	27	0
Gloucestershire	Guiting Power	1	0	0	0	0
	Salmonsbury	2	0	0	6	0
Hampshire	Danebury	22	31	28	113	49
	Houghton Down	1	0	0	1	3
	Jay's Close (Viables II)	1	0	0	1	0
	Micheldever Wood	17	0	1	2	0
	Old Down Farm	5	0	0	0	0
	Owslebury	16	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent
	Suddern Farm	25	9	0	31	0
	Winklebury	2	0	2	17	0
	Winnall Down / Easton Lane	32	3	2	15	0
Hertfordshire	Baldock	4	Absent	Absent	Absent	4
	Wick Avenue	1	0	0	1	0
Kent	Mill Hill	2	4	6	26	0
	North Foreland	4	0	0	7	0
Northamptonshire	Silverstone Fields Farm	5	0	0	0	0
	Wakerley	14	0	0	0	0
Oxfordshire	Frilford	1	0	1	0	0
	Gravelly Guy	47	2	1	22	1
	Segsbury Camp	1	0	0	12	0
Somerset	Glastonbury Lake Village	10	0	0	22	0
	South Cadbury	21	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent
Wiltshire	Knap Hill	1	0	0	0	0
	Rotherley	11	1	0	15	0
	Yarnbury Castle	9	1	0	2	0
	Total	**332**	**75**	**45**	**426**	**90**

Table 3: Numbers of aged deposits at the 33 associated sites

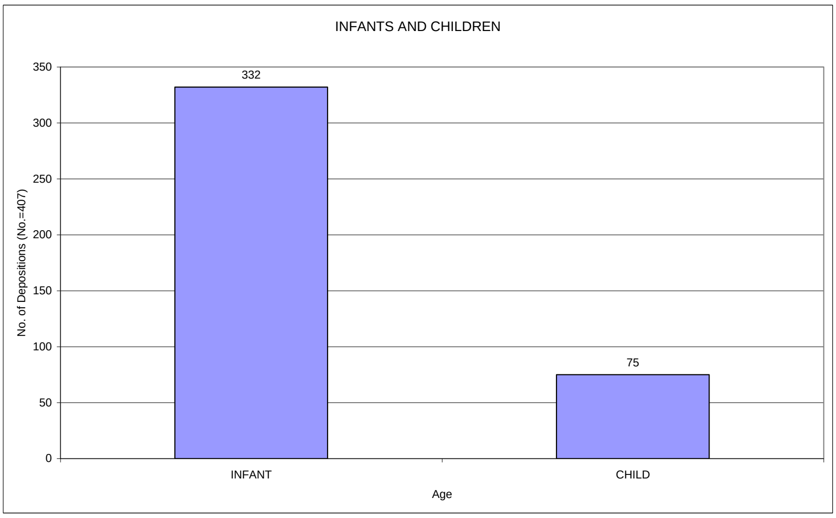
6.3 Results

Infant bodies and bone

The specific results for infancy are discussed in chapter 5. Infants, aged foetus to 3 years constituted 38% of the entire associated dataset, forming the second largest represented age category in the Iron Age record. Interpretations of this are provided in 6.5.

Child bodies and bone

As demonstrated by figure 6.1, 75 child depositions (18% of the entire sample) originated from the 33 associated sites. These came from a total of twelve site locations in six southern counties, namely: Bedfordshire, Dorset, Hampshire, Kent, Oxfordshire and Wiltshire (Table 6.1). There were 64% more infants than children at these sites. Only two sites contained over ten child depositions. These were Danebury in Hampshire and Poundbury in Dorset.

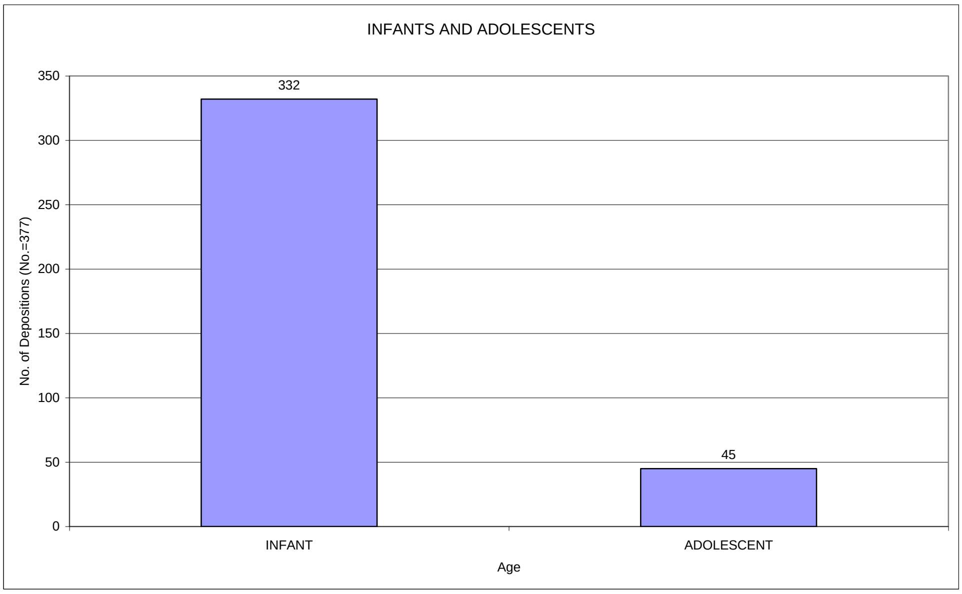


Site	No. Infants	No. Children
Puddlehill	2	1
Flagstones	1	1
Hod Hill	1	1
Maiden Castle	13	6
Poundbury	17	15
Danebury	22	31
Suddern farm	25	9
Winnall Down/Easton Lane	32	3
Mill Hill	2	4
Gravelly Guy	47	2
Rotherley	11	1
Yarnbury Castle	1	1

Figure 6: A comparison of infant and child data

At Danebury, virtually all child depositions originated from pit features, whilst at Poundbury, many of the children were found in 'graves'. However, many of these 'graves' were clearly associated with other features and structures. For example Farwell and Molleson (1993: 171-181) has highlighted how, during the Late Iron Age, infants and children were frequently deposited in close proximity to the settlement site, occurring in: ditches (SK 273); within buildings (SKs 1249; 1371; 1376; 1379; 1380; 1383; 1386; 1387-1394); and in construction trenches (SK 253) (Farwell and Molleson 1993: 13; 253; 260; 300; 301; Fig. 5).

Adolescent bodies and bone



Site	No. Infants	No. Adolescents
Fordington Bottom	1	1
Maiden Castle	13	3
Danebury	22	28
Micheldever Wood	17	1
Winklebury	2	2
Winnall Down/Easton Lane	32	2
Mill Hill	2	6
Frilford	1	1
Gravelly Guy	47	1

Figure 7: A comparison of infant and adolescent data

As figure 6.2 demonstrates, 45 deposits of adolescent human bone (13% of the entire sample) were uncovered at the 33 infant associated sites. This bone came from nine different sites, within four southern counties, namely: Dorset, Hampshire, Kent and Oxfordshire (table 6.1). Danebury was the only site to produce more than ten adolescent deposits, with all other associated sites producing between one and six depositions. At Danebury twenty-eight adolescents were discovered in pit features, a factor in keeping with the overwhelming majority of human bone at this site (Cunliffe 2003: 149). In an identical way to child depositions, there were 64% more infant depositions than adolescent ones at these sites.

Adult bodies and bone

Adult depositions were the most frequently encountered human bone group at infant associated sites, with 426 instances (56% of the entire sample). Infant bone represented the second largest group with 332 instances. Adult bone was found in all associated counties other than Northamptonshire, and on 24 of the 33 study sites.

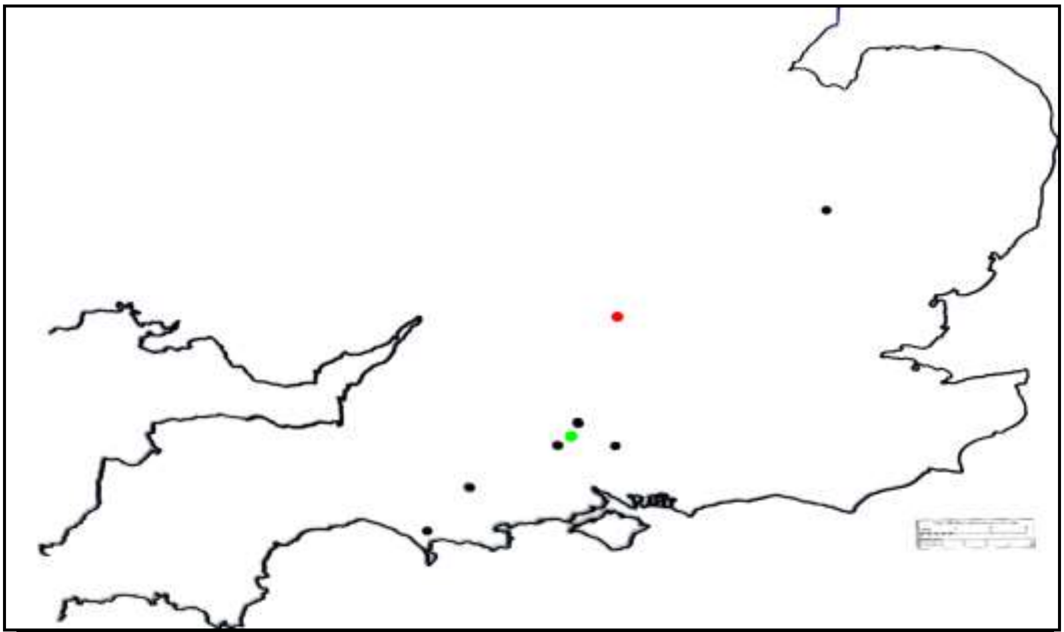
6.4 Why these results do not reflect an expected mortuary profile: a matter of site variability

Figures 6.3 to 6.5 set out density results of numbers of infant depositions per site and per period. Further demographic details of all other ages per site are displayed above in Table 6.1. Combined, these results appear to suggest an overall patterning reflective of an expected mortuary profile, as based on the basic bimodal pattern of attritional mortality, in which the youngest and oldest individuals are at greater risk of death (Chamberlain 2006, 181).

However, this overall patterning does not reflect the fact that the combined dataset was created through heavily fragmented and variable sub-datasets, i.e. differently treated bodies from 33 different Iron Age sites. Based upon the wider evidence for the treatment and deposition of human bodies at this time (see Chapter 3), it is likely that these sub-datasets did not originate through a uniform and geographically widespread cultural practice. Rather, each site may have treated and deposited the body in different, multiple and temporally co-existent ways (see Chapter's 3 and 7). As such, the combination of these sub-datasets appears to have homogenised this variability.

As discussed in Sections 1.3, 3.5.5 and Chapter 8, several of these forms of body treatment were associated with a perceived understanding of the body as object; in which human bodies and bones were treated, curated and deposited as forms of materiality in an equal and comparative way to animal bone, objects and environmental materials. As such, what may superficially appear to be representative of a bimodal attritional mortuary profile was in fact created through complex, fragmented and highly variable activities associated with multiple depositional and burial rationales.

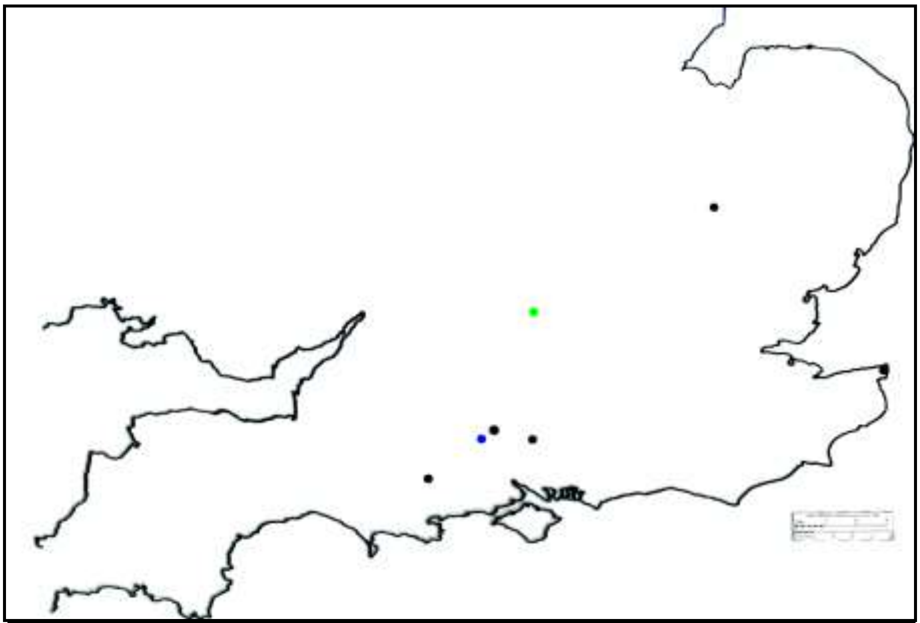
Furthermore, the human depositional record for each site may have been formed through acts of deposition that occurred in small numbers over a long period of time. The following figures show the chorological profile of numbers of infant depositions per site.



Key	Number of Depositions Per Period
	1 to 4
	5 to 9
	10 to 19
	20+

County	Site	Number
Cambs.	Greenhouse Farm	1
Dorset	Hod Hill	1
Dorset	Maiden Castle	1
Hants.	Danebury	5
Hants.	Old Down Farm	1
Hants.	Suddern Farm	1
Hants.	Winnall Down / Easton Lane	3
Oxon.	Gravelly Guy	13

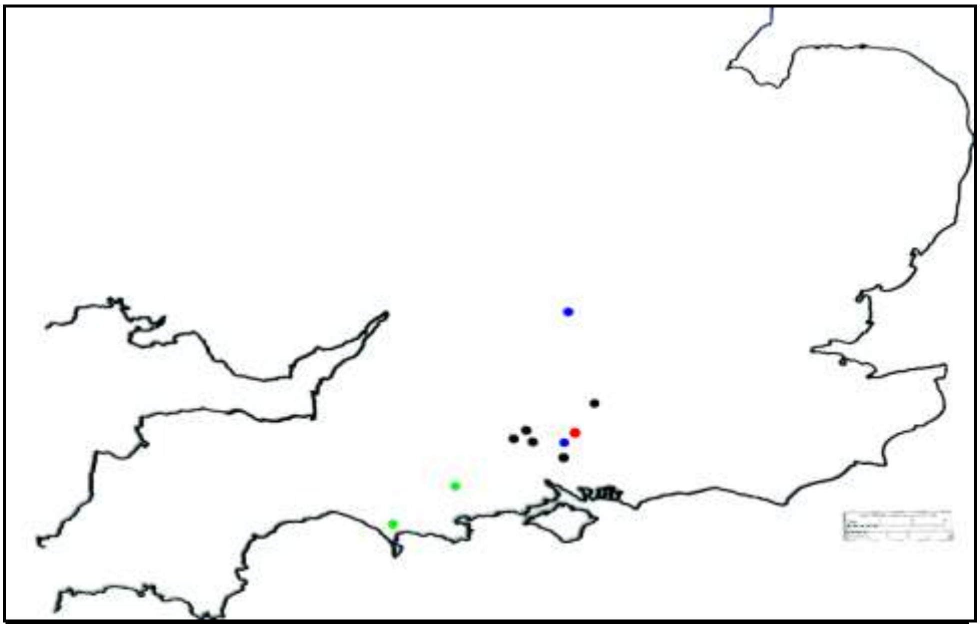
Figure 8: Map showing the density and location of all Early Iron Age infant depositions



KEY	NUMBER OF CORRESPONDING DEPOSITIONS
	1 to 4
	5 to 9
	10 to 19
	20+

County	Site	Number
Cambs.	Greenhouse Farm	1
Dorset	Gussage All Saints	1
Hants.	Danebury	3
Hants.	Suddern Farm	22
Hants.	Winnall Down / Easton Lane	1
Kent	North Foreland	4
Oxon.	Gravelly Guy	7

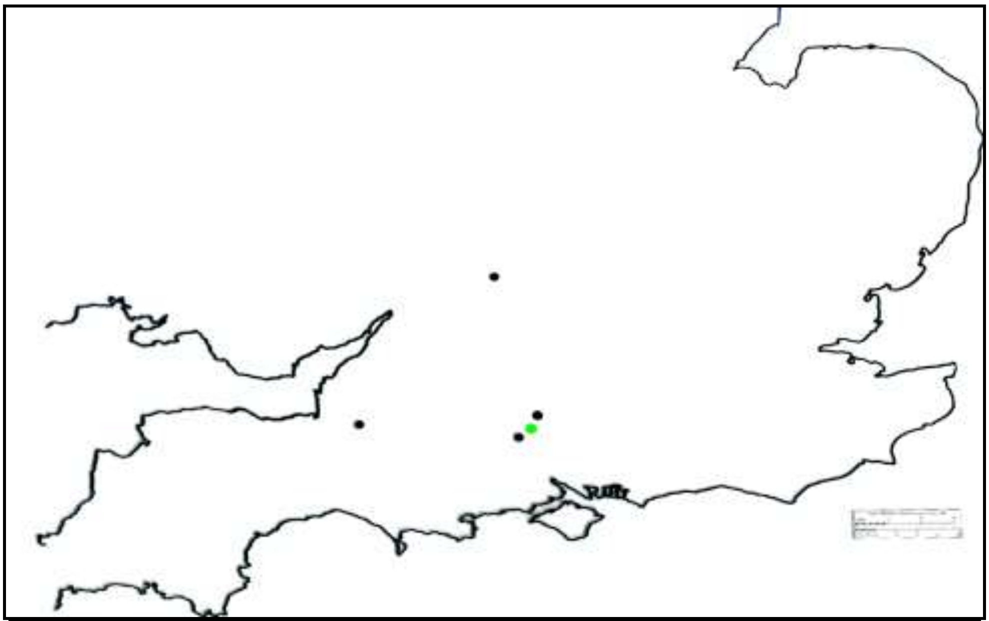
Figure 9: Map showing the density and location of all Early to Middle Iron Age infant depositions



KEY	NUMBER OF CORRESPONDING DEPOSITIONS
Black	1 to 4
Green	5 to 9
Red	10 to 19
Blue	20+

County	Site	Number
Dorset	Gussage All Saints	6
Dorset	Maiden Castle	5
Hants.	Danebury	2
Hants.	Houghton Down	1
Hants.	Micheldever Wood	13
Hants.	Owslebury	2
Hants.	Suddern Farm	1
Hants.	Winklebury	2
Hants.	Winnall Down / Easton Lane	25
Oxon.	Gravelly Guy	29

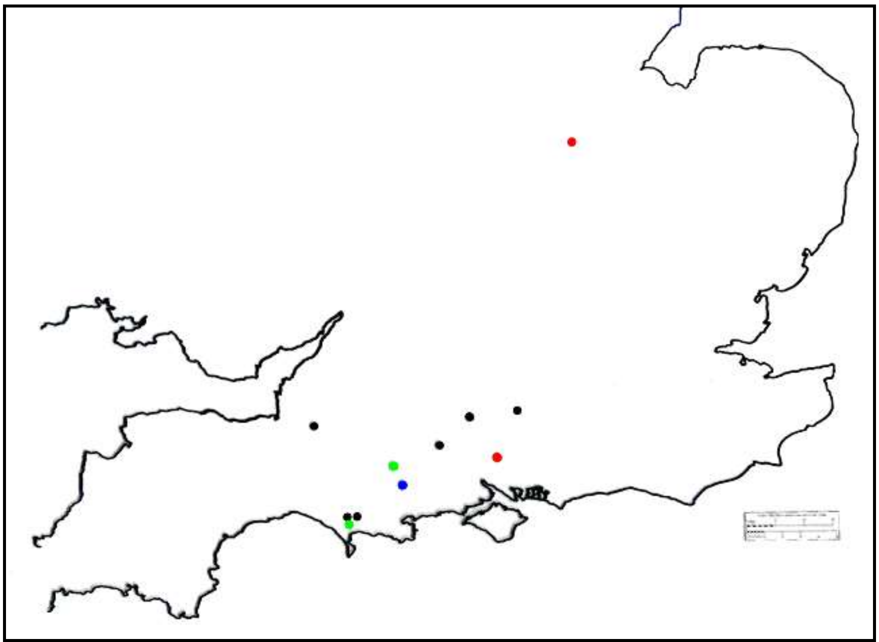
Figure 10: Map showing the density and location of all Middle Iron Age infant depositions



KEY	NUMBER OF CORRESPONDING DEPOSITIONS
■ (black)	**1 to 4**
■ (green)	**5 to 9**
■ (red)	**10 to 19**
■ (blue)	**20+**

County	Site	Number
Glos.	Salmonsbury	2
Hants.	Danebury	8
Hants.	Old Down Farm	3
Hants.	Suddern Farm	1
Somerset	Glastonbury	4

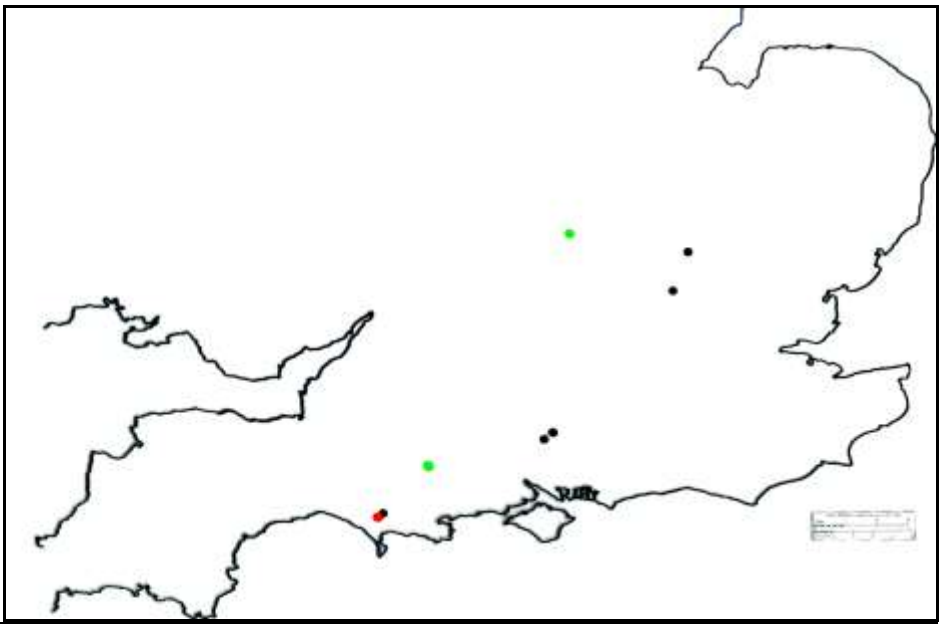
Figure 11: Map showing the density and location of all Middle to Late Iron Age infant depositions



KEY	NUMBER OF CORRESPONDING DEPOSITIONS
Black	1 to 4
Green	5 to 9
Red	10 to 19
Blue	20+

County	Site	Number
Beds.	Puddlehill	2
Dorset	Flagstones	1
Dorset	Gussage All Saints	31
Dorset	Maiden Castle	7
Dorset	Poundbury	2
Hants.	Viables II (Jay's Close)	1
Hants.	Old Down Farm	1
Hants.	Owslebury	13
Northants.	Wakerley	14
Somerset	Glastonbury Lake Village	1
Wilts.	Rotherley	5

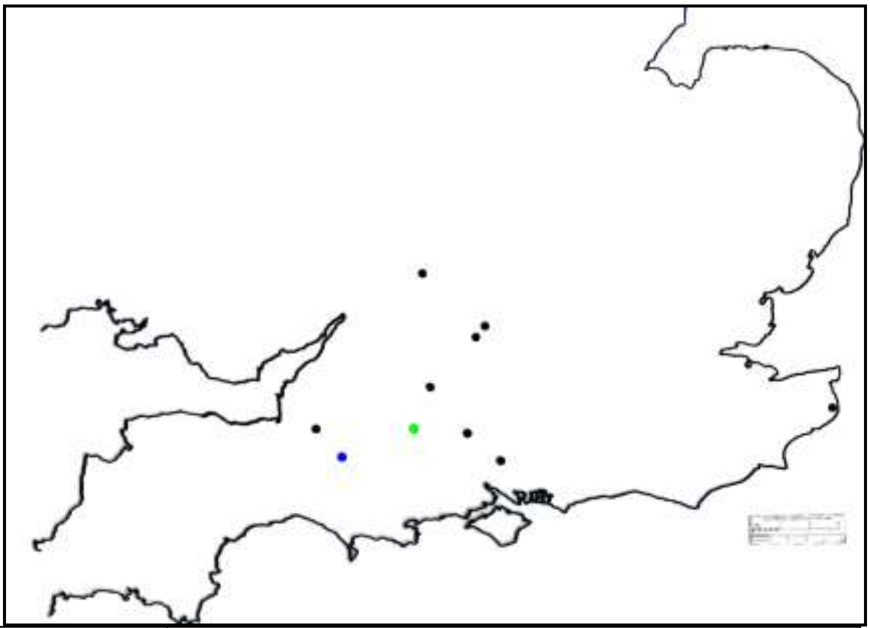
Figure 12: Map showing the density and location of all Late Iron Age infant depositions



KEY	NUMBER OF CORRESPONDING DEPOSITIONS
(black)	**1 to 4**
(green)	**5 to 9**
(red)	**10 to 19**
(blue)	**20+**

County	Site	Number
Dorset	Fordington Bottom	3
Dorset	Poundbury	15
Hants.	Micheldever Wood	4
Hants.	Winnall Down / Easton Lane	3
Herts.	Baldock	4
Herts.	Wick Avenue	1
Northants.	Silverstone Fields Farm	5
Wilts.	Rotherley	6

Figure 13: Map showing the density and location of all Latest Iron Age infant depositions



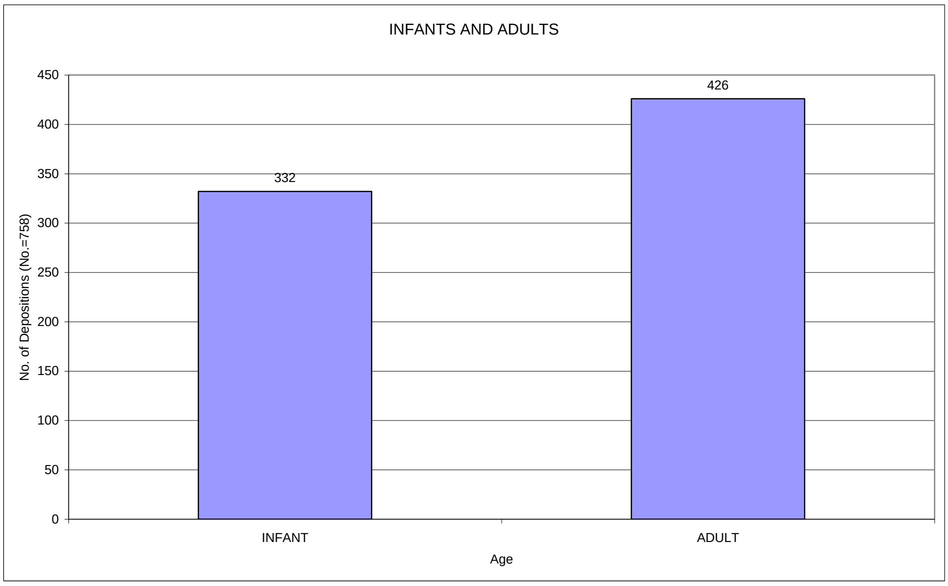
KEY	NUMBER OF CORRESPONDING DEPOSITIONS
	1 to 4
	5 to 9
	10 to 19
	20+

County	Site	Number
Glos.	Guiting Power	1
Hants.	Danebury	4
Hants.	Owslebury	1
Kent	Mill Hill	2
Oxon.	Frilford	1
Oxon.	Segsbury Camp	1
Somerset	Glastonbury Lake Village	3
Somerset	South Cadbury	21
Wilts.	Knap Hill	1
Wilts.	Yarnbury Castle	9

Figure 14: Map showing the density and location of all Unphased Iron Age infant depositions

6.5 Discussion

The above results suggest that during the Iron Age in southern England, a concept of earliest infancy occurred around the time of birth (foetus and 0+). Infants comprised 38% of the entire lifecourse sample from the 33 associated sites. Outside earliest infancy, inclusion rates for other ages dropped considerably until adulthood. Deposits of bodies and bones aged 0+> to 20 years comprised only 31% of the entire sample. In contrast the inclusion rate of adult bodies and bones constituted 56% of the sample.



Site	No. Infants	No. Adults
Puddlehill	2	1
Greenhouse Farm	2	2
Flagstones	1	5
Fordington Bottom	3	12
Gussage All Saints	38	15
Hod Hill	1	6
Maiden castle	13	65
Poundbury	17	27
Salmonsbury	2	6
Danebury	22	113
Houghton Down	1	1
Jay's Close	1	1
Micheldever Wood	17	2
Suddern Farm	25	31
Winklebury	2	17
Winnall Down/Easton Lane	32	15
Wick Avenue	1	1
Mill Hill	2	26
North Foreland	4	7
Gravelly Guy	47	22
Segsbury Camp	1	12
Glastonbury Lake Village	10	22
Rotherley	11	15
Yarnbury Castle	9	2

Figure 15: A comparison of infant and adult data

Only at Danebury does one find a relatively large inclusion rate (by Iron Age standards) of all aged bodies and bones during the Iron Age. Elsewhere the evidence is more sporadic and site variable (see Figure 6.4), though primarily associated with infant and adult remains.

On the basis of the above evidence, there is no apparent age transition for childhood or adolescence, with a relatively stable but minimal inclusion of bodies from the age of 0+> up to 20 years. This would either suggest that (1) there was no concept of childhood or adolescence on these sites during the Iron Age, or (2) that the associated data is not representative of the wider lifecourse at this time, or that (3) the specific ages of infancy and adulthood were simply favoured for reasons unknown over children and adolescents within these associated deposition rationales. These possibilities are discussed and theorised in chapter 9.

As discussed in Section 6.4, importantly, the overall infant and wider human demographic profile was created through highly variable individual site based profiles. These individual sub-datasets were themselves often created through multiple, yet temporally co-exiting rationales underpinning the treatment, curation and deposition of small numbers of human bodies and bones, over considerable periods of time. In many instances, human deposition had little if nothing to do with the formal burial of the person per se. When offset against the variability of these sub-datasets and the selective and multiple nature of human body treatment and deposition at this time, the wider demographic profile of the combined 33 sites, does not amount to an expected bimodal attritional mortality profile. Rather, and as stated in Section 6.4, the combination of these fragmented and complex sub-datasets appears to have homogenised their variability.

Chapter 7: Were infants treated in similar or different ways to older individuals in death during the Iron Age?

7.1 Introduction

Having established that there was a juxtaposed selection of bodies and bones aged ‘around birth’ and ‘adult’ within the deposition rationales at the 33 associated sites, and that it is possible that an understanding of the lifecourse at this time reinforced the selection of bodies and bones for deposition (Section 6.4), this chapter will seek to explore whether infants and older individuals were treated in similar or differential ways in death.

7.2 Were infant bodies and bones deposited on all types of sites during the Iron Age and during all periods?

As detailed in Table 7.1, infant bodies and bones were discovered on all types of sites throughout Iron Age, including settlements, hillforts and in cemetery areas (sites are individually classified in Appendix 1). Of the 33 sample sites, twenty were settlements, eleven were hillforts, five were multi-use sites, combining either hillfort or settlement with associated cemetery areas, and two presented as being isolated cemetery areas. This evidence clearly demonstrates that infants were not conceptually excluded from any type of occupational site. Whilst not present on all sites (possibly not only a result of selectivity but also taphonomic factors and excavation strategies), infant bodies and bones out numbered those of other age categories at eleven of the 33 sites (see Table 7.1).

County	Site	Type of Site
Bedfordshire	Puddlehill	Settlement
Cambridgeshire	Greenhouse Farm	Settlement / Cemetery
Dorset	Flagstones	Settlement
	Fordington Bottom	Cemetery
	Gussage All Saints	Settlement
	Hod Hill	Hillfort
	Maiden Castle	Hillfort
	Poundbury	Hillfort / Cemetery
Gloucestershire	Guiting Power	Settlement
	Salmonsbury	Hillfort
Hampshire	Danebury	Hillfort
	Houghton Down	Settlement
	Jay’s Close (Viables II)	Settlement
	Micheldever Wood	Settlement
	Old Down Farm	Settlement
	Owslebury	Settlement / Cemetery
	Suddern Farm	Settlement / Cemetery
	Winklebury	Hillfort
	Winnall Down / Easton Lane	Settlement
Hertfordshire	Baldock	Settlement
	Wick Avenue	Settlement
Kent	Mill Hill	Cemetery
	North Foreland	Hillfort
Northamptonshire	Silverstone Fields Farm	Settlement
	Wakerley	Settlement
Oxfordshire	Frilford	Settlement
	Gravelly Guy	Settlement
	Segsbury Camp	Hillfort
Somerset	Glastonbury Lake Village	Settlement
	South Cadbury	Hillfort
Wiltshire	Knap Hill	Hillfort
	Rotherley	Settlement
	Yarnbury Castle	Hillfort / Cemetery

Table 4: The types of sites associated with infant deposition

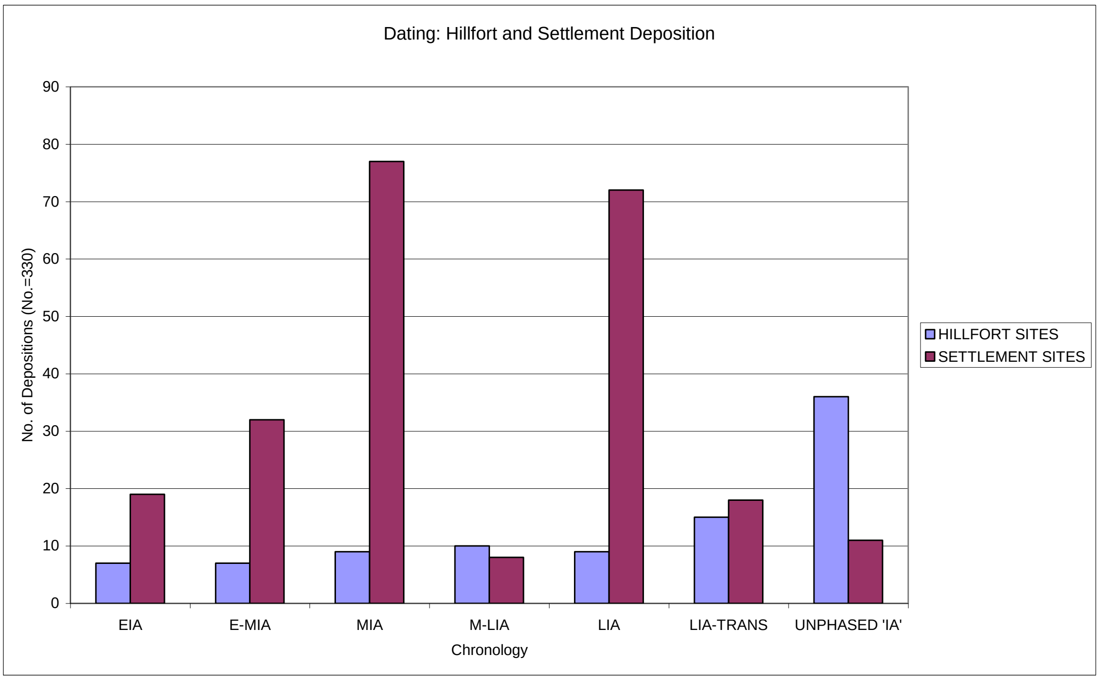


Figure 16: Infant depositions associated with hillfort and settlement sites during the Iron Age

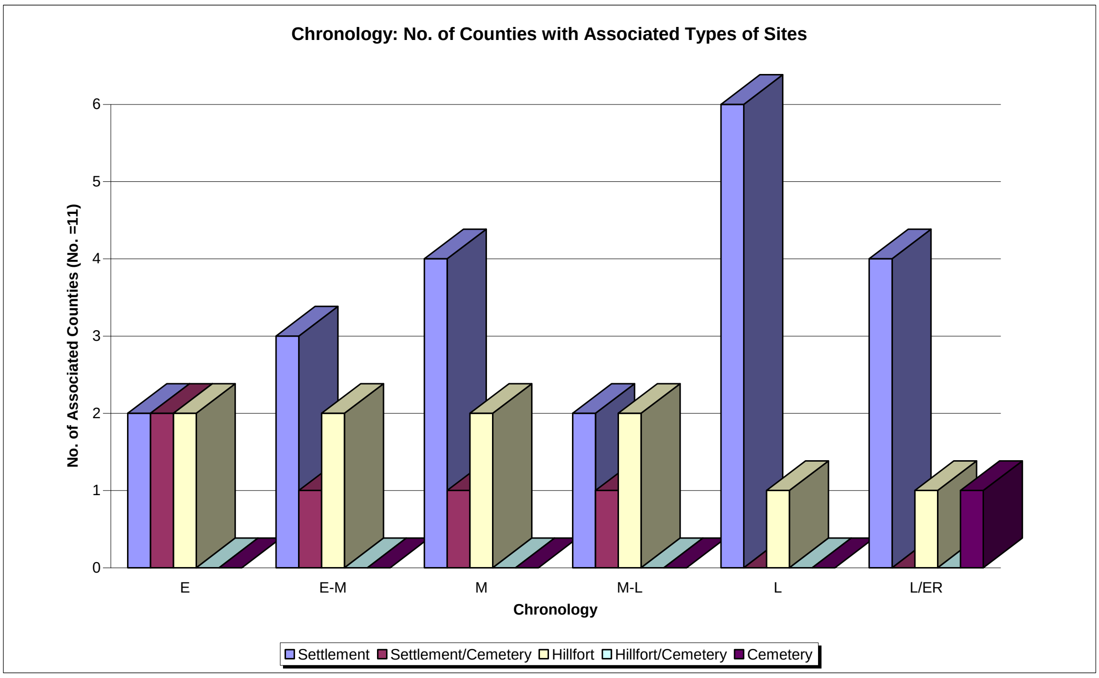


Figure 17: Chronology and no. of counties with associated types of site

Hillforts

Infant deposition consistently occurred, albeit in relatively small numbers, on hillfort sites across southern England throughout the Iron Age (Figure 7.1). There was no associated evidence suggesting regional variation within the dataset (Figure 7.2). In fact, deposition remained stable and consistent until the late period, with infant bodies and bones having been deposited in at least two counties from the Early to the Middle to Late Iron Age. During the late period, numbers of associated deposits and sites reduced (Figure 7.1 and Figure 7.2), with just Dorset boasting two associated sites at this time, namely Maiden Castle, with seven associated depositions and Poundbury with seventeen.

Settlements

Unlike hillfort deposition, deposits of infant bodies and bones increased through time on settlement sites (Figure 7.1). There was also evidence for regional variation within this dataset, with numbers of associated counties also increasing throughout the Iron Age, peaking during the late period, at which time there were six associated counties (Figure 7.2).

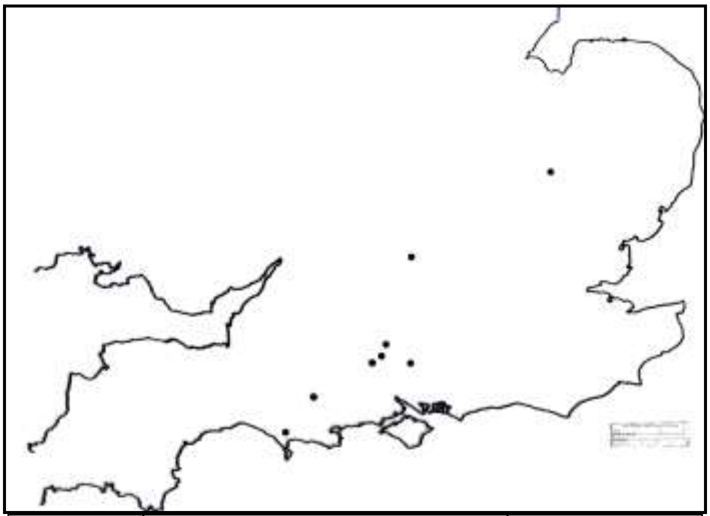
Cemetery areas

With the exception of Suddern Farm (Hampshire) and Greenhouse Farm (Cambridgeshire) all other cemetery contexts - incorporating those with a defined multi-use rationale - were of a Late Iron Age date. Both Suddern Farm and Greenhouse Farm were given Early to Middle Iron Age dates. Both sites contained similarly treated older bodies of the same date.

The chronology of infant deposition:

Early Iron Age (c800BC to 400/300BC)

As demonstrated by Figure 7.3, a total of eight Early Iron Age sites from four counties produced 26 deposits of human infant bone. A single infant deposition was found at Greenhouse Farm, Hod Hill, Maiden Castle, Old Down Farm and Suddern Farm. Three associated depositions were found at Winnall Down/Easton Lane and five at Danebury. Gravelly Guy produced the largest dataset for this period with 13 associated depositions. Contextually, 17 depositions were found in pits; four in ditches; two in postholes; and one in both a gully and a rampart (see above discussion of contexts). Associated depositions were found on both settlement and hillfort sites at this time.



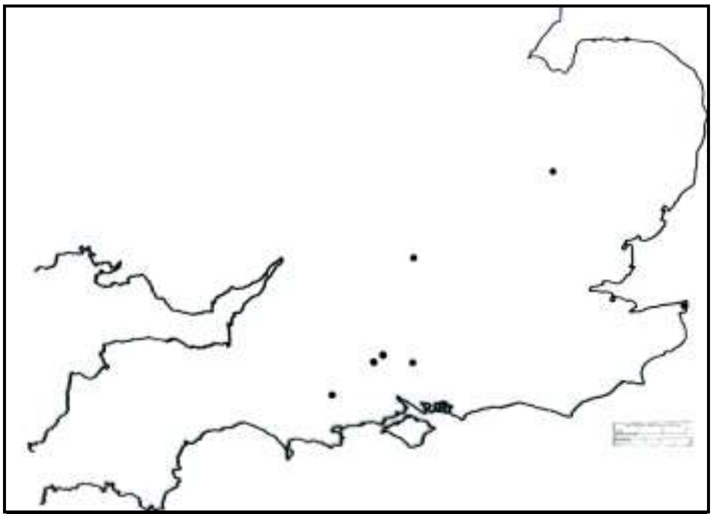
County	Site	No. Infants
Cambs.	Greenhouse Farm	1
Dorset	Hod Hill	1
Dorset	Maiden Castle	1
Hants.	Danebury	5
Hants.	Old Down Farm	1
Hants.	Suddern Farm	1
Hants.	Winnall Down/Easton Lane	3
Oxon.	Gravelly Guy	13

Figure 18: Infant associated Early Iron Age sites

The majority of Early Iron Age infant bone was aged foetus to 0+ (around birth). Of this age group, seven depositions were discovered on settlement, and five on hillfort sites. The remaining infants from settlement contexts were aged 0 to 6 months (two individuals), 0 to one year (two individuals) and 'infant' (eight individuals). On hillfort sites an additional one deposition was aged 3 to 6 months and *c*.3 years.

Early to Middle Iron Age (c800BC to 100BC)

A total of seven sites, from five counties, produced 39 deposits of Early to Middle Iron Age human infant bone (Figure 7.4). This included a single deposition from Greenhouse Farm, Gussage All Saints and Winnall Down/Easton Lane, four from North Foreland, seven from Gravelly Guy and 22 from Suddern Farm. Of these, three sites, Greenhouse Farm, Suddern Farm and Gravelly Guy, also produced Early Iron Age infant bone. Due to the uncertainties of specific dating, it is difficult to gauge a true chronological sense of the relationship between these two potentially overlapping periods. Therefore this superficial disjuncture between Early and Early to Middle Iron Age may at best represent a false dichotomy between contemporaneous or closely associated periods.



County	Site	No. of Infants
Cambs.	Greenhouse Farm	1
Dorset	Gussage All Saints	1
Hants.	Danebury	3
Hants.	Suddern Farm	22
Hants.	Winnall Down/Easton Lane	1
Kent	North Foreland	4
Oxon.	Gravelly Guy	7

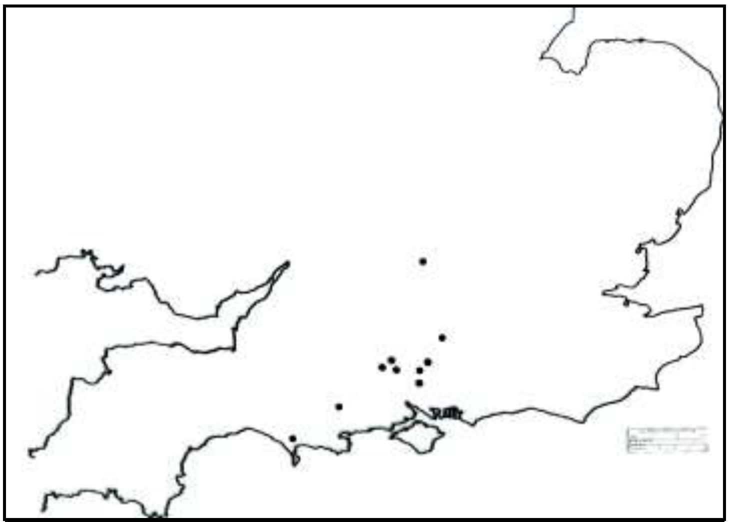
Figure 19: Infant associated Early to Middle Iron Age sites

With regards to their contexts of deposition, the remains of one infant was found in a ditch, posthole and shallow scoop, four in ‘graves’ and 31 in pits. As in the Early Iron Age, pits represent the most frequently associated feature. 32 of the deposits originated from five settlement sites, while seven came from two hillforts. With regards to age at death, and in keeping with the evidence from the Early Iron Age, 24 of the associated depositions were aged foetus to 0+ (around birth), with nineteen of these coming from settlement contexts and just five from hillforts. A single deposit aged 0 to 1 year was additionally found on a hillfort site, while six deposits of remains aged 0 to 6 months, one deposit aged 1 to 3 years and five deposits aged ‘infant’ were also discovered in settlement contexts.

Middle Iron Age (400/300BC to 100BC)

Ten sites, from just three counties, produced 86 deposits of Middle Iron Age human infant bone (Figure 7.5). These included a single deposition from Houghton Down and Suddern Farm, two from Danebury, Owslebury and Winklebury, five from Maiden Castle, six from Gussage All Saints, 13 from Micheldever Wood, 25 from Winnall Down/Easton Lane and 29 from Gravelly Guy. Six of these sites also produced earlier phase deposits of infant bone. This includes Gussage All Saints, Maiden Castle, Danebury, Suddern Farm, Winnall Down/ Easton Lane and Gravelly Guy.

Again, as in earlier phases, pits represented the most frequently encountered deposition feature. In all, sixty deposits were discovered in pits. In addition to this, eleven were discovered in ditches, four in postholes, three in graves and gullies, two in association with floors and hearths and one within a rampart. Human infant bone was once again discovered at both settlement and hillfort sites. The majority (36 instances) of settlement associated deposits were ambiguously aged as 'infant'. This was followed, as in previous periods, by a relatively high number of infant remains aged foetus to 0+ (around birth). Of this age range 24 were found in settlement contexts and five on hillfort sites. In addition to this, hillforts also produced three 0 to 6 month deposits, and one 1 to 2 year deposit. While settlements produced eight 0 to 1 year old deposits and two 1 to 2 year old deposits.

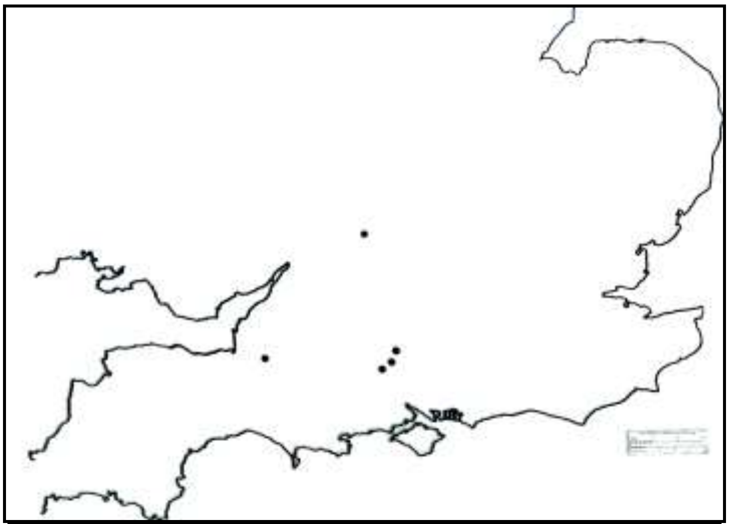


County	Site	No. of Infants
Dorset	Gussage All Saints	6
Dorset	Maiden Castle	5
Hants.	Danebury	2
Hants.	Houghton Down	1
Hants.	Micheldever Wood	13
Hants.	Owslebury	2
Hants.	Suddern Farm	1
Hants.	Winklebury	2
Hants.	Winnall Down/Easton Lane	25
Oxon.	Gravelly Guy	29

Figure 20: Infant associated Middle Iron Age sites

Middle to Late Iron Age (400/300BC to 100BC)

A total of 19 depositions dated to the Middle to Late Iron Age. These originated from five sites and just three associated counties (Figure 7.6). A single associated deposit came from Suddern Farm, two from Salmonsbury, three from Old Down Farm, four from Glastonbury Lake Village and eight from Danebury. Twelve of the depositions were discovered in pit features, two in both postholes and in association with floors, and one in direct association with a hearth. A further two depositions had no available recorded feature details. A single Early Iron Age deposit had also been discovered at Old Down Farm, demonstrating a small, but repetitive pattern of singular infant deposition at this site. The same can also be said for Danebury, which also produced two deposits from its Middle Iron Age levels. Suddern Farm represents the only Middle to Late Iron Age site to have produced infant bone in all previous chronological periods.



County	Site	No. of Infants
Glos.	Salmonsbury	2
Hants.	Danebury	8
Hants.	Old Down Farm	3
Hants.	Suddern Farm	1
Somerset	Glastonbury Lake Village	4

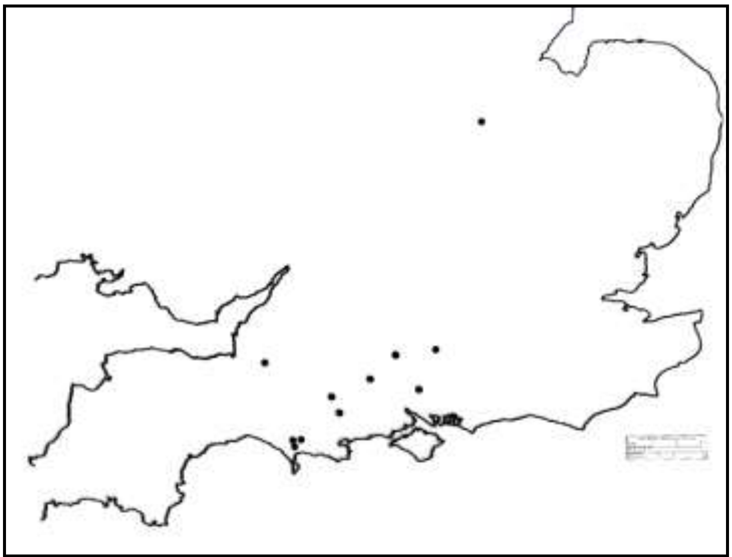
Figure 21: Infant associated Middle to Late Iron Age sites

Three of the associated sites were categorised as settlements and two as hillforts. 16 of the depositions were aged foetus to 0+ (around birth), with seven originating from settlement contexts and nine from hillfort sites. In addition a single 0 to 1 year old was discovered on a hillfort site, while a 0 to 6 month deposit was also found in a settlement context.

Late Iron Age (100BC to AD43)

A total of 78 infant depositions were found in Late Iron Age contexts (Figure 7.7). These came from eleven sites in six counties. This included a single deposit from Flagstones, Viables II (Jay's Close), Old Down Farm and Glastonbury Lake Village, two from Poundbury and Puddlehill, five from Rotherley, seven from Maiden Castle, 13 from Owslebury, 14 from Wakerley and 31 from Gussage All Saints. This latter site boasted the single largest incidence of human infant bone found dating to any one firmly defined chronological period. However, due to the ambiguous nature of Iron Age phasing, it is possible that in reality, the seven Early to Middle Iron Age and 29 Middle Iron Age depositions from Gravelly Guy were all contemporary. If so, then both these sites would boast the highest incidence rate for a single chronological phase. Matching the record for previous phases, the majority of deposits (38) were discovered in pit features. In addition, seventeen were found in ditches and graves, four in gullies and one in a rampart and a scoop.

The Late Iron Age record was dominated by settlement associated deposits, which constitute nine of the eleven associated sites. Only two were classified as hillforts. During this period, there was again a clear preference for infants aged foetus to 0+ on settlement sites (39 instances), while the focus shifted from those aged around birth (just two instances) to those aged up to six months on hillfort sites (five instances). In addition, 11 depositions aged up to 6 months were also discovered on settlement sites, along with fifteen 0 to 1 year olds, three 1 to 2 year olds, one *c*.3 year old and three ambiguously aged 'infants'. On hillfort sites, infants aged 0 to 1 year and 1 to 2 years respectively were also discovered.

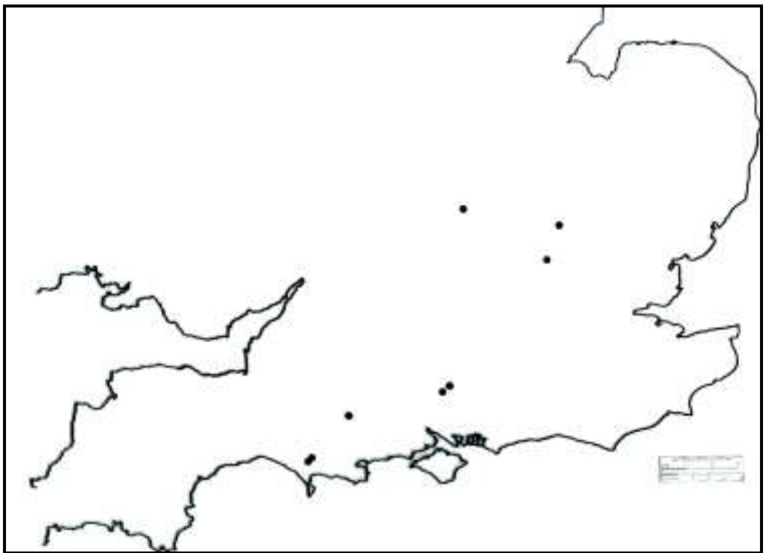


County	Site	No. of Infants
Beds.	Puddlehill	2
Dorset	Flagstones	1
Dorset	Gussage All Saints	31
Dorset	Maiden Castle	7
Dorset	Poundbury	2
Hants.	Viables II (Jay's Close)	1
Hants.	Old Down Farm	1
Hants.	Owslebury	13
Northants.	Wakerley	14
Somerset	Glastonbury Lake Village	1
Wilts.	Rotherley	5

Figure 22: Infant associated Late Iron Age sites

Latest Iron Age (c.50BC to AD 60)

41 infant depositions from eight sites in five counties were found dating to the Latest Iron Age (Figure 7.8). One deposition originated from Wick Avenue, three from Fordington Bottom and Winnall Down/Easton Lane, four from Micheldever Wood and Baldock, five from Silverstone Fields Farm, six from Rotherley and 15 from Poundbury. The use of pits ceased to be the main infant associated contextual feature at this time; being replaced by formal inhumation in ‘graves’ and by deposition into ditch features. A total of 19 infants were deposited in graves, 16 in ditches, just five in pits and one in a ‘scoop’ like feature. In keeping with all of the earlier phases, the majority of deposition, some 18 of the 41, were aged ‘around birth’ at time of biological death. Eleven of these originated from settlement contexts and seven from hillfort sites. Only three were deposited in a formal cemetery area at Fordington Bottom. Of the remaining settlement associated depositions, 2 were aged 0 to 6 months and 0 to 1 year, and 3 were ambiguously aged as ‘infants’. On hillfort sites, three were aged 0 to 6 months, four as 0 to 1 year and one as 1 to 2 years.



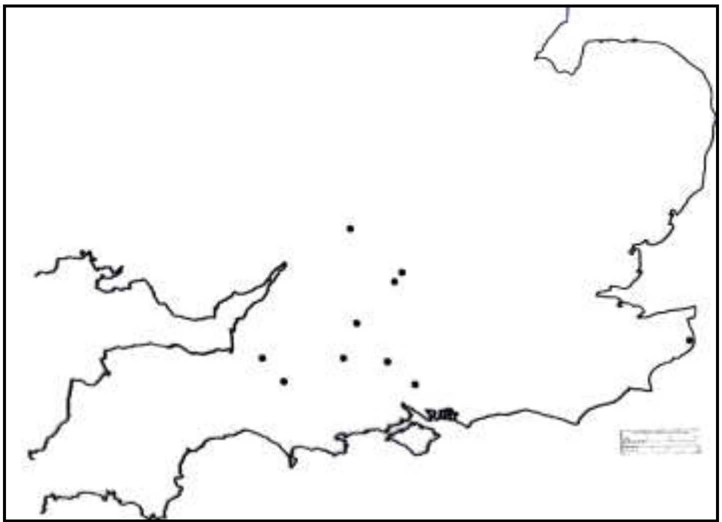
County	Site	No. of Infants
Dorset	Fordington Bottom	3
Dorset	Poundbury	15
Hants.	Micheldever Wood	4
Hants.	Winnall Down/Easton Lane	3
Herts.	Baldock	4
Herts.	Wick Ave.	1
Northants.	Silverstone Fields Farm	5
Wilts.	Rotherley	6

Figure 23: Infant associated Latest Iron Age sites

Unphased 'Iron Age'

A total of ten sites produced unphased 'Iron Age' human infant bone (Figure 7.9). In these instances, and despite repeated attempts, defining any associated chronology other than 'Iron Age' was impossible. Instances included a single deposition from Frilford, Guiting Power, Knap Hill, Owslebury and Segsbury Camp, two from Mill Hill, three from Glastonbury Lake Village, four from Danebury, nine from Yarnbury Castle and 21 from South Cadbury.

Despite having undertaken several archival visits in an attempt to extract some chronological data, the absence of records dictated that they sadly remain unphased. Unfortunately, this included all the infant data gathered for South Cadbury. Furthermore, it was only possible to ascertain the associated contextual details for 19 of these deposits. Ten were found in ditch features, four in both graves and postholes and one in a pit. The ambiguous nature of this data prevents any further discussion or contribution towards this section.



County	Site	No. of Infants
Glos.	Guiting Power	1
Hants.	Danebury	4
Hants.	Owslebury	1
Kent	Mill Hill	2
Oxon.	Frilford	1
Oxon.	Segsbury Camp	1
Somerset	Glastonbury Lake Village	3
Somerset	South Cadbury	21
Wilts.	Knap Hill	1
Wilts.	Yarnbury Castle	9

Figure 24: Infant associated Unphased Iron Age sites

Conclusion

The above data clearly demonstrates that human infants were being deposited throughout the Iron Age. Furthermore, the evidence supports Wait's (1985, 94) statement that deposits of human infant bone progressively increased in quantity throughout this period.

7.3 How infant bodies first entered the Iron Age record

Introduction and methods for investigation

Complementing the above analyses, investigations were made into how infant remains first entered the Iron Age record (Table. 4.2). Walker's (1984) model for human deposition at Danebury (Table. 4.1, discussed in Section 3.5.2) provided a framework for exploring whether infant bodies and bones entered the record in a similar or different way to that of older aged individuals. No re-evaluation of associated osteology was conducted as part of this investigation; rather, results were obtained through published and unpublished reports and notes.

Results

As demonstrated by Tables 7.2 and 7.3, Walker's categories A (complete) and B (incomplete bodies) did indeed present as accurate ways for describing specific infant deposits. Walker's categories D and F (skulls or frontal bone and individual bones and bone fragments) were also apparent, but, on the basis of the infant evidence, offered the potential for being subdivided into two new deposition categories, namely 'IB' or 'Individual Bone' - incorporating skull fragments - and 'DIB' or 'Dual Isolated Bones', used to refer to the deposition of two isolated bones together, although not necessarily in any form of articulated association.

As demonstrated by figure 7.10, the majority of recorded infant depositions, some 32% of the entire available dataset, were Type A (complete / near complete). However, specifying the nature of the remaining type categories was more problematic, as it is likely that in some instances, taphonomic factors may have contributed to the visibility of bodies presenting as either B, DIB or IB deposits. Therefore, while Type A deposits clearly originated through the temporal selection, treatment and deposition of complete or near complete bodies in death, the actual way in which these other categories first entered the record remains less certain in some instances. However, as discussed in Section 3.5.3, there is some contextually secure evidence to show that these variable categories did originate through intentionally selective and highly favoured forms of body treatment and processing at this time. Therefore, despite their potential variability, these categories were still subjected to analysis.

Deposition Typology	**Assigned Typology Code**
Whole Bodies	A
Incomplete Skeletons	B
Multiple, Partially Disarticulated Skeletons and Skulls	C
Skulls or Frontal Bones	D
Pelvic Girdles	E
Individual Bones and Bone Fragments	F

Table 5: Walker's (1984) model of human deposition at Danebury

Deposition Typology	**Assigned Typology Code**
Complete Bodies	A
Incomplete Bodies	B
Isolated Bone (Inc. Skulls or Frontal Bones)	IB
Dual Isolated Bone	DIB

Table 6: The four main forms of infant deposition encountered at Iron Age sites in southern England

A total of 23% of the infant dataset presented as being Type B, 15% as IB and just 3%, or ten instances, as DIB. A total of 27% were ambiguously aged, with poor recording and reporting limiting their potential to inform upon body categorisation at this time (Figure 7.3).

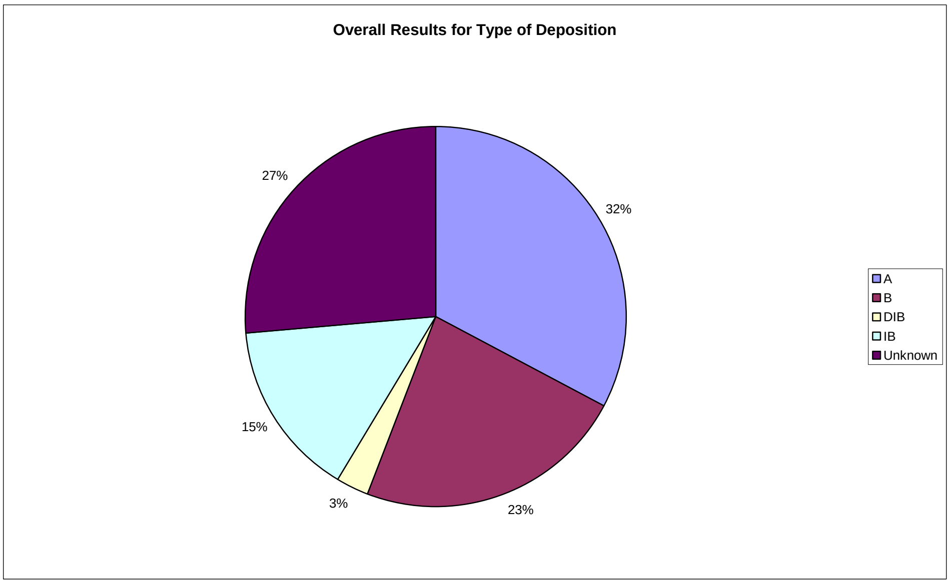


Figure 25: The four main forms of infant deposition encountered at Iron Age sites in southern England

Body categories and age patterning

Through the analysis of deposition type categorisation, it became possible to explore age variability within each of the four associated datasets. The results for this are given in figures 7.11 to 7.14. Supporting the discussion provided in section 7.1, results for this investigation clearly imply an intentional, preferential selection of young infant bodies and bones (aged around birth), across all four type categories during the Iron Age. As demonstrated by Figures 7.11 to 7.14, infant bodies aged foetal to 0+ constituted 55% of all Type A deposits, 47% of Type B, 40% of Type DIB and 42% of Type IB. In contrast, bodies and bones aged over one year were present but poorly represented, forming only 11% of all Type A deposits, 10% of Type B, 10% of Type DIB (with just one associated deposit), and 4% of Type IB.

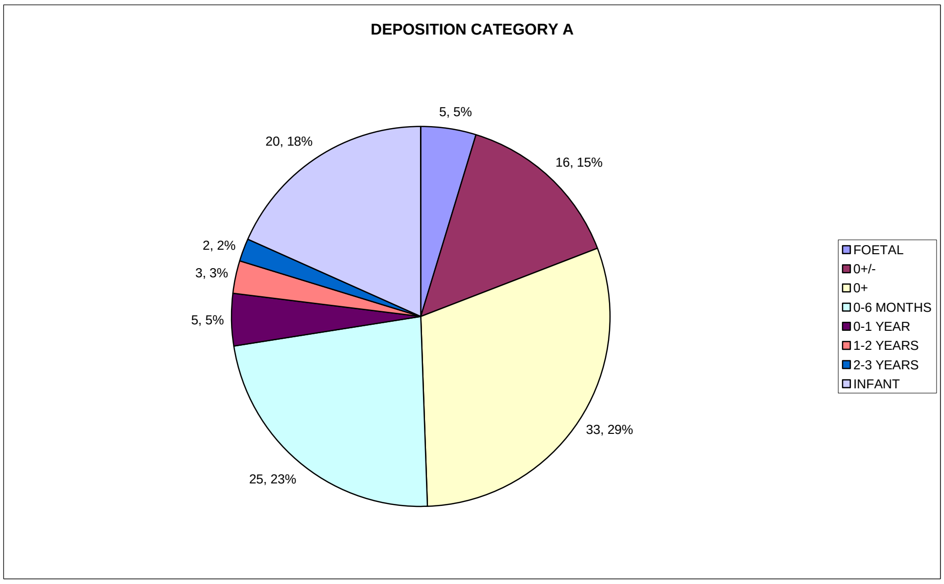


Figure 26: Type 'A' deposits and age

There was no conclusive evidence for regional variability within these skeletal type sub-categories (Table 7.4). The sampled counties either produced direct evidence for all four types of skeletal sub-category, or were individually represented by small numbers of associated depositions and sites, thus being too limited for conclusive analysis.

The available results confirm that infant bodies and bones were treated in similar ways to those of all other age groups during the Iron Age, with no chronological or regional evidence for deposition type exclusion.

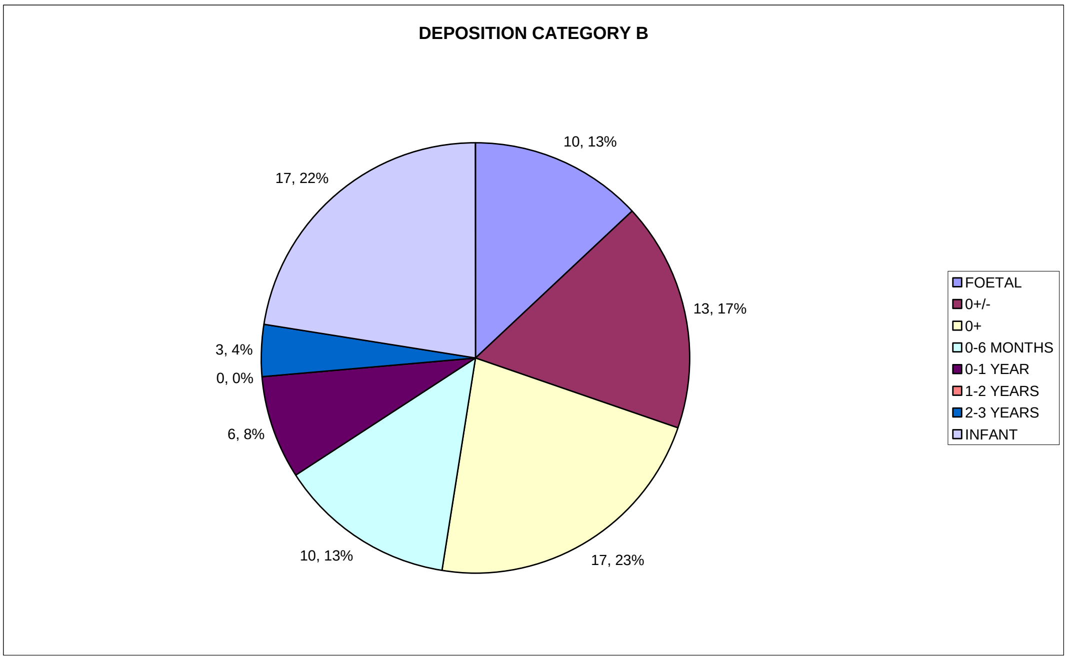


Figure 27: Type ‘B’ deposits and age

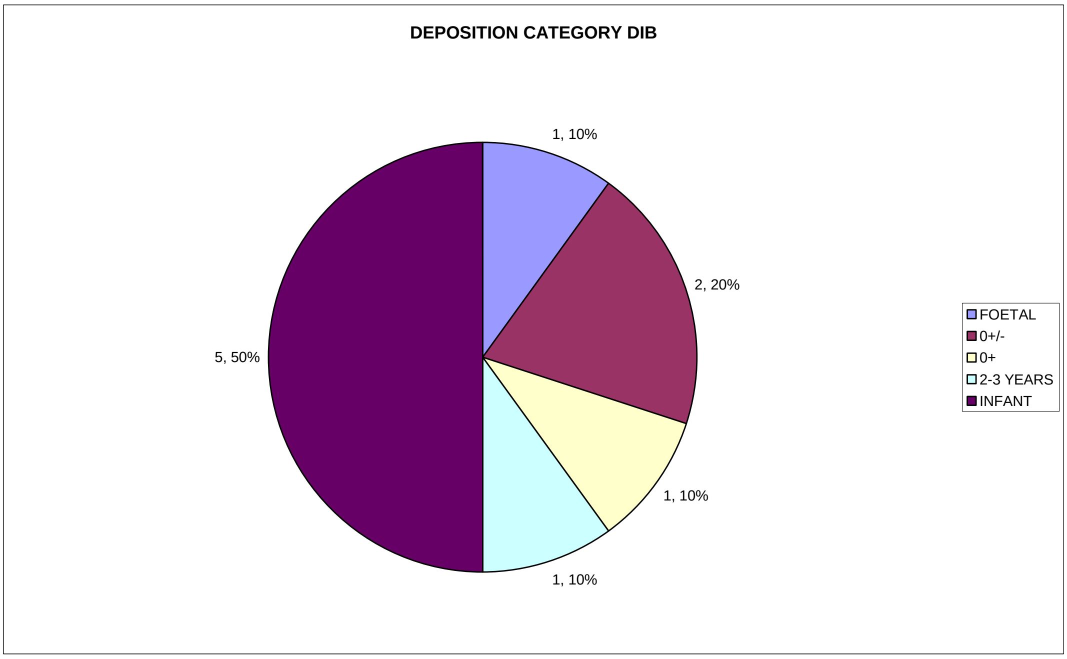


Figure 28: Type ‘DIB’ deposits and age

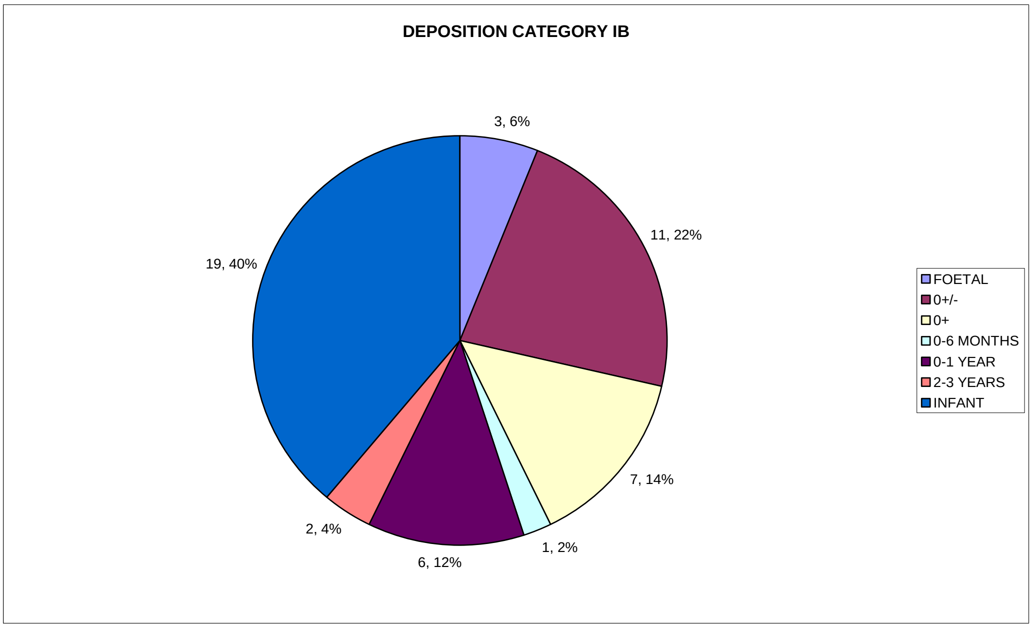


Figure 29: Type 'IB' deposits and age

County	Type A	Type B	Type DIB	Type IB
Bedfordshire	X	N/A	N/A	N/A
Cambridgeshire	X	N/A	N/A	X
Dorset	X	X	N/A	X
Gloucestershire	X	X	N/A	X
Hampshire	X	X	X	X
Hertfordshire	X	X	N/A	N/A
Kent	N/A	X	N/A	X
Northamptonshire	X	N/A	N/A	N/A
Oxfordshire	X	X	X	X
Somerset	X	X	X	X
Sussex	N/A	X	N/A	N/A
Wiltshire	X	N/A	N/A	N/A

Table 7: The presence and absence of body categories across southern England

7.4 Types of body treatment: Excarnation, cremation, inhumation and deposition

7.4.1 Introduction

This section of the chapter will consider whether infant bodies were excarnated and cremated during the Iron Age. As detailed in Section 3.5, there is evidence to demonstrate that older individuals were often associated with such practices, yet no such consideration has been accorded to infants and infant bodies to date.

7.4.2 Excarnation

The sites of Danebury (Hampshire), South Cadbury and Glastonbury Lake Village (Somerset) produced evidence for infant excarnation. At Danebury, infants Sk. 15 (pit 381, EIA) and Sk.31 (pit 857, dated MIA) were exposed post death, as implied by associated rodent - probably mouse - gnaw marking upon their right femurs (Walker and Hooper 1984). Infant Sk. 31 was also associated with an articulated, but detached-from-torso, adult forearm, which itself originated through an initial period of excarnation by exposure (discussed in Section 3.5.3). In addition to this, infants Sk. 17 and 18 were reported as having been exposed *in situ* within MIA pit 430, as implied by skeletal and associated object weather discolouration (Walker and Hooper 1984).

At South Cadbury, infant SK. 597 - an IB deposit of a long bone shaft - had associated carnivore gnaw marking (Young, unpublished site osteology report, Somerset County Archives). A further three depositions also boasted charring evidence, argued by Carr and Knüsel (1997) as being a form of excarnation during the Iron Age in southern England (discussed in Section 3.5.3). As noted by Young (unpublished site osteology report, Somerset County Archives), infant Sk. 614ct (age *c*.3 years) - represented by 20 skull fragments - boasted a burnt black UID fragment and cervical vertebra. Young suggested that of this deposition, only the base of the skull remained unmodified by fire. In addition, IB deposit SK. 614ji (aged only as 'Infant') consisted of a burnt posterior fragment of right mandible (Young, unpublished site osteology report, Somerset County Archives), while deposition SK. 829 (also aged c3 years), - represented as a mixed group of bones, all of which were intermingled with animal bone - contained a charred lower end of a left radius (Young, unpublished site osteology report, Somerset County Archives).

There was one confirmed instance of infant charring from Glastonbury Lake Village, where part of late phase deposit M11 consisted of a burnt foetal left tibia shaft (Coles and Minnitt 1995, 172).

7.4.3 Cremation

Cremated infant bone has to date been found on a minimum of five Iron Age sites in southern England. With the exception of Owslebury, Hampshire, all other sites, namely, Kingsmead Park, Kent (Greatorex 2005, 77-78), Jubilee Corner, Kent (Aldridge 2005), Boxford, Suffolk (Owles and Smedley 1968) and Yapton, West Sussex (Mckinley 2004), were of a Late Iron Age date.

Owslebury presented the most detailed example of infant cremation from among the five sites. The Owslebury infant - Burial 69 - was dated to the Middle Iron Age (2^{nd} CBC) (Collis unpublished notes, Hampshire Archaeological Archive) and represents a very early example of cremation at a time in which its use as a form of body treatment is rarely attested. This infant, aged between one and two years, was represented by only a few scraps of well burnt bone. It was associated with numerous fragments from three different pottery vessels and a bronze bracelet or torc, complete with threaded glass bead (Collis unpublished notes). Analysis of these items suggested that they had also been well burnt, having possibly accompanied the infant's body on the pyre at time of cremation. Collis (unpublished) suggests that these items were intentionally broken after being burnt. The infant cremation, complete with associated objects, was the only deposit encountered in a forty metre stretch of trial trench, cut along the line of the eastern 'antenna' ditch of the site's banjo enclosure (Collis unpublished notes, Hampshire Archaeological Archive).

At Kingsmead Park, cremated infant bone was found intermixed with human adult bone, although ascertaining the contextual relationship between the two was problematic as both were found scattered beneath pyre debris (McKinley 2004, 45).

The cremated infant from Jubilee Corner (Aldridge 2005), aged between one and three years, was found within a Belgic urn deposited in a hearth gully. The Boxford infant (Owles and Smedley 1968), aged between two and three years, had also been placed in a Belgic urn, though this was associated with a Belgic cemetery area. While no aging or contextual data was provided for the Yapton infant (McKinley 2004) - save for the fact that it was found in context 1095 (feature not stipulated) - this infant is reported to have been associated with sheep bones, a common association with Late Iron Age cremation deposits (McKinley 2004, 45).

7.4.4 Introduction to 'inhumations' and 'depositions'

Inhumation is defined as the intentional deposition of the whole human body in a temporally new feature, excavated for the sole purpose of interring the body and any associated finds. These forms of features are defined as 'graves' and their associated humans, as 'burials'. A disjuncture has been drawn here between the disposal of bodies in virgin graves and other multi-use features, including pits, ditches, postholes, ramparts, etc. Where deposited in multi-use features, bodies are defined as 'depositions', on the basis that they may not have been interred as a burial but as some other form of deposit, possibly even contemporaneous with other objects and animal bones (see chapter 9). Therefore, the term 'deposition' is employed so as to create theoretical space; space in which to investigate, and not assume, associated deposition rationales. Where visible, depositions have been clustered according to their associated depositional features. The question of whether different features actually inferred a difference in rationale is considered in chapter 9.

7.4.5 Inhumations

There were 47 grave associated infant burials from 12 sites in eight southern English counties (see Figure 7.15). Grave depositions were evident throughout the Iron Age (Figure 7.16), peaking during the Late Iron Age to Early Roman period (77%). Four depositions were ambiguously dated to the 'Iron Age' only. With regards to skeletal typology, the majority were again Type A (54%), followed by B (27%), IB (15%) and DIB (4%). A further 21 depositions had no recorded associated details.

County	Site	No. of Infants
Beds.	Puddlehill	1
Cambs.	Greenhouse Farm	1
Dorset	Fordington Bottom	3
	Maiden Castle	2
	Poundbury	17
Hants.	Owslebury	9
	Suddern Farm	3
	Winnall Down/Easton Lane	4
Kent	Mill Hill	2
N.Hants.	Wakerley	4
Oxon.	Frilford	1

Figure 30: Infant associated grave depositions

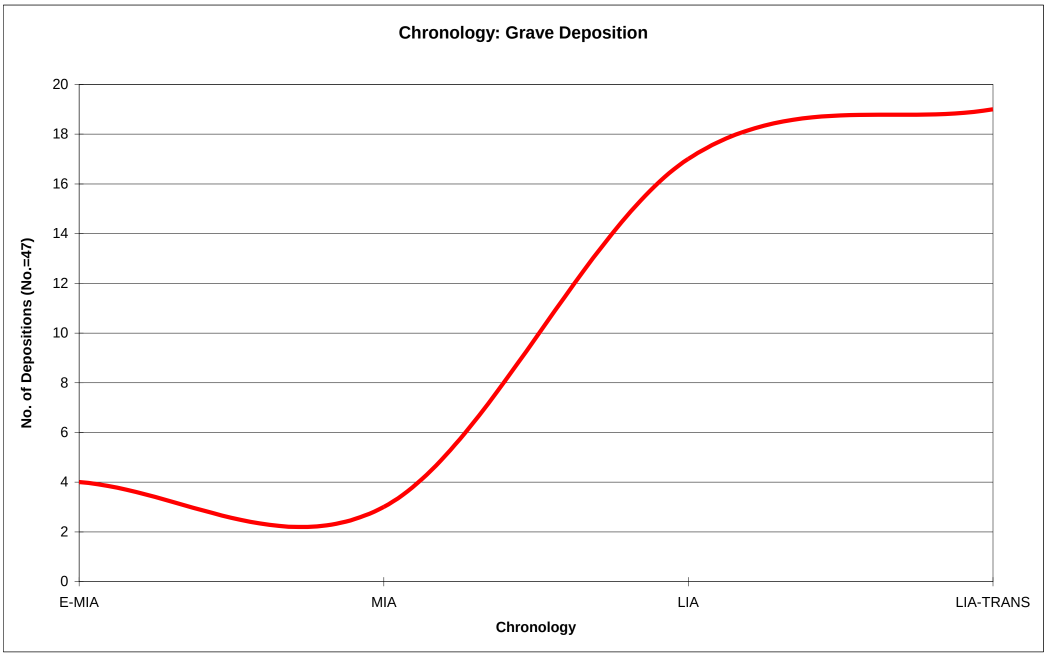
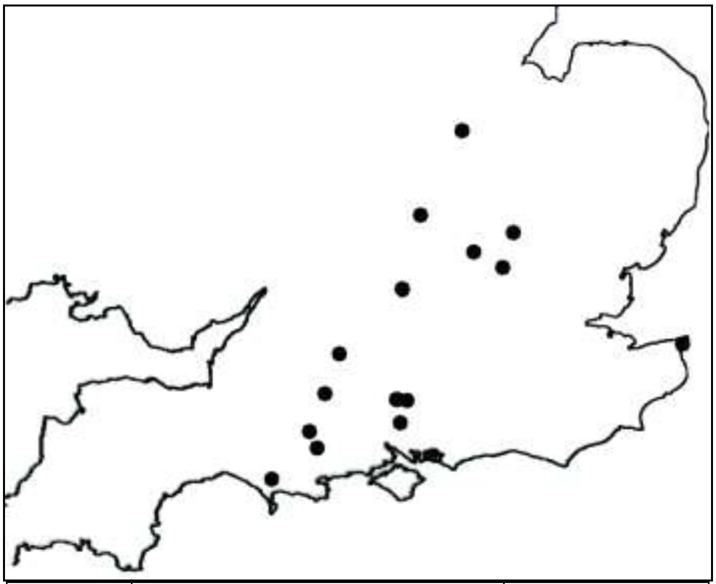


Figure 31: The chronological framework for grave deposition

7.4.6 Depositions

Deposition in ditches

There were 59 ditch associated depositions among the entire infant dataset. These came from 15 sites in eight counties (Figure 7.17) and constituted 18% of the entire dataset. Associated ditch deposition occurred throughout the Iron Age, with a 56% peak occurring during the later period (Figure 7.18). A total of ten depositions were ambiguously dated to the ‘Iron Age’ only. Of those with recorded skeletal category details, Type A deposits were most favoured (47%), followed by B (33%), IB (14%) and DIB (6%). There were 23 other depositions with no associated category details.



County	Site	No. of Infants
Beds.	Puddlehill	1
Dorset	Gussage All Saints	7
	Maiden Castle	1
Hants.	Micheldever Wood	5
	Owslebury	1
	Winnall Down/Easton Lane	4
Herts.	Baldock	3
	Wick Ave.	1
Kent	North Foreland	1
N.Hants	Silverstone Fields Farm	5
	Wakerley	9
Oxon.	Gravelly Guy	5
Wilts.	Knap Hill	1
	Rotherley	6
	Yarnbury	9

Figure 32: Infant associated ditch depositions

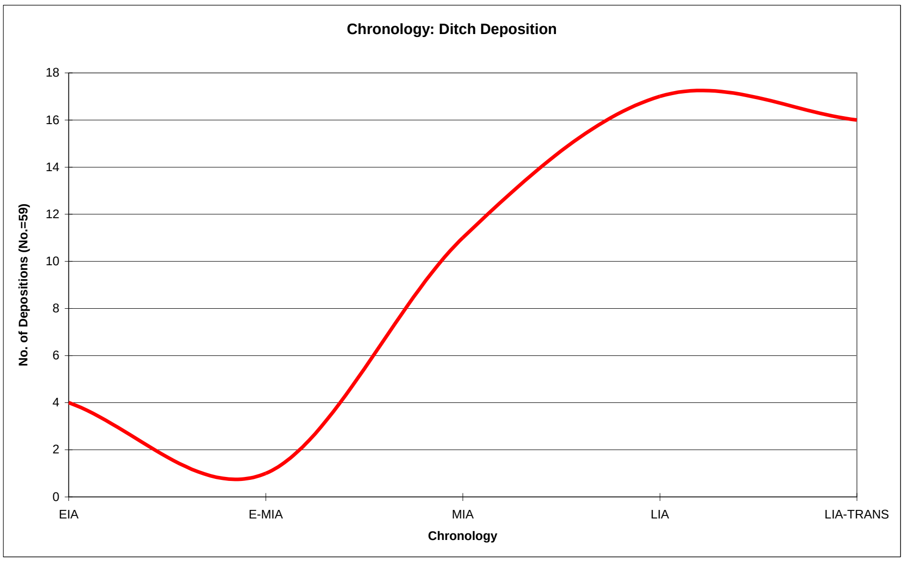
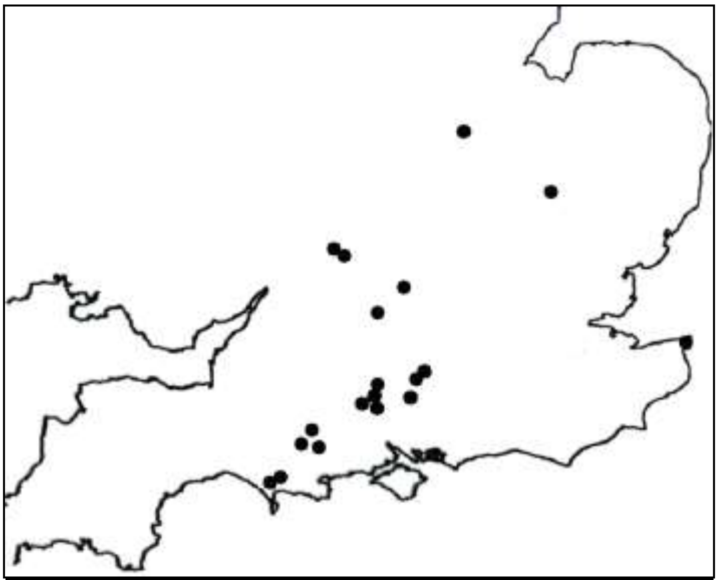


Figure 33: The chronological framework for ditch deposition

Deposition in pits

There were 165 pit associated infant depositions. These came from twenty sites in eight associated counties (Figure 7.19). Associated pit deposition occurred throughout the Iron Age, increasing from the Early to Middle Iron Age, at which time the dataset peaked (36%), before reducing again during later phases (Figure 7.20). Just two depositions were ambiguously dated to the 'Iron Age' only.

The shape of associated pits varied, with the majority of those recorded being cylindrical (37%). This was numerically followed by beehive (24%), bowl (7%), sub-rectangular (5.3%) and irregular (2%). Recorded details were absent for 51 associated depositions. With regards to skeletal category, the majority were Type A (47%), followed by B (32%), IB (18%) and DIB (3%). There were 24 depositions with no associated skeletal category details.



County	Site	No. of Infants
Cambs.	Greenhouse Farm	1
Dorset	Flagstones	1
	Gussage All Saints	31
	Hod Hill	1
	Maiden Castle	6
Glos.	Guiting Power	1
	Salmonsbury	2
Hants.	Danebury	15
	Houghton Down	1
	Jay's Close (Viables II)	1
	Micheldever Wood	12
	Old Down Farm	3
	Suddern Farm	22
	Winklebury	2
	Winnall Down/Easton Lane	18
Kent	North Foreland	3
N.Hants.	Wakerley	1
Oxon.	Gravelly Guy	38
	Segsbury	1
Wilts.	Rotherley	5

Figure 34: Infant associated pit depositions

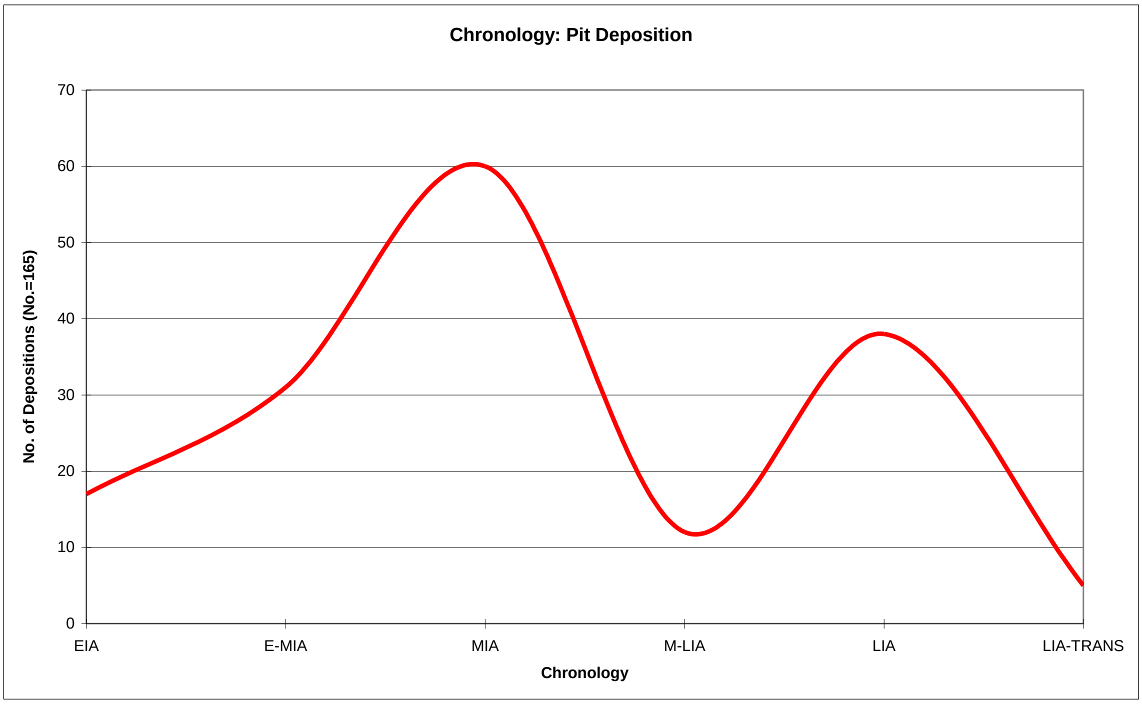
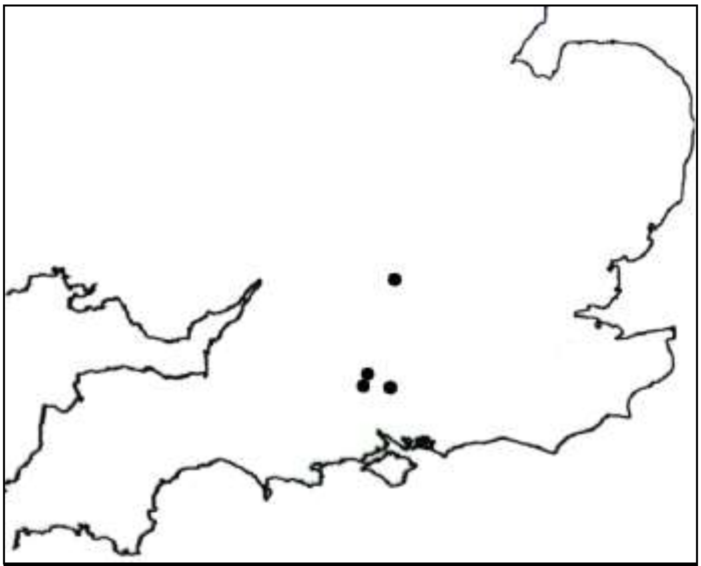


Figure 35: The chronological framework for pit deposition

Deposition in postholes

A total of thirteen infant depositions were discovered in posthole features. These came from four sites in two counties, namely Hampshire and Oxfordshire (Figure 7.21). Associated deposition occurred in all periods, although in small numbers, with two depositions occurring in both the Early and Middle to Late periods, one in the Early to Middle period, and four in the Late Iron Age. A further four depositions had no recorded chronological details. The fact that posthole deposition occurred in small numbers makes determining the intentionality of skeletal category patterning problematic. Nonetheless, three were Type A, two were Type B and IB and one was Type DIB. A further five depositions had no recorded associated details. Eight depositions were aged 0+, with the remaining five being aged only as 'infant'.



County	Site	No. of Infants
Hants.	Old Down Farm	2
	Winnall Down/Easton Lane	4
	Danebury	6
Oxon.	Gravelly Guy	1

Figure 36: Infant associated posthole depositions

Deposition in ramparts

Maiden Castle was the only site to produce rampart associated infant depositions. Three were encountered here, with one dating to each of the Early, Middle and Late Iron Age periods. All three deposits were skeletal Type A and all deposits were aged three to six months.

Deposition in 'scoops'

Three depositions were found in features defined only as 'scoops'. These originated from three associated sites and counties, namely, Baldock, Hertfordshire (Sk.80), Owslebury, Hampshire (Sk.62), and Gravelly Guy, Oxfordshire (Sk.2062/A/1). Deposition Sk.62 from Owslebury was intentionally associated with a pit complex. It is therefore possible that the 'scoop' was perceived by those depositing the infant as a shallow form of pit feature. However, the remaining two instances are less obviously explained. Sk.2062/A/1 from Gravelly Guy was of Early to Middle Iron Age date and both Sk.62 from Owslebury and Sk.80 from Baldock were of Late Iron Age to Early Roman date. All three were skeletal Type A. Deposition Sk.2062/A/1 was aged 0±, Sk.80 as 0-3 months and Sk.62 as 'infant'.

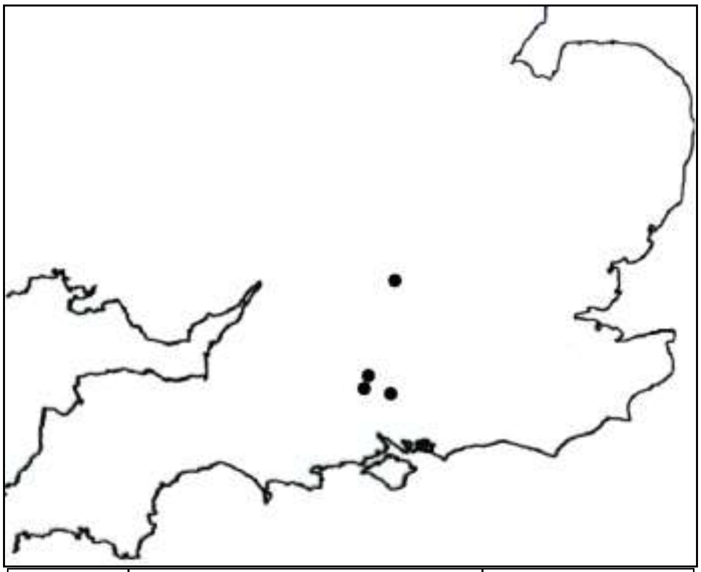
Deposition in occupational contexts:

Deposition and floors

Four infant depositions were associated with floors. These all came from Glastonbury Lake Village and are of a Middle Iron Age date (Coles and Minnitt 1995). It was not possible to define any associated skeletal category for any of these deposits. M39 was aged 'foetus' at time of death, while the remaining three were reported as 0+. Unlike Sk. M29 which was deposited on top of a mound floor, Sk's. 37, 38 and 39 were all sealed beneath floors, though their exact contexts remain problematic due to poor recording.

Deposition in gullies

A total of four sites produced eight infant associated gully depositions. These came from two different counties, namely Hampshire and Oxfordshire (Figure 7.22) and were dated to Early, Middle and Late Iron Age contexts. Five were aged as 0+, one as 1 to 2 years and the remaining two as 'infants'. Two depositions were skeletal Type A, four as B, one as IB and one had no associated recorded details.



County	Site	No. of Infants
Hants.	Danebury	1
	Owslebury	5
	Winnall Down/Easton Lane	1
Oxon.	Gravelly Guy	1

Figure 37: Infant associated gully depositions

Deposition and hearths

Glastonbury Lake Village was the only site to produce hearth associated infant depositions. There were three in total, namely, Sk. M22, M37 and M38. Depositions Sk. M37 and M38 were of a Middle Iron Age date, while M22 appears to have been Middle to Late Iron Age. All three were 0+. There were no available associated skeletal category details for any of the three depositions.

7.5 Were infants furnished with grave goods?

Defining how and what constitutes a ‘grave good’ is problematic at best. The provision of grave items may originate through either personal or wider social judgements regarding what should or could be placed along with the dead for either the afterlife or for companionship in the grave. As discussed above, very few of the Iron Age infant remains can be classified as ‘burials’. However Table 7.5 includes all references or suggestions to the provision of grave goods with infant bodies from within the associated dataset. This is subsequently reclassified in Table 7.6, where the seven most likely instances of associated grave good provision are displayed and then subsequently discussed. On closer inspection, the remaining eleven depositions did not present as being ‘burials’, but rather, were associated with previously existing settlement features and their associated structured depositionary rationale.

Rethinking the presence of grave goods

Those displayed in Table 7.5, but later excluded from Table 7.6 included, for example, Sk. 11 from Maiden Castle, who was deposited along with other items in a section of the site’s rampart - the fact that other bodies were being contemporaneously inhumed or deposited in flat features such as pits and graves implies that the association here was intentionally made with the rampart and not with the formal burial of the body *per se*. Infant Sk. 19 from Danebury was clearly deposited as part of a structured package of objects, as was Sk. 156 and 3563 from Winnall Down (see chapter 8 for a full discussion of these).

Lambrick and Allen (2004, 232) have suggested that several of the Early to Middle Iron Age ‘burials’ from Gravelly Guy (Oxfordshire) were furnished with grave goods. Figures 7.23 and 7.24 display two of these. Figure 7.23 is a Gale (1983)

Type 3B spearhead (Lambrick and Allen 2004, 232, 362). Figure 7.24 is a perforated canine tooth amulet (Lambrick and Allen 2004, 386). Both were found alongside depositions interpreted as ‘burials’ (Lambrick and Allen 2004, 232). However, on closer inspection, neither of these infants was complete at time of deposition. Rather, it is possible that both the objects and the human bone were perceived, and therefore deposited, in a similar way to one another.

County	Site	Feature	Chronology	Infant Sk.	Sk. Type	As. Objects
Dorset	Gussage All Saints	Pit	Late Iron Age	661	B	Copper object? (green staining to skull)
Dorset	Gussage All Saints	Pit	Late Iron Age	132(9)	A	Copper object? (green staining to skull)
Dorset	Maiden Castle	Rampart	Middle Iron Age	11	A	Whistle bone object and iron arrow head found SW of skull
Dorset	Poundbury	'Grave' in double-ringed roundhouse	Latest Iron Age	1391	A	'Coffin' nails, an iron plate and a complete pottery vessel. Iron plate and pot were found by the skull.
Hants.	Danebury	Pit	Early to Middle Iron Age	19	A	Neonatal calf
Hants.	Owslebury	Main antennae ditch of the Banjo Enclosure	Middle Iron Age	69	Cremation	Numerous fragments from three different pottery vessels and a bronze bracelet or torc, complete with threaded glass bead
Hants.	Winnall Down	Pit	Middle Iron Age	156	A	Foetal puppy
Hants.	Winnall Down	Grave	Middle Iron Age	159	A	Complete pot (SF100)
Hants.	Winnall Down	Grave	Middle Iron Age	161	A	A double coil ring with point and an animal goad
Hants.	Winnall Down	Pit	Middle Iron Age	3563	A	Foetal puppy
Oxon.	Gravelly Guy	Pit	Early to Middle Iron Age	18	B	Spearhead, Gale (1983) Type 3B
Oxon.	Gravelly Guy	Pit	Early Iron Age	1248/B	IB	Foetal lamb / goat
Oxon.	Gravelly Guy	Pit	Middle Iron Age	1346/A/1	A	Iron punch
Oxon.	Gravelly Guy	Pit	Middle Iron Age	1479/B/1	IB	Bone gouge
Oxon	Gravelly Guy	Scoop	Early to Middle Iron Age	2062/A/1	A	A complete foetal lamb/goat and part of another and a fired clay object (loom weight?)
Oxon	Gravelly Guy	Pit	Early Iron Age	2118	B	Canine tooth amulet
Somerset	South Cadbury	Trench P	Iron Age	T317	Absent	Roe buck deer antler
Somerset	South Cadbury	Trench P	Iron Age	T317B	Absent	Roe buck deer antler

Table 8: Infant 'burials' and 'depositions' possibly associated with grave goods

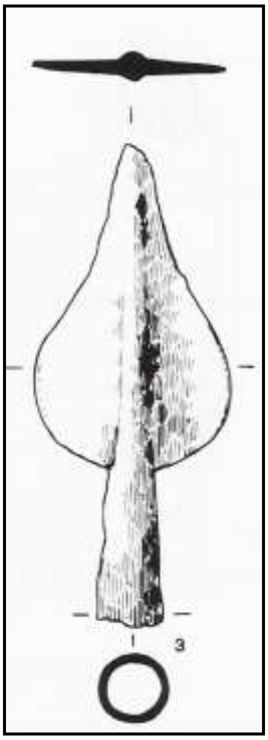


Figure 38: Spearhead found with infant Sk.18 at Gravelly Guy, Oxfordshire (Lambrick and Allen 2004, fig. 8.7).

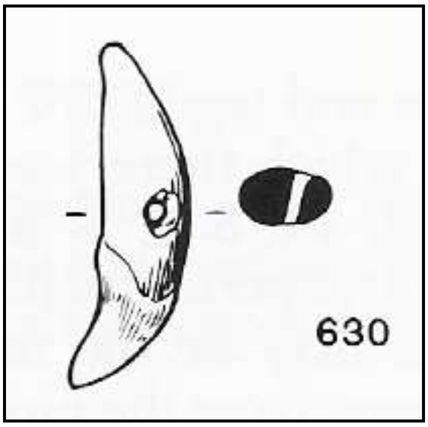


Figure 39: Perforated dog canine amulet found with infant Sk.2118 at Gravelly Guy, Oxfordshire (Lambrick and Allen 2004, fig. 8.14)

This is supported by the wider evidence for such relationships discussed in chapter 9 and by the fact that Sk.18 (associated with the spearhead) was represented by only a few bones from the upper part of the body, while Sk. 2118 (associated with the canine amulet) was represented by 'several bones' only (Lambrick and Allen

2004, 461). Indeed, this particular amulet was one of only two such objects found onsite, the second actually having been made of human frontal bone (see Section 3.5.4). While it is possible that the roe buck deer antler was placed as a form of grave good along with infant depositions Sk.T317 and 317B at South Cadbury, the fact that their associated feature details, and those relating to the presence or absence of other related finds, are absent from the site's archive prevents any conclusive judgement being made.

The likely provision of grave goods

It is likely that seven of the infants included in Table 7.5 were provided with objects intended as grave goods. These are displayed as Table 7.6, and included the Middle Iron Age cremation from Owslebury (Hampshire), whose associated objects were most likely included on the pyre at time of burning (discussed in Section 7.4.3).

Further likely instances include the provision of a complete pottery vessel and possible coffin, related iron nails and plate with infant Sk. 1391 from Poundbury (Dorset). This was one of five burials from the Late Iron Age associated with a complete pot - a factor commonly encountered during the subsequent Romano-British period. In support of this, this individual was also crouched and placed on its right hand side; positions widely attested both onsite and as part of the wider South-Eastern burial tradition (Farwell and Molleson 1993, 7; see also Whimster 1977; 1981).

Infants Sk.661 and 132(9) from Gussage All Saints (Dorset) were found to have green staining on their respective crania, implying some longer term contact with copper. These are therefore included on the presumption that copper was placed alongside them as part of deposition. However, the paper record was mostly absent for these two individuals and their associated features, and as such, it is also possible that they may have been placed as part of a structured practice. Certainly such practices have previously been discussed for Gussage All Saints by Hill (1995). There is no correlating evidence to link the deposition of bodies at Gussage to those of Poundbury, rather, Poundbury stands out in the same way that Owslebury does for Hampshire, as being different within its environ (after Redfern and Hamlin 2007).

The two Middle Iron Age burials from Winnall Down also suggest that the associated objects were intentionally placed in conjunction with their bodies, as does Sk.2062 from Gravelly Guy. The two Winnall Down examples were deposited in grave features, apparently cut solely for the containment of the body's and objects, as may have been the feature from Gravelly Guy, described by the site's excavators as being a 'scoop' (Lambrick and Allen 2004, 251). Therefore, defining any form of practice other than body disposal is problematic, and, as such, these do indeed appear to represent burials with associated grave goods.

County	Site	Feature	Chronology	Infant Sk.	Sk. Type	As. Objects
Dorset	Gussage All Saints	Pit	Late Iron Age	661	B	Copper object? (green staining to skull)
Dorset	Gussage All Saints	Pit	Late Iron Age	132(9)	A	Copper object? (green staining to skull)
Dorset	Poundbury	'Grave' in double-ringed roundhouse	Latest Iron Age	1391	A	'Coffin' nails, an iron plate and a complete pottery vessel. Iron plate and pot were found by the skull.
Hants.	Owslebury	Main antennae ditch of the Banjo Enclosure	Middle Iron Age	69	Cremation	Numerous fragments from three different pottery vessels and a bronze bracelet or torc, complete with threaded glass bead
Hants.	Winnall Down	Grave	Middle Iron Age	159	A	Complete pot (SF100)
Hants.	Winnall Down	Grave	Middle Iron Age	161	A	A double coil ring with point and an animal goad
Oxon	Gravelly Guy	Scoop	Early to Middle Iron Age	2062/A/1	A	A complete foetal lamb/goat and part of another and a fired clay object (loom weight?)

Table 9: Those infants more likely to have been associated with grave goods

7.6 Bondage, intentional violence and the possibility of infant sacrifice

The only evidence for a likely deliberately killed infant comes from Jay's Close (Viables II), Hampshire. Deposition L1037, aged between 6 and 7 months at time of death (Figure 7.25), is reported to have been intentionally split in half, from head to groin, either as cause of death, or occurring sometime immediately following death (Baxter and Duhig 2004, 24). The infant was associated with a number of saucepan sherds and fine flint saucepan type fabric vessels, along with an unspecified amount of animal bone (Baxter and Duhig 2004, 27). Baxter and Duhig (2004, 27) suggest that the severed half of this infant was placed in a crouched position in Pit F1036, and that it had been buried with some degree of ceremony as a ritual deposit. Despite the infant's strong association with Late Iron Age ceramics, Baxter and Duhig (2004, 27) dated the infant to the Early Roman period purely on the incorrect basis that infants were not deposited in pits during the Iron Age. This is clearly incorrect (see Fig. 7.5). Therefore the infant has been re-dated here as being Late Iron Age. It is entirely possible that this individual resulted through an act of human sacrifice.

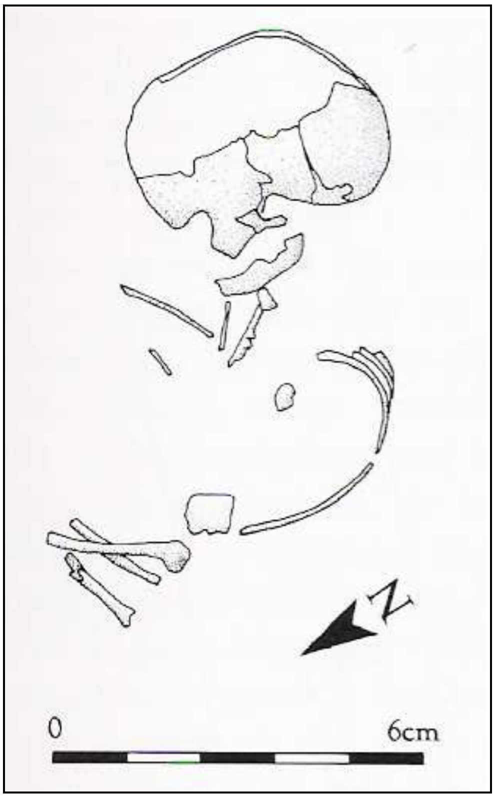


Figure 40: Deposition L1037 from Viables II (Jays Close) (Gibson 2004, Figure 6)

Two other infants were reported as having been possibly bound at time of deposition, a factor suggested by Green (2005) as having been associated with sacrifice and ritual violence at this time (discussed in Section 3.5.4). Both infants originated from Danebury in Hampshire - namely Sk.13 (aged *c.*3 years, EIA date) and Sk.19 (aged 0+, E-MIA date) - and were of a Type A deposit. Sk.19 arguably does not represent a bound infant, as up until the age of *c.*3 month's a baby's neck muscles remain tightly contracted, thus forcing it to have a naturally foetal like posture, which, arguably, may easily be mistaken for evidence of binding. This does not however, provide an explanation for infant deposition Sk.13. Supportive fabric evidence suggests that this infant was indeed bound at time of deposition (Walker and Hooper 1984). Whilst this need not immediately imply binding for sacrificial purposes: as it is possible that the body was wrapped to protect it in deposition, the lack of supportive evidence for protecting or covering the body for deposition, save perhaps for the Watkins Farm female (see Section 3.5.3) suggests that a ritual based rationale remains possible.

7.7 Conclusion

Having previously (chapters 5 and 6) established that (1) there was a juxtaposed selection of bodies and bones aged 'around birth' (Foetal to 0+) and adult for deposition throughout the Iron Age at the 33 associated sites, and (2) that it is likely that an Iron Age understanding of the lifecourse reinforced the selectivity of certain bodies and bones over others for deposition; this chapter has sought to examine whether infants were treated in the same ways as older individuals in death throughout the Iron Age. This was investigated using six specific questions (set out in Section 7.1), the results of which are now summarised below.

As discussed in Section 7.2, there is no evidence to suggest that infant bodies and bones were excluded from depositionary rationales at any type of site during the Iron Age. Rather, the above results suggest that deposition on hillfort sites consistently occurred in small numbers throughout the Iron Age, with the majority of associated depositions occurring on settlement sites. On settlements, infant deposition presents as having increased through time, peaking during the Late Iron Age. The results for cemetery associated deposition also suggested that infant bodies and bones were treated in similar ways to that accorded to older aged deposits. However, constituting a definition of ‘cemetery’ was complex, with five associated sites producing a recorded cemetery space contemporarily associated with ‘living’ occupational areas (see also Section 3.5.2). Infants were therefore deposited on all sites commonly associated with older deposits of human bone.

Infant bodies first entered the Iron Age record in similar ways to older bodies, being represented as Type A deposits (complete), Type B (incomplete) Type IB (isolated bones) and Type DIB (dual isolated bones). Although minimally represented, the repetitive nature of DIB deposits suggests intentionality. The majority, some 32% of the total infant dataset, were Type A. It has been acknowledged that taphonomic factors may have been partly responsible for shaping Type B, IB and DIB deposits over time, although, again, their repetitive nature suggests intentionality; a factor reinforced by their presence in other non-infant associated contexts. Therefore, despite some variability, they were still analysed here as part of the above investigation. Type B constituted 23% of the entire sample, IB 15% and DIB just 3%.

Further analysis revealed that the selective nature of depositing bodies and bones, from complete carcasses to fragmented bones, was underpinned by age preferences. For instance, 55% of Type A deposits, 47% of Type B deposits, 42% of IB deposits and 40% of DIB deposits were aged *c.* birth (foetal to 0+). There was no apparent evidence for either chronological or regional variations on this age:body type patterning.

Infants were excarnated, cremated, inhumed and deposited during the Iron Age in southern England, thus possibly explaining their under-representation within the mortuary record for this period in exactly the same way as that described for adults. Infant excarnation occurred via exposure, animal agency and by charring - all attested in the record for older bodies too. The early Middle Iron Age cremation from Owslebury (infant burial 69) suggests that cremation may have occurred in parts of southern England before the Late Iron Age. It also suggests that even at this early time, grave goods may have accompanied the infant body on the pyre at time of cremation. This has important implications for any consideration of identity implied by the provision of grave goods, which, as suggested in Section 3.4.3 has only ever been discussed in relation to the Late Iron Age record. A re-evaluation of the presence of grave goods with infant bodies is provided in Table 7.5, and concludes with the suggestion that seven of the individuals represented in the infant dataset were indeed provided with such items.

The deposition of infant bodies and bones occurred in all types of contextual features commonly attributed to older remains. They occurred in ditches, graves, pits, postholes, ramparts, scoops (possibly temporally understood to have been small pits), on and beneath occupational floors, gullies and in association with hearths. There was specific age and chronological patterning evident within this dataset, the results for which are provided above.

There is also evidence for intentional infant killing (possibly sacrifice) from Jay's Close (Viables II), Hampshire, which complements the kinds of body treatments discussed in relation to older bodies in Section 4.5.4. Here, a Late Iron Age - 6 to 7 month old - infant (Sk.L1037) was split in half from head to groin, either resulting in death or having been carried out immediately following death. Half of the infant was subsequently placed with some degree of ceremony in a crouched position, along with saucepan sherds, saucepan vessels and animal bone. It is likely that this was a result of sacrificial behaviour. A further infant (aged *c.*3 years) from Danebury was discovered in a bound position, as supported by associated textile evidence. A general lack of binding evidence, outside the domain of violence and humiliation (Green 2005) implies a possibility that this individual was also subjected to a ritualised act. A lack of associated skeletal evidence for sacrificial agency should not necessarily surprise us, as it is possible, for instance, that this individual suffered a blood wound that would have left no osteological indicator. This is however speculative but nonetheless possible. There is other supportive evidence for ritualised violence at Danebury, including human branding and skeletal markings of severe and intentional trauma and live burials (Green 2002, 2005).

In conclusion, the above evidence suggests that, without exception, infant bodies and bones were treated in identical ways to older aged individuals in death throughout the entirety of the Iron Age.

Chapter 8: Were infant bodies and bones structurally deposited during the Iron Age? If so, how were they treated in relation to associated deposits of animal bones, objects and materials?

8.1 Introduction

Having established in previous chapters that throughout the Iron Age, infants were similarly treated to older individuals in death, this chapter seeks to find a middle ground between what archaeologists understand to be both normative and non-normative body treatments at this time. Evolving out of Section 3.5.4, investigations will centre on the objectification of infant bodies, body parts and bones in Iron Age depositional contexts. Specifically, consideration shall be given to the nature and role of human infant bone, and its relation with other objects within structured depositionary practices at four sites in Hampshire. For reasons discussed in Section 8.4, this will involve a re-evaluation and reinterpretation of Hill's (1995) data results for Danebury, Winklebury and Winnall Down and his suggestion that human bodies and bones were structurally deposited in a similar way to a range of other materials found in pit features at these sites; albeit with some variation and patterning occurring between different human age groups (*ibid* 56). In addition, consideration will also be given to the limited, but nonetheless important, evidence for structured deposition at Houghton Down.

Hill (1995) approached human bone as a centrally structuring deposit, with which other find associations were either intentionally or accidentally made. Analysing the archaeological record for six sites in Wessex, Hill was able to demonstrate a number of statistical correlations between human remains and other types of materials, positing that:

> *An initial question at the beginning of this thesis was whether the presence of human remains had any impact on the other contents of the subsoil features they were found on. This study has shown that they clearly do, and that it is*

incorrect to perceive all finds assemblages from features as an undifferentiated whole (*ibid* 56).

While Hill (1995) provided statistical evidence for the importance of human remains within their associated features, he also provided examples where structured deposition practices occurred in isolation from human bone - e.g. Winnall Down, Pit 6595 (*ibid* 70-71) - demonstrating that in certain instances, the rationale for deposition didn't always hinge upon the availability of human material.

Hill (1995, 56) summarised that conceptually, humans were often deposited as "remains" rather than 'burials'. This chapter will seek to explore this relationship further, ascertaining whether deposits of human material were temporally understood as 'burials', 'remains' or even as objects by those responsible for their deposition.

8.2 Introduction to Hill's (1995) methodology

Building upon Maltby's (1985) faunal research at Balksbury, Hill approached his structured analysis via a standardised segmentation of pit features into pit-thirds. Regardless of the size of individual features and their number of associated fill layers, Hill broke each pit down into lower, middle and upper layers, thus being able to sub-analyse each contextual category on a vertical and horizontal matrix-associated basis (*ibid* 41, 53). Hill subsequently produced an investigation of individual layers, pit thirds and overall feature patterning, specifically seeking to identify repetitive deposition patterning in relation to the placement or - bearing in mind the possibility of taphonomic processing over time - presence of human bone, animal bone, objects and materials in either similar or differential contexts through time. Hill's thorough investigations centred on the identification of human remains, associated / articulated animal and human bone groups (termed ABG's), mean sherd weights for pottery (termed MSW's) and small finds.

Where present, Hill (1995) analysed associations between these different find categories, also considering their associated contextual and feature shape details. In order to achieve this, he collated data drawn from both archival visits and the published literature. Though patterning was visibly present in both pit-third and overall-feature analyses, results were less statistically significant for individual horizontal layers (*ibid* 42). Overall, results varied between sites and/or on same sites through time. Hill concluded that taphonomic factors alone could not explain the absence of material in certain fills or features, replying to both Maltby's (1985) and Wilson's (1985; 1989) suggestion that weather penetration and root damage often made upper-fill deposits more fragile than those deposited contextually lower within the fill sequence, by positing that objects may have been curated or (un)intentionally subjected to weathering or decomposition prior to deposition. Hill argued that in many instances it was pre, rather than post-depositional factors which affected subsequent archaeological visibility and survival (*ibid* 50-52).

Despite reporting evidence suggesting that pit shape occasionally influenced the types of finds deposited within features, Hill amalgamated his analysis for individual horizontal layers, analysing all features as if cylindrical (*ibid* 45). As such, the possibility of differential patterning between individual layers situated in different shaped features remains, in this case, uncertain and unexplored to date.

Hill (1995, 45) argued that future research 'must' test his approach by investigating deposition against a series of measured investigations, analysing deposition patterning throughout vertical fill matrices every 25 to 50 cm in depth. This would ensure correlation matrices could be established for all sites, highlighting presence and absence patterning. However, I would argue that this suggestion posits a modern academic agenda onto the Iron Age.

It is clear that many Iron Age features contain distinctive vertical (matrix) fill layering, isolated sections of which rarely conform to 25 to 50cm. There is no evidence for repetitively measurable feature fill conformity at this time. While Hill (1995, 66) suggests that at Danebury, features contained an average of 5.6 fill layers, this 'measurement' is in fact an approximation, making sense of consistently variable patterning.

For instance, of those pits containing human infant bone at Danebury, Pit 153 contained just two layers, while Pit 1285 contained eight. A review of the published literature for this site also suggests that some pits contained up to fifteen fill layers

(Pits 166 and 1115; Cunliffe 1984, 138, 144). This variability is supported by a quick review of the archaeological records for several other local sites. Pit 364 at Houghton Down contained fourteen fill layers. At Winnall Down, layers varied from between four (in Pit 1473) to 21 (in Pit 2416). This type of data therefore paints a conformist picture of fill layering during the Iron Age - ordering variability.

While it is necessary to establish firmer boundaries for structured analysis, it is my contention that an examination of individual fill layers, as implied by careful excavation practice and planning, coupled with identifying where layers occur within the feature's matrix pattern (basal to top position) is sufficient. Archaeologists need to pay closer attention to fill layering and matrix associated find relationships. It is unrealistic to expect archaeologists to undertake micro excavations of features. In the modern commercial world, defined by both time and fiscal restrictions, this kind of methodology would receive little realistic attention.

Hill's research results are considered in relation to results of the current analysis from Section 8.5 onward.

8.3 Further research on structured deposition

Since Maltby (1985) and Hill (1995), few archaeologists have specifically investigated and tested theories of structured deposition. Rather, ideas of structured practices have become engrained upon the Iron Age mindset, being presumed without detailed investigation. Previous investigations have predominantly centred upon Wessex (Hill 1995) and as Hamilton (1998, 23) has argued, 'the regional characteristics of such patterning have hardly begun to be defined'. Paradoxically, Collis (1997, 299) has suggested that the 'new' topic of structured deposition 'has run its course', failing to take into account the still raw potentiality of both Hill's original thesis (8.2) and any regional variability.

Since Hill (1995) only a handful of other researchers have attempted to investigate structured deposition. These include Adam Gwilt's (1997) research on Wakerley, Hamilton's (1998) research on Iron Age sites in Sussex, Hamilton and

Gregory's (2000) research on The Trundle, also in Sussex, and Woodward and Hughes' (2007) research on Crick Covert Farm, Northamptonshire.

Gwilt (1997) specifically considered the relevance of structured depositionary practices in the enclosure ditch areas at Wakerley. He concluded that practices of this nature were indeed evident. In a similar way to Hill's (1995) approach to pits, Gwilt sub-classified ditch fills into thirds, i.e. lower, middle and upper ditch sections. In doing this, structured deposition evidence emerged in relation to the placement of, and relationship between animal bone, pottery, slag, worked bone and human infant remains.

There was a low inclusion of sherds within the lower and middle fills of Enclosures A and B, with sherd visibility being high in the upper fills of B (Gwilt 1997, 157). The significance of this was further emphasised by the preferred deposition of pottery in site enclosure, rather than site interior areas and features (*ibid* 157). Sherd deposition was biased to 'the right (looking outwards) or south sides, of Enclosure A and B' (*ibid* 159; see also 160). An exceptional deposit of animal bone, slag and pottery was found in the upper fill of Enclosure B, and Gwilt emphasised that this deposit originated through human, rather than taphonomic, agency (*ibid* 159). Furthermore, a total of nine out of fifteen onsite associated infant 'burials' were deposited together in the top fill of the eastern enclosure terminal, 'echoing the structuring of the pottery' (*ibid* 160). Worked bone was discovered predominantly in pit contexts, which Gwilt (1997, 162) suggests related to the death and infilling of these features. Importantly, perhaps, Gwilt (1997, 162) suggests that 'the material type, rather than the original function of the artefact, was the important factor in this selection', possibly representing the taming of wild material by human agency, transforming it into a newly tamed and cultural object.

Hamilton (1998) re-evaluated structured depositionary practices at The Caburn, Sussex, while also considering similar contextual patterning evidence at Lancing Down, Slonk Hill, Bishopstone, Cissbury and The Trundle (*ibid* 37-38). Using 'elderly' (*ibid*) excavation records from as far back as 1881, Hamilton provided evidence for structured depositionary practices at all these sites. Though present, the evidence for this was site variable according to the quality of the associated archive.

Building upon Hill (1995), Hamilton (1998) sub-divided The Caburn pit features into three sub-sections: lower, middle and upper. From this, clear sequential patterning emerged, implying a preference for basal, and lower to mid fill level deposition. Specifically, all animal skulls, human remains, metal weapons, weaving combs, loom weights, costume items, defined as glass beads and pins (*ibid* 31), quernstone and a latch lifter were deposited on pit bases, while metal tools and spindle whorls were deposited in mid sections (*ibid* 29-31). Human remains were repetitively associated with bird bones (*ibid* 32), and were similar in deposition Type to both Copse Farm and North Bersted (*ibid* 37) - including articulated limbs and skulls.

Hamilton (1998) further suggests that at: Slonk Hill, querns and weights were placed in the 'lowermost parts of pits' (ibid 37; Hartridge 1978); Bishopstone, where querns were again deposited on pit bases and in the enclosure ditch near to the site entrance (ibid 32; Bell 1977); Cissbury, where the deposition of a quern fragment, iron knife, two loom weights were found on pit bases, while an iron rod was found in a mid context; and The Trundle, where human remains, a small iron knife, an iron spearhead, iron ferrule and two loom weights were found in lower pit levels.

Hamilton (1998) provides evidence that structured deposition was not limited to just pits and ditches. She suggests that three of the shrine associated postholes at Lancing Down (Bedwin 1981, 46) contained quern fragments; while at Harting Beacon, 'the entrance gateway was dismantled in the Middle Iron Age… and the postholes were backfilled' with structured deposits including quernstone fragments, a boar's tusk and human teeth (ibid 38). This was similar to The Trundle, where Posthole 9, situated at the east gate area produced a part of a human jaw, the majority of a rotary quern - suggestive of having been broken by fire - and a deliberately perforated boar's tusk (ibid 38).

Hamilton (1998, 25) also suggests that at the Caburn, many pits contained both Middle Iron Age and Late Bronze Age/ Earlier Iron Age pottery sherds, incorporating 'of previously curated rubbish'. In support of this, Hamilton and Gregory (2000, 69) impressively described how two of the pit features at The Trundle contained exclusive Early Iron Age material, alternating with exclusively Middle Iron

Age material, ‘culminating in the former’ (Curwen 1931), therefore also supporting the notion that material culture was curated for deposition inclusion.

Complementing the evidence for differential feature associated structured deposition; Woodward and Hughes (2007) provide some evidence for the intentional deposition of objects in ring gullies at Crick Covert Farm, Northamptonshire. Structured depositionary practices were apparent within the records for Periods 2-3 (Early Middle Iron Age), 4 (Late Middle Iron Age) and 5 (Late Iron Age), with both practice continuity and difference occurring both contemporaneously and between periods.

During Period 2-3, animal bone fragments were uniquely deposited in the back sections of gullies; charcoal and baked clay within both left and right hand-side gully terminals; and pottery within gully terminals, though usually being concentrated in just one only. Woodward and Hughes (2007, 196) suggest that during these periods, deposition seems to have been intentionally and repetitively patterned.

A more complex series of closely prescribed deposition rationales occurred in Period 4. From this time onwards the settlement was broken into two contemporary but different groupings, which the author’s define as Groups 1 and 2 (Woodward and Hughes 2007, 196). Both had differentiated deposition patterning. Group 1, consisting of more dispersed groups of unenclosed structures located on the upper sector of the site, boasted strong patterns of gully deposition. Woodward and Hughes suggest that animal bone fragments were more commonly encountered in left-hand gully terminals or sides than elsewhere. Deposits of both charcoal and burnt clay were strongly present in right-hand terminals, as was pottery, though also present, to a lesser extent, in both left-hand terminals and at the back of gully areas also. Ceramic analysis concluded that sherds from this period were deposited in a fresh unabraded condition, often originating from singularly associated vessels (*ibid* 197-8). Again, Woodward and Hughes suggest that deposition was, at this time, strongly prescribed.

The rationale of deposition appears to have changed during Period 5. Again there were two main contemporary yet different groups of structures at this time. Group 1, still comprising of the small unenclosed structures of Period 4 were now partially abandoned. Group 2 comprised of complex enclosed structure groups, situated on the gravel, and defined by wide and deep ditches (*ibid* 198). The deposition evidence for Group 1 implies a degree of continuity from the earlier period. Again animal bone fragments were strongly present in left-hand terminals or on the left side of the gully itself. Pottery was found in both terminals - where it was strongly represented - and at the back of gullies. Though unlike during Period 4, charcoal and burnt clay were exclusively found in both terminals and not along the right-hand side of their associated gullies. Woodward and Hughes (2007, 198) suggest that the biggest change in deposition occurred with Group 2 at this time. Prescribed deposition could no longer be substantiated, as more even patterns of deposition distribution emerged, with fairly even and homogenous spreads of objects and materials occurring throughout associated gullies. Woodward and Hughes (2007) suggest that in all periods, deposition most likely occurred immediately after the abandonment of the structures and that the deposition of materials may have originated though structure-associated middens, changing in terms of both content and spatial arrangement through time.

8.4 Introduction to the analysis: Danebury

By their very nature, deposition associated practices tend to produce fragmented datasets. Not only are associated deposits susceptible to taphonomic changes over time (see Section 3.3) but those dating to the Iron Age, in particular, often include deposits of bones and objects that were already fragmented at time of deposition (Hill 1995). Furthermore, an analysis of structured depositionary practices is heavily reliant upon detailed site excavation records and reports and is therefore susceptible to poor levels of recording at both field and post excavation levels. In the past, archaeological reports have tended to produce disjointed records, with deposition categories such as human bone, animal bone, pottery, metalwork, stone and structures, all having received individually based specialist attention. This has also resulted in the isolation and fragmentation of data otherwise necessary for a structured deposition analysis.

As part of this investigation, attempts were made to extract data in relation to the vertical and horizontal matrix position and patterning of different types of finds deposited in features associated with human infant bone (Figure 8.1). These finds included, for instance, deposits of other aged human bodies and bone, animal bone, pottery, metalwork and stone. Overall, recording of pit features tended to produce more detailed results, though only the site of Danebury produced a large enough (by Iron Age standards) assemblage with which to explore specific structured depositionary practices in detail. The other four specified sites offered variable degrees of potential, with certain features having received considerably more attention than others within their associated records and reports.

In order to explore the potentiality of structured depositionary practices, archival visits were undertaken where documentation was available. Otherwise, attempts were made to correlate finds and associated features through the published literature. Archival visits were useful for examining primary field notes and associated feature and section plans, all of which were especially important in establishing/ confirming associated feature matrices. Subsequently, a database was constructed to record the positioning of all recorded finds in relation to vertical and horizontal matrices and to highlight any potential spatial patterning in relation to whether finds were encountered in top, upper, middle, lower or basal fill levels.

Importantly, the framework adopted here differs to that of previous research, which, as suggested above, has traditionally centred upon the investigation of pit thirds (Maltby 1985; Hill 1995; Gwilt 1997). This is purely defined by the nature of the evidence. Having examined many pit plans, there would seem to be a distinction between basal/lower and topmost/upper deposition. Basal associated deposition has been previously discussed by Cunliffe (2003, 147, 149), who, in particular, has suggested that basal layers traditionally received deposits of ‘special’ objects and burials. It is therefore hoped that this revised sub-division of features may assist in identifying previously missed or contextually blurred associations.

In addition to this revision, the following analysis will adopt further methodological differences to those employed by Hill (1995). While Hill’s research was critical in identifying the possibility of structured deposition, it is possible that his methodological framework was too narrow sighted, as in the use of mean sherd weights (MSW’s; Hill’s deposition categories Ia and Ib) and associated/articulated bone groups (ABG’s; Hill’s Deposition category II) as indicators of special intentionality. While Hill identified clear statistical correlations between bodies and objects, a dearth of 'background' data presents as being overlooked. This chapter will test the thesis that in looking for the results of structured deposition, Hill's methodology was too specific, missing what may be termed the 'wider' or 'bigger' structured practice picture. It is possible that Hill's MSW's and ABG's assume too much, presuming quantity equated with importance. As identified in both Sections 3.5.3 for human adults and 7.3 for human infants, IB deposits of human bone were often intentionally incorporated within acts of deposition. The question therefore remains as to whether IB deposits of other objects and materials were equally intentional. Therefore the framework adopted here is more subtle in nature to that employed by either Hill (1995) or Gwilt (1997).

Rather than test Hill's statistical evidence, the following analysis assumes result accuracy, being reflective of true correlations. As such, the focus of the current analysis will not depend on the identification of either MSW's or ABG's. Emphasis will in stead be placed upon basic patterning evidence or discrepancy, attempting to highlight the role and relationship played by human remains and other objects; or rather within 'the bigger' picture.

Section 8.7 will consider the evidence for structured depositionary practices at Danebury. This will be achieved by initially investigating the contextual position of objects and bones within the vertical matrix contexts (VCs) of the twelve infant associated pits. Enquiries will seek to identify any repetitive patterning evidence in relation to the contextual placement of objects in certain fills (or not) within feature matrices. Following this, a closer examination of infant associated 'same horizontal context as infant bone' (SHC) patterning will similarly seek to identify repetitive relationships. SHC results will then be compared to the evidence for VC patterning, with a view to ascertaining the role played by human bone within acts of structured deposition and their relationship with/to deposits of animal bone and objects. Section 8.8 will then consider the evidence for structured deposition at the remaining four sites. Where relevant, results obtained from either Hill (1995) or Gwilt (1997) will be discussed as part of the following analysis.

8.5 Background to the Danebury data

Age at death

Twenty-two infant depositions were discovered at Danebury. These were aged between 0± and 3 years. Associated skeletal details are provided in Table 8.3 (Table 8.1 provides a general chronology for Danebury). Of the twenty two depositions, twenty were aged 'around birth' (0±), one *c*.1 year and one *c*.3 years (Walker 1984; Hooper 1991) (see also Fig. 8.1). This age patterning matched the wider evidence for age selectivity for this period (discussed in chapters 5 and 6). As demonstrated by figure 8.2, six depositions dated to the Early Iron Age, two to the Early-Middle Iron Age and Middle Iron Age and eight to the Mid-Late Iron Age. Four depositions were ambiguously dated as 'Iron Age' only. A specific consideration of associated chronology is provided in Figure 8.2, which suggests that deposits of infant bodies and bones occurred consistently - albeit in small numbers – throughout the Iron Age.

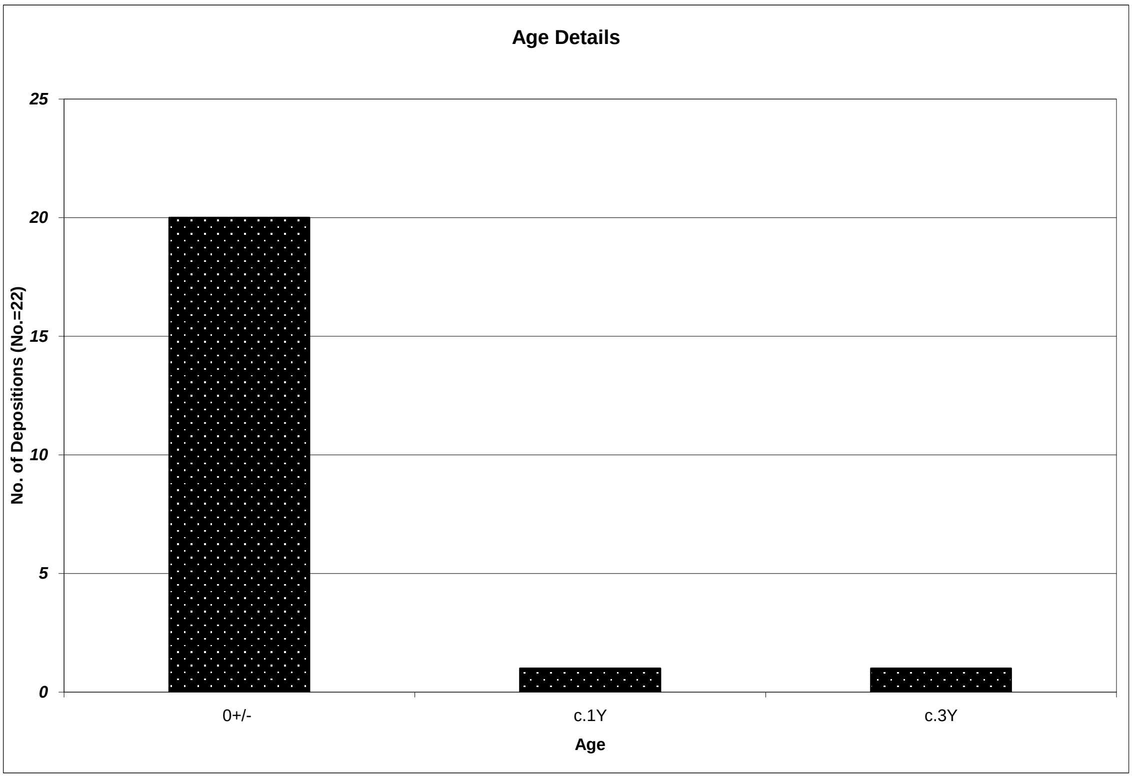


Figure 41: Age of depositions at Danebury

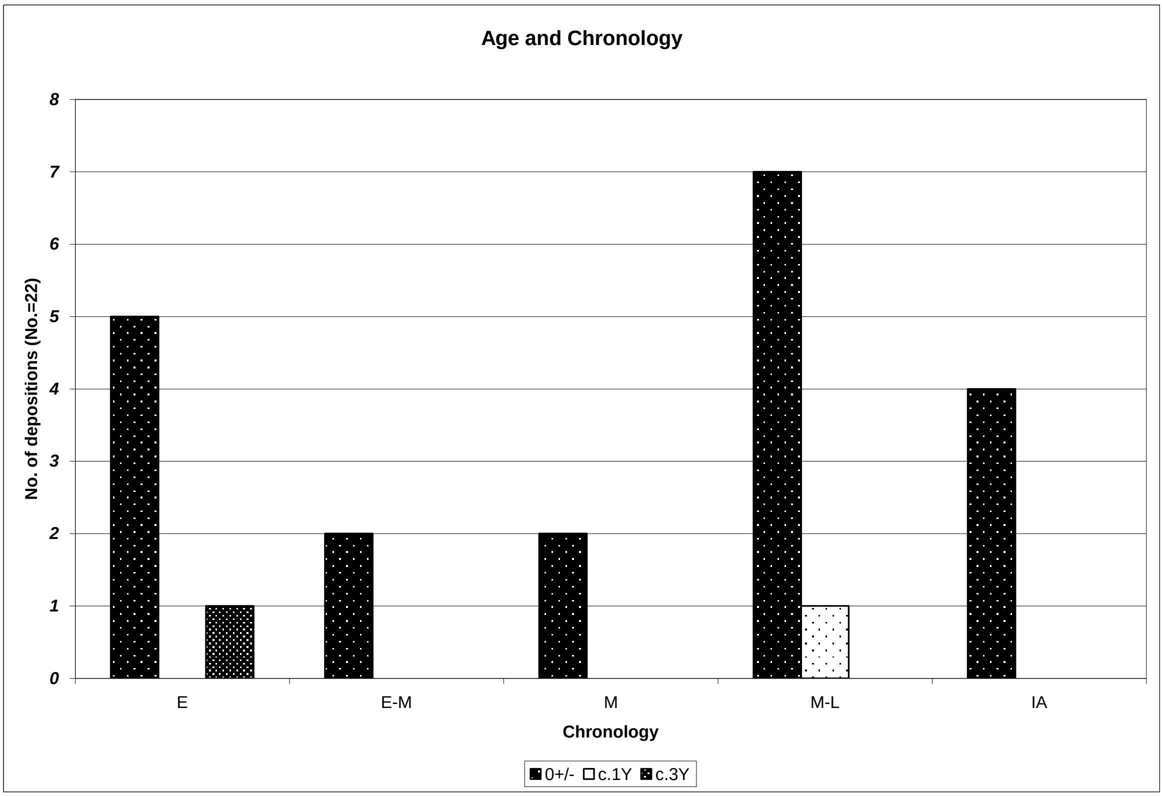


Figure 42: Age of depositions and associated chronology at Danebury

Ceramic Phase (CP)	Associated Dating	Phasing
1-3	550-450BC	EIA
4-5	450-400BC	E-MIA
6	400-300BC	MIA
7	300-100/50BC	M-LIA

Table 10: Danebury's occupational chronology (after Cunliffe 1984, 242)

Skeletal categories

Of those depositions with recorded details, thirteen were skeletal Type A, two Type B, five Type IB and two Type DIB (Figure 8.3). Type A depositions occurred in small numbers throughout the Iron Age. Type B depositions dated to the Middle to Late Iron Age, Type IB depositions to the Early and Mid to Late Iron Age, and DIB depositions to the Early Iron Age only (Figure 8.4).

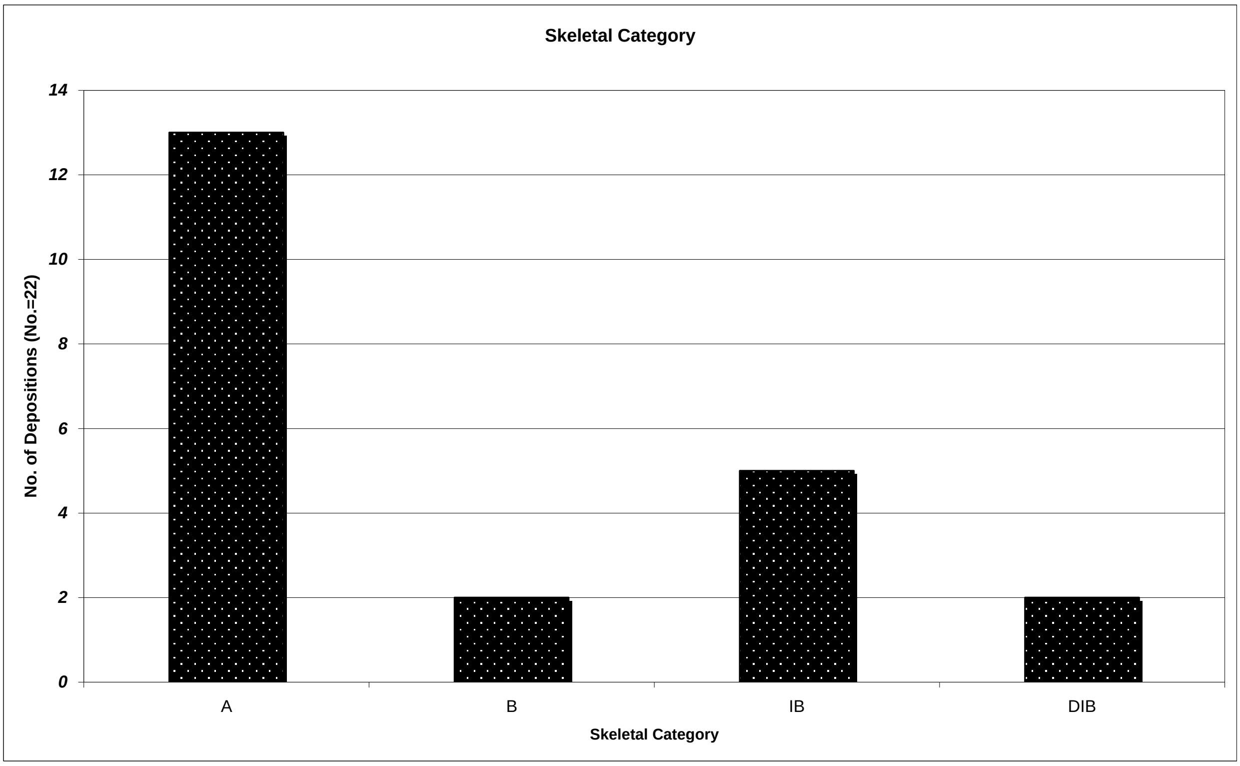


Figure 43: Associated skeletal categories at Danebury

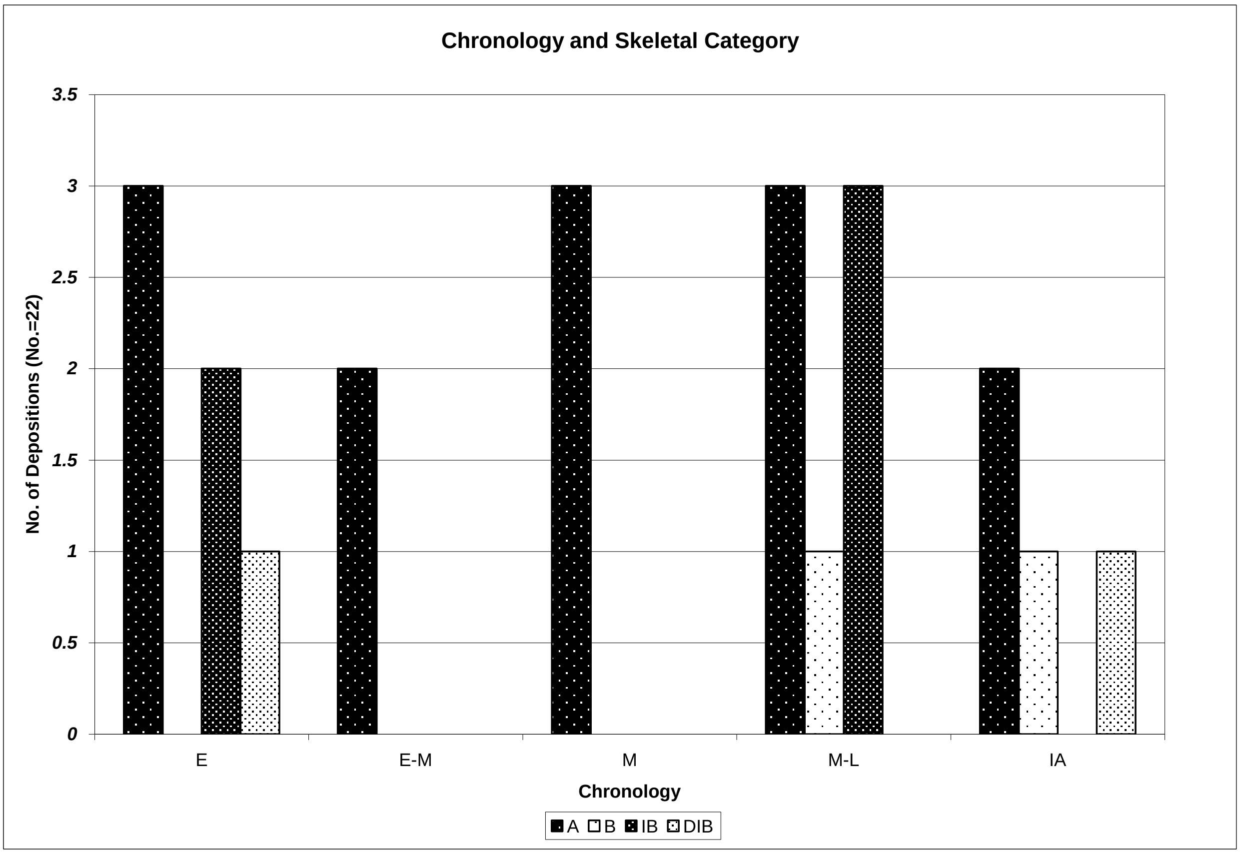


Figure 44: Skeletal category and associated chronology at Danebury

Contexts of deposition

Associated depositions were discovered in three different site features. A single deposition was found in House Gully CS9, fifteen were found in pits and six in postholes. Aging details per associated features are given in Table 8.2. The gully deposition (Sk.171) dated to the Early Iron Age. One posthole deposition dated to the Early Iron Age and another to the Early to Middle Iron Age, while the remaining five were ambiguously dated to the 'Iron Age' only. As highlighted by Table 8.3, pit deposition occurred throughout the Iron Age.

Feature	**0±**	**0+**	**1y**	**3y**
Gully	-	1	-	-
Pit	3	10	1	1
Posthole	-	6	-	-

Table 11: Infant aging data for associated features at Danebury

Poor levels of recording affected the potential for exploring gully and posthole associated structured deposition. In contrast, the archive for the pit depositions was good and it was possible to trace the paper record for twelve of the fourteen associated features. An absence or misplacement of records relating to depositions Sk.98 and Sk.218 meant that analysing their contribution to an understanding of structured deposition was either limited (Sk.98) or not possible (Sk.218).

Pit categories at Danebury

Using Alasdair Whittle's (1984, 128-131) classification of pit categories at Danebury, three different types of associated pits emerged from within the infant dataset. These were beehive pits, cylindrical pits and sub-rectangular pits. A fourth type of pit feature not included within Whittle's classifications was also added to explain the discovery of deposition Sk. 98 in pit 158. This pit feature was simply labelled as being irregular. Specific chronological details for each of these types of associate pit feature are given in Table 8.3.

It should be noted that these categories of pit shaping are not transferable throughout the wider thesis study area. There is some evidence for regional variability, both in the use and form of pit features throughout the Iron Age. For instance, Hamilton (1998) has discussed feature shape variation in Sussex, with local differences including the presence of oblong, oval, round/circular, square/squarish, heart shaped, rectangular, triangular, quadrangular, and pyriform pits. While Hamilton suggests the possibility that some shapes may have resulted through irregular excavation practice, she also describes their consistent presence both through time and on a number of different local sites (*ibid* 25). This is further supported by the general infant dataset used within the current thesis. For instance, rectangular pits were discovered at both Winklebury, Hampshire (associated with deposits Sk. 744 and 626) and Gussage All Saints, Dorset (associated deposit Sk. 942(3)). In addition to this, one need only consider preferences in depositional contexts outside Wessex to find that instances where pits were rarely used to contain human remains. Northamptonshire provides a good example of this in relation to the deposition of infant bodies and bones. From an associated county sample of nineteen infants, just one was found in a pit context (Sk.F274, Wakerley), with the remaining depositions all being found in ditch areas and graves. In contradiction, on some sites such as Tattenhoe, the deposition of cremated human remains commonly occurred in pit features (Inskip and Lally 2007), demonstrating the variable, yet intentionally prescriptive, nature of the rationality for deposition at this time.

Table 8.3 demonstrates that at Danebury, ten of the fifteen associated depositions (75%) were placed into larger beehive pits. Of the ten beehive associated depositions, two (Sk. 17 and 18) were deposited together in Middle Iron Age pit 430. This represents the only double deposition of infant bodies at Danebury. The second most frequently encountered onsite pit categories were sub-rectangular and cylindrical features, both of which were associated with only two infant depositions each. Their chronological details are given in Table 8.3. Details relating to the ages of associated infants per pit category are given in Figure 8.5, and associated skeletal patterning in Figure 8.6.

Infant Sk.	Pit	Pit Type	IA Chronology
13	374	Sub-rectangular	Early
15	381	Beehive	Early
17 and 18	430	Beehive	Middle
19	437	Beehive	Early to Middle
31	857	Sub-rectangular	Early to Middle
92	79	Beehive	Middle to Late
98	153	Irregular	Early
115	463	Beehive	Middle to Late
189	1285	Beehive	Middle to Late
218	2115	Beehive	Middle to Late
219	2155	Beehive	Middle to Late
252	2566	Beehive	Middle to Late
278	2145	Cylindrical	Middle to Late
283	2589	Cylindrical	Middle to Late

Table 12: Details of associated infant deposition, pit number, pit shape and individual chronology

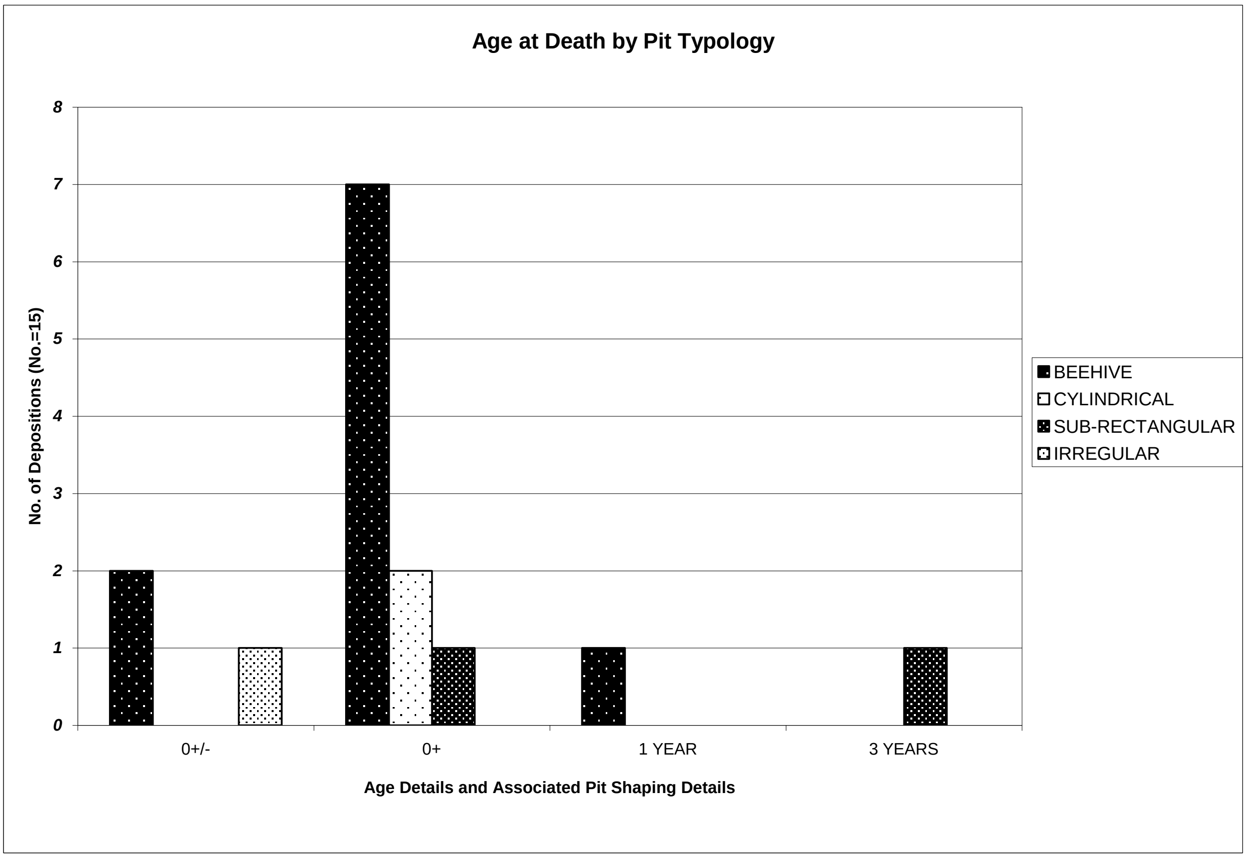


Figure 45: Age at death and pit typologies

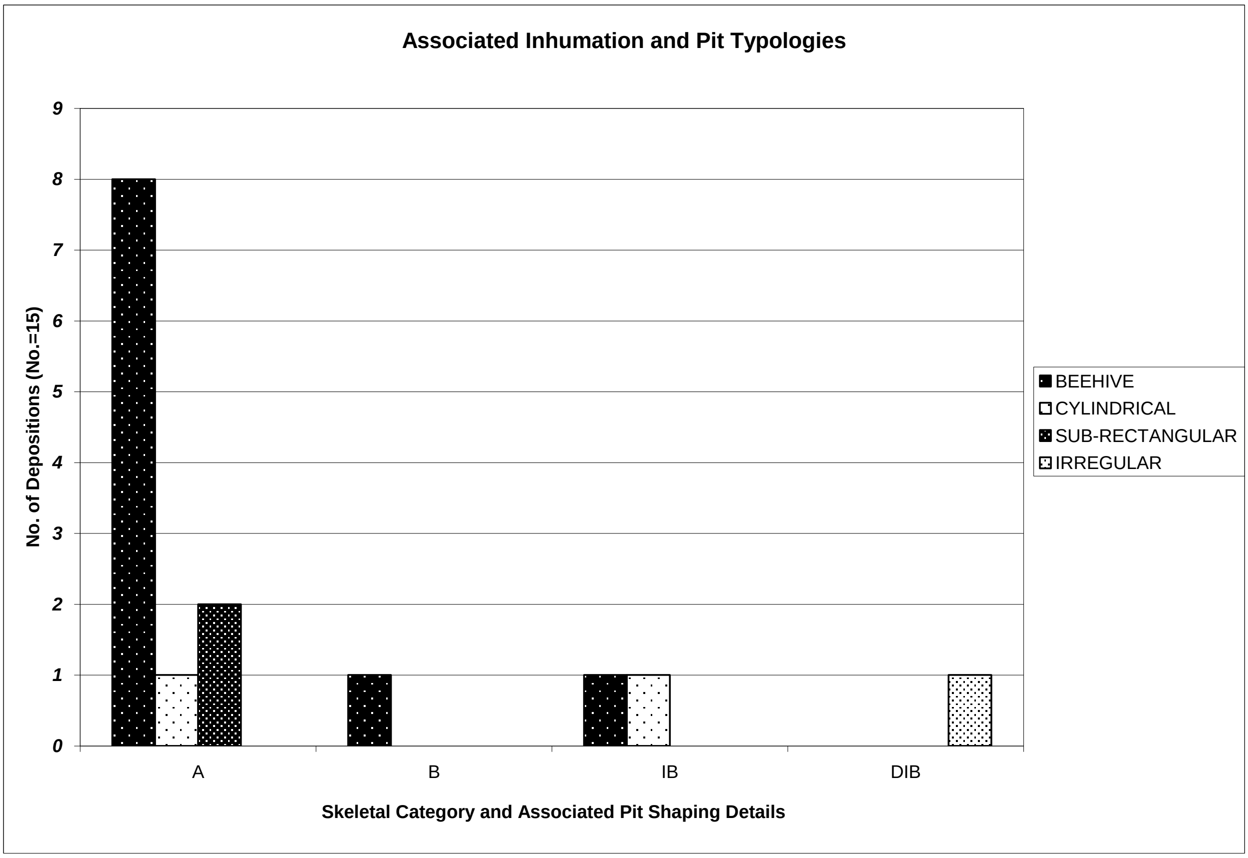


Figure 46: Associated deposition and pit typologies

8.6 Structured deposition at Danebury

8.6.1 Overall Vertical Context (VC) results

Human bone

Background to human deposition in pit features at Danebury

As part of background archival research into human demography at Danebury, a total of 235 human depositions were discovered in pit features. Of those with recorded VC details, fourteen were infants, 31 children, 28 adolescents, 113 adults and 48 were ambiguously aged. Figure 8.7 demonstrates the overall vertical matrix patterning for these deposits, while Figure 8.8 provides a breakdown of these in relation to different ages at death.

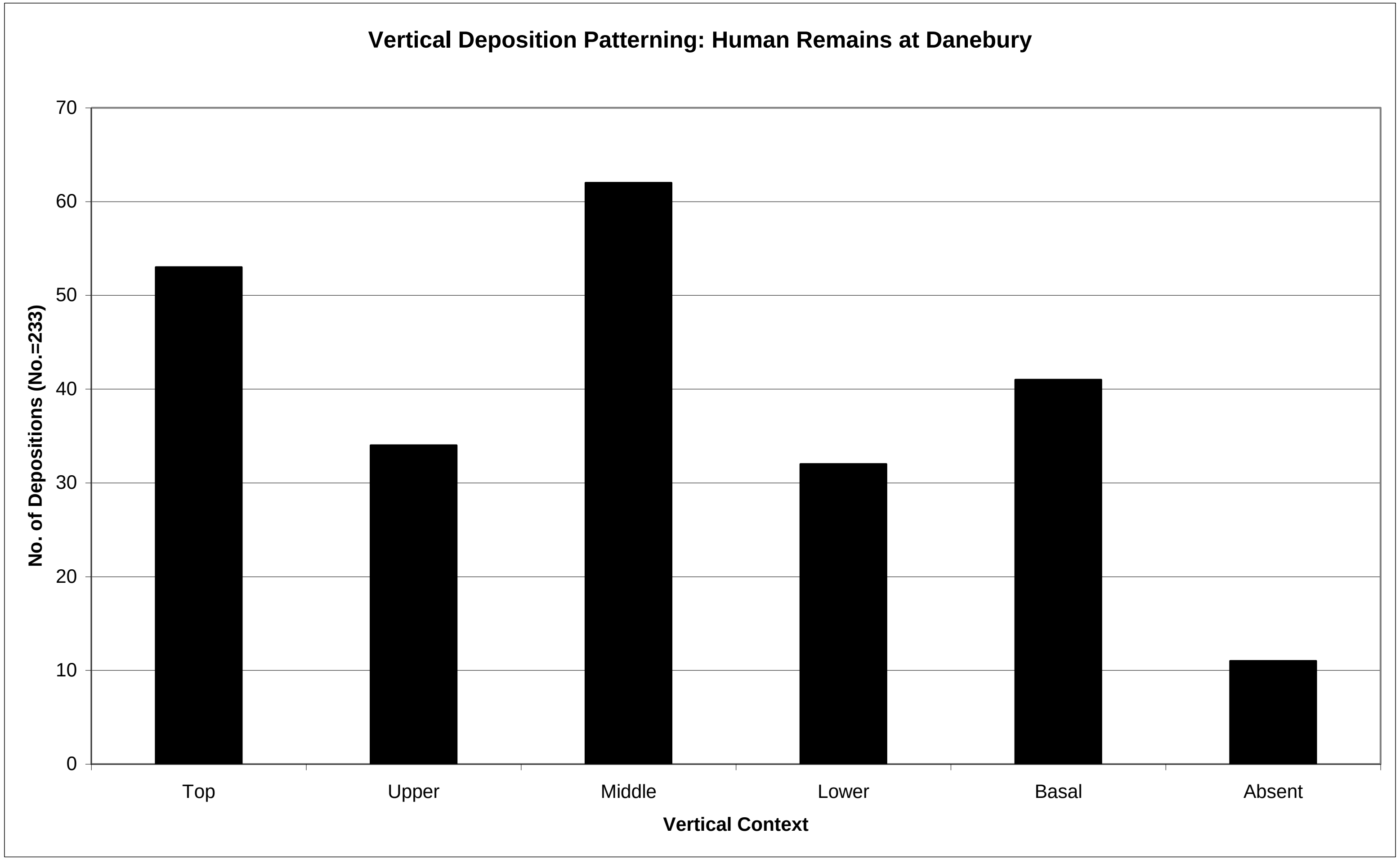


Figure 47: VC patterning of human remains in pits at Danebury

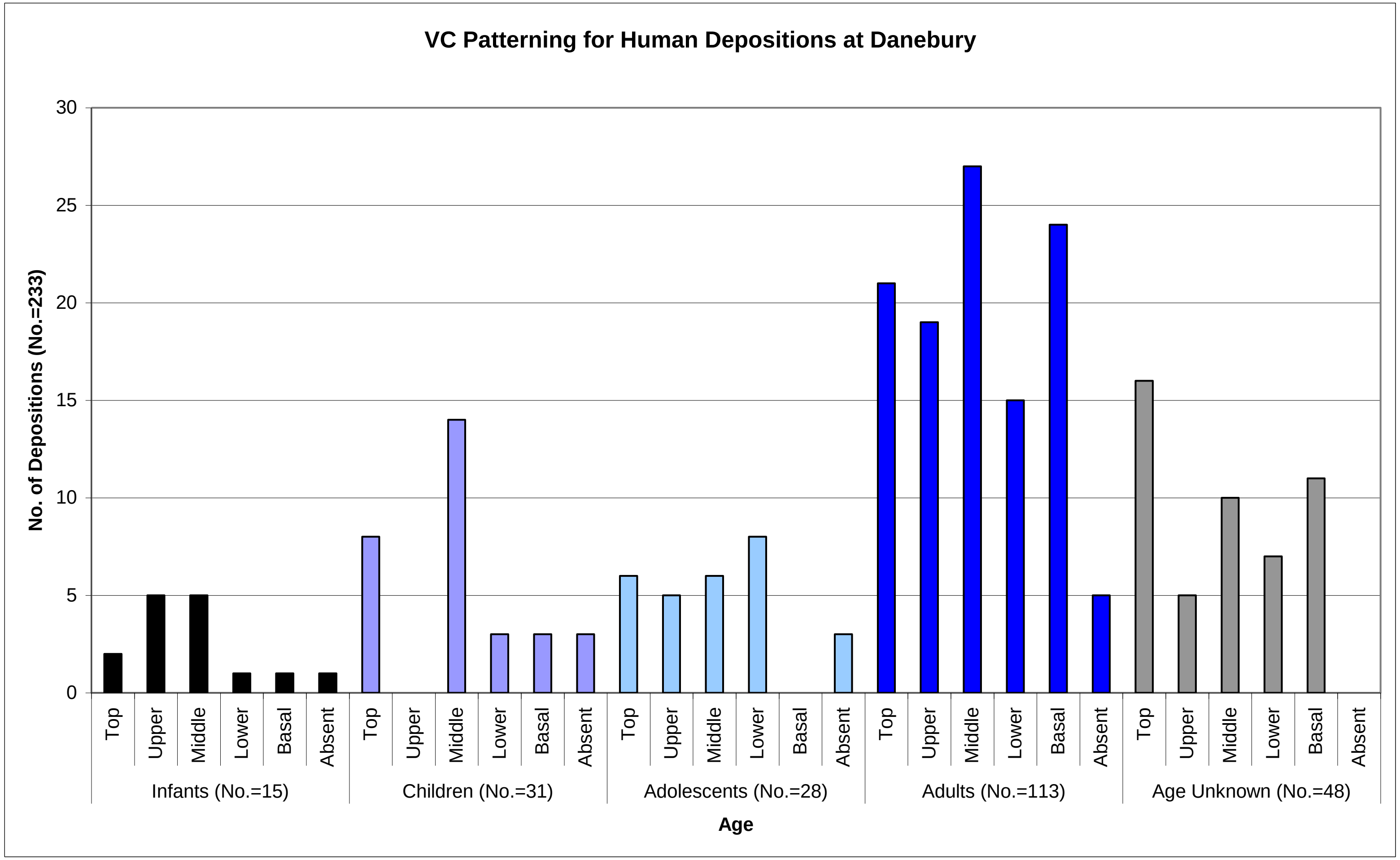


Figure 43: VC Patterning for different age groups in pits at Danebury

Results of analysis

With regards to the current structured deposition analysis, just nineteen deposits of human bone were encountered in seventeen of the investigated VCs. Of these, fifteen were aged infant and four adult. Two infant depositions were found in top and lower VCs, five in upper and middle VCs and one in a basal VC. Of the adult depositions, one was found in an upper and middle VC and two in lower VCs. Skeletal Type details for infants are given in Figure 8.3. With regards to the adult depositions, one was skeletal Type A (found in a lower VC) and IB (found in an upper VC) and two were skeletal Type B (found in an upper and middle VCs).

Both the Type A and one of the Type B depositions were found in the same Early Iron Age pit as infant Sk. 13. The remaining Type B deposition was dated Mid to Late Iron Age and the IB deposition was Middle Iron Age. Two adult depositions were excarnated, with the IB deposition - a proximal end of a left femur - associated with carnivore gnaw marking, while one of the B depositions included a detached from torso articulated forearm (discussed in Section 4.5.3) - which was likely to have been removed after an initial period of exposure and meaty decomposition. Based on figures 8.7 and 8.8, the nineteen human depositions found in the twelve sampled pits represent just 8% of the overall skeletal record at Danebury.

Animal bone

There were six different species represented within the associated VC sample. These were sheep/goat, cow/ox, pig, horse, dog and bird bones.

Sheep

In keeping with the overall site faunal record (Grant 1984, 501; Grant *et al* 1991, 452), the overwhelming majority of the analysed animal bone came from one species, namely sheep. 1095 associated sheep bones emerged; constituting 79% of the entire VC associated faunal record. Sheep bone was discovered in 50 (66%) out of an investigated 76 VC layers. This included the discovery of six complete sheep skulls, which, Cunliffe (2003, 147) suggests, were representative of favoured objects for onsite 'ritual' deposition. Both Wait (1985, 134-137) and Hill (1995, 60) suggest that sheep were usually deposited as either complete or partial carcasses, while cattle were usually represented by skulls. Therefore the discovery of six skulls within features containing human infant bone presents as unusual.

Associated sheep bone was discovered in all twelve of the associated pits, eight of which were classified as beehive, two as cylindrical and two as sub-rectangular. Eight bones were dated to the Early Iron Age, 28 to the Early to Middle Iron Age, fifteen to the Middle Iron Age and a striking 1044 bones (95% of all associated bone) to the Mid to Late Iron Age. This patterning differed to the general faunal record for Danebury, in which sheep bone constituted 57% of the early, and 68% of the late, faunal record (Grant 1984, 501), dipping in visibility during the Middle period (Grant *et al* 1991, 452). Based upon this evidence, it would seem that the role played by sheep bone within acts of structured deposition changed through time. Though abundantly available during the earlier and middle period, building upon Grant *et al* (1991, 454), the rationale for deposition seems to have placed a greater emphasis upon small scale incorporation, shifting in the later period to a numerically stronger representation.

The majority of bone originated from lower VCs (542/1095, 49%). The second most frequent context was that of top VCs (303/1095), followed by middle VCs (155/1095), upper VCs (66/1095) and basal VCs (29/1095). This evidence suggests a clear preference for lower and top VC associated deposition.

In a similar way to the human infant bone, deposition Type categories emerged from within the sample. This included the deposition of ten DIB deposits, three of which were placed as part of basal fills and two as a part of topmost fills. This repetitive patterning is more impressive within the deposition matrix for Early Iron Age Pit 374, in which four separate DIB deposits were encountered, one being deposited at basal, mid, upper and topmost VC levels.

Cattle

Cattle were the second most prevalent species within the analysed pit sample. They were represented by 196 bones, forming 14% of the associated VC record, compared to an overall presence of 20% within the Danebury faunal record as a whole (Grant 1984, 510; Grant *et al* 1991, 462) and were found in 38 (50%) of the 76 analysed VCs. Cattle bone was found in ten pit features, and dated to all chronological periods, though increasing sharply during the later Iron Age. This contrasted against the general picture of wider onsite cattle bone deposition, which went into decline from the middle period (Grant 1984, 511), reaching the lowest level of deposition in the late period, before resuming strongly again in the latest final phase (Grant *et al* 1991, 462). Overall, the current analysis identified seven Early and Middle Iron Age bones, five Early to Middle Iron Age bones and 177 (90%) Mid to Late Iron Age bones. Contextually, 49 bones were found in top VCs, 34 in upper, 31 in middle, 78 in lower and just four in basal VCs.

In a similar way to both the deposition of human infant, and sheep bone, deposits of cattle bone produced strong Type patterning. This included six IB deposits, seven DIB deposits and six deposits of three - non-specified - bones in isolation. Both DIB and three bone deposition occurred through all periods, while IB occurred only in Mid to Late contexts.

Pig

Pigs were the third most prevalent species within the current analysis, with 74 associated bones, or just 5% of the associated VC record. Pig bone was discovered in twenty (26%) of the 76 analysed VCs. In a similar way to the deposition of cattle bone, this presence rate was markedly under the onsite average, in which pigs constituted 12% of the overall faunal record (Grant *et al* 1991, 470). Associated pig bone was discovered in eleven pits. Two bones dated to the Early Iron Age, eleven to the Early to Mid Iron Age, two to the Middle Iron Age and 59 - a strong increase - to the Mid to Late Iron Age. This increase contrasted with a wider onsite reduction in pig bone presence during the later period (Grant *et al* 1991, 470-473).

Results also produced evidence for repetitive deposition Type patterning. Of the twenty pig bone producing VCs, eight were Type IB, of which four were Early and Middle Iron Age and four Mid to Late Iron Age; six were Type DIB, all of which were Mid to Late Iron Age in date, and three VCs contained a deposit of three pig bones together. The deposition of three isolated bone was repetitively encountered with deposits of sheep bone (see above).

Early Iron Age feature 374 contained two pig producing VCs, both of which contained Type IB deposits. Early to Middle Iron Age feature 437 was similarly constituted. Of the Mid to Late Iron Age features, Pit 79 contained two Type IB deposits contextually situated above a DIB deposit, Pit 1285 similarly produced a Type IB deposit situated above a Type DIB deposit within the fill matrix, while the deposits of pig bone found in both Pits 2155 and 2566 were exclusively represented by DIB deposits.

In addition, there was one associated "special deposit" of a complete pig skull discovered in Mid to Late Iron Age Pit 2145. This was found along with a complete sheep skull and other objects. Together, these were contextually beneath another VC layer which also produced a complete sheep skull and it would therefore seem that the pig skull made up part of a package of objects for deposition. A total of thirty pig bones were found in top VCs, five in upper VCs, eight in middle VCs, 27 in lower VCs and four in basal VCs.

Horse

Twenty one horse bones were found in three of the associated pits, all of which were Mid to Late Iron Age in date. This constituted 1.5% of the associated pit record, compared to a general 3% presence as part of the wider site faunal record (Grant *et al* 1991, 518). Chronologically, small numbers of horse bone were deposited throughout the Iron Age at Danebury, being generally well distributed across the site (Grant *et al* 1991, 518). It is therefore interesting that they do not appear associated with human infant remains until the late period, at a time in which their general pattern of onsite inclusion also increased slightly (Grant *et al* 1991, 518).

Two of the investigated pits produced IB deposits of horse bone, while the remaining feature produced nineteen bones. The majority of bone (10/21) was found in one associated lower VC. The remaining eleven bones all came from mid to top VCs. There was an absence of associated basal VC deposits. Hill (1995, 62) has suggested that horses were accorded ‘special treatment’ in both deposition and perception. Save for their incorporation into structured deposits, and their IB patterning, there is little evidence to suggest that they were accorded an unusually ‘special’ treatment within the pits containing human infant bone at Danebury.

Dog

Dogs were minimally represented in both the site and associated sample record, though this need not be taken to imply their casual deposition. Grant *et al* (1991, 476) reported that dog bone constituted just 3% of the entire faunal assemblage at Danebury. A total of seven dog bones were found in five associated features. This constituted 0.5% of the associated faunal record. All deposits were Mid to Late Iron Age. They were discovered in top, middle, lower and basal VCs: with two bones represented in lower VCs. Deposits comprised only Type IB (three deposits) or DIB (two deposits). Mid to Late Iron Age Pit 1285 produced a basal IB deposit, followed by a lower DIB and a mid IB deposit. In a similar way, Pit 2155 – similarly dated to 1285 – produced a lower IB, followed by a mid DIB deposit.

Hill (1995, 41) has suggested that his analysis revealed that during the Iron Age dog bones showed a series of relationships with other species. This ‘special’ relationship did indeed present itself as part of the current investigation, yet also included a repetitious association with pottery sherds and possibly other objects and materials. For instance, IB deposits of dog bone were discovered alongside: thirteen sheep bones, an IB deposit of cattle bone, three pig bones, an IB deposit of horse bone, fourteen pot sherds, a daub oven cover, upper green sandstone and charcoal in VC 4 of Pit 1285; as well as, fourteen sheep bones, a DIB deposit of cattle bone, sixteen pot sherds, two rotary querns, lower green sandstone, an IB fragment of briquetage, a decorated daub oven cover and charcoal in VC 8 of Pit 1285; and twelve sheep bones, a complete sheep skull, three cattle bones, a DIB deposit of pig bone, 22 pot sherds, daub and charcoal in VC 4 of Pit 2155. DIB deposits were found alongside: 133 sheep bones, 21 cattle bones, seven pig bones, 59 pot sherds, a chalk weight, lower greensand stone and charcoal in VC6 of Pit 1285; and 48 sheep bones, fifteen cattle bones, a DIB deposit of pig bone and 69 pot sherds in VC 2c of Pit 2155.

Bird

The skeletal remains of a single bird were found in a top VC in Mid to Late Iron Age pit 2589. Unfortunately details relating to species of bird were absent from both the site's paper archive and microfiche bird report (Serjeantson 1991, microfiche 30:C6-9), though as highlighted by Hill (1995, 63), Danebury had many bird ABG's, including corvids, waterfowl and two kittiwakes.

Other objects

Pottery

There were 848 associated deposits of pottery discovered in twelve of the sampled pits. Two were partially broken vessels found in Early to Middle Iron Age pit 437 (associated with Sk. 19). Ten sherds dated to the Early Iron Age, 94 to the Early to the Middle Iron Age, ten to the Middle Iron Age and 734 to the Mid to Late Iron Age. Of these, 219 were discovered in top VCs, 115 in upper VCs, 185 in mid VCs, 269 in lower VCs and 60 in basal VCs. Distinctive patterning also emerged in relation to the chronologically associated number of sherds / vessels deposited per period. Numbers were small during the Early and Middle period, peaking at 33 in VC 2a of Pit 857.

During this time, both IP (Isolated Pot) and DIP (Dual Isolated Pot) patterning emerged. For instance, Early Iron Age Pit 374 produced two separate DIP deposits, one (VC 3a) being associated with an IB deposit of pig bone. Similarly dated Pit 382 produced an IP sherd deposit, associated with a DIB sheep bone (VC 1), both situated contextually above infant 15a in VC 2c. In a similar way to the deposition of sheep and pig bone, there was also some patterning suggesting the intentional deposition of three isolated pottery sherds together during the Early and Middle periods. These were found in VC 6 (basal layer) of Early Iron Age Pit 374, and within VCs 2 and 4 (both contextually mid VCs, though 4 was the lowest VC to produce finds within this feature) of Middle Iron Age Pit 437: both VCs also produced a DIB deposit of sheep bone. The inclusion of relatively small numbers of sherds per associated VC sharply changed during the Mid to Late Iron Age, with larger numbers of sherds per VC becoming more commonly encountered. Contemporary with this, the focus of IP and DIP deposits diminished somewhat, with only one IP deposit being discovered with infant 278 in VC 3 of Pit 2145, while the DIP deposit was discovered along with four sheep bones, an IB deposit of both cattle and pig bone, and the isolated small find of an iron bucket handle in VC 4 of Pit 463.

Metal objects

Seventeen associated metal objects were found in just three of the sampled pits. All were Mid to Late Iron Age in date. Pit 79 produced fifteen objects, including: iron rod (SF206), iron socketed tool fragment (SF207), iron ferrule (SF208), iron tanged object (SF209), iron bloom fragment (SF210), iron hooked cutting blade (SF211, see Fig. 8.9), and a copper sheet fragment (SF279), iron strip (SF173), iron object (SF174), iron bar (SF175), three iron fragments (SF's 176, 177, 181), iron object (SF280) and iron sub-rectangular binding sheet (SF 171).

Sellwood (1984, 366) reported that five of these objects were sheet iron fittings (though which five remains uncertain), of which, only a limited number were found onsite (24 during the 1969-1978 excavations and an unspecified number during the 1979-1988 excavations (Palk 1991, 353)). SF211 was one of only 47 hooked cutting blades found onsite (Fig. 8.9). SF208 was only one of four ferrules found onsite (Palk 1991, 351). SF209 was only one of two tanged chisels found onsite (Sellwood 1984, 351). SF206 was one of only thirteen reported tools made from small iron rods found as part of the 1969 to 1978 excavations (Sellwood 1984, 354, a further unspecified number of rods were also found as part of the 1979 to 1988 excavations (Palk 1991, 353)). SF210 is the only example of an iron bloom found onsite (Sellwood 1984, 371).

Pit 463 contained a single deposit of an iron bucket handle (SF 498), of which there were only eight found in total at Danebury (Sellwood 1984, 370; Palk 1991 353). Pit 2589 contained an iron currency bar (two given SF numbers: 2712 and 2716), of which there were only 31 found in total onsite, with 21 of these coming from a single hoard deposition (Palk 1991, 351). Sixteen of the seventeen associated objects were found in lower VCs. The remaining object was found in a basal VC. No objects were encountered above lower VCs.

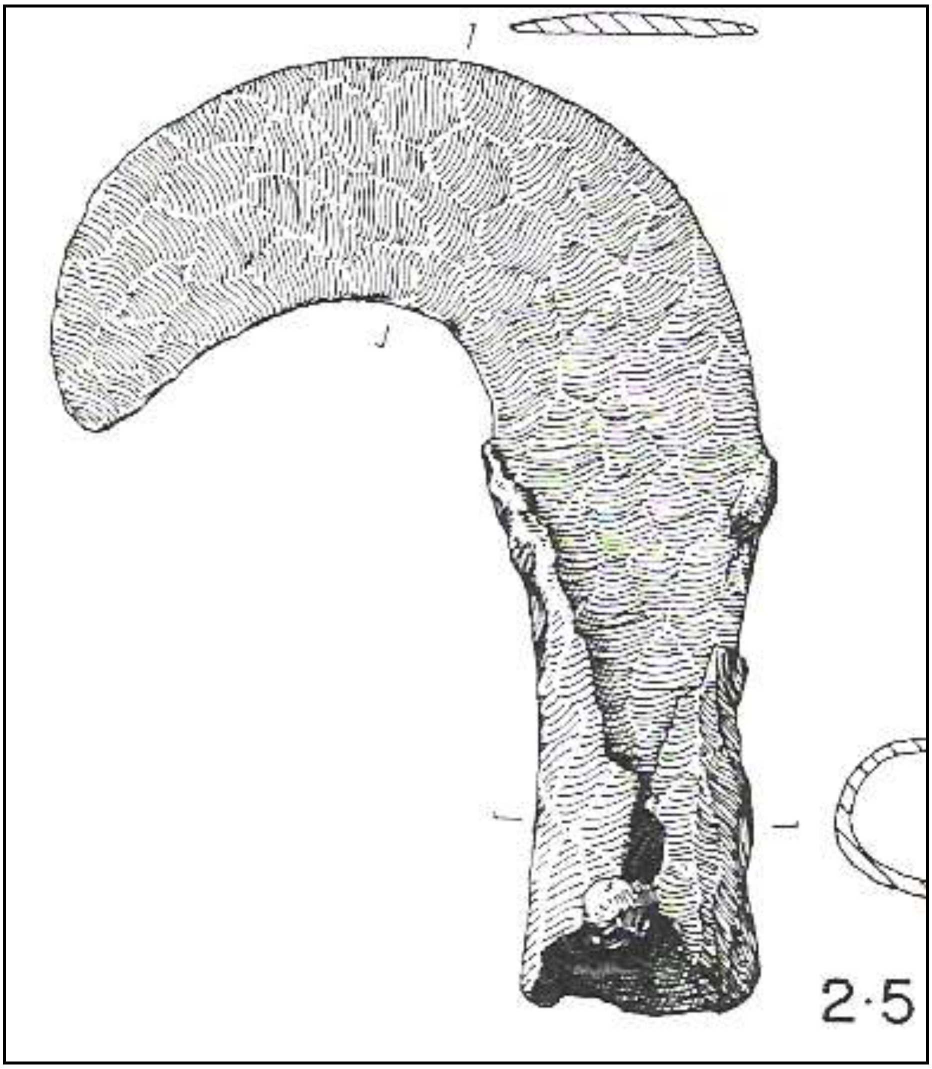


Figure 49: SF211 from pit 79 at Danebury (Cunliffe 1984, fig. 7.8)

Based on the evidence for both human infant and animal IB/DIB, and sherd IP/DIP patterning, it may be also theorised that, while often deposited as part of a multiple collective, metalwork items may have been similarly understood and originally selected/placed as IMOs (Isolated Metal Objects) and DMOs (dual Isolated Metal Objects) within this collective mix of items. For instance, and in using the substantially associated Mid to Late Iron Age Pit 79 as a case example, though VC 4 produced seven metal small finds, each was distinctly different from the others. A similar pattern emerged from within VC 5 of the same feature. This produced a further seven metal small find items, including four distinctly different objects and three - similar in Deposition Type presence to that of sheep bone, pig bone and pottery - singular object associated iron fragments.

Quernstone

Five Quernstones were encountered in four associated beehive pits. All originated from VCs directly associated with human infant bone: being associated with Sks. 92, 115,189 and 219. Sk. 189 was associated with double a deposition of a lower greensand rotary quern (DIQ), while the remainder were isolated quern (IQ) deposits. Lower greensand stone was imported to Danebury, having primarily originated from the Vale of Wardour (Cunliffe and Poole 1991, 390). Sks.115 and 219 were associated with greensand saddle querns, while Sk. 92 was associated with a type-ambiguous fragment of greensand quern. All were Mid to Late Iron Age in date. Two deposits were found in basal VCs, and one in middle, upper and top VC.

Fragments of possible quernstone

Further deposits of possible quernstone were found in nine VCs in two Mid to Late Iron Age pits. A lack of detailed recording prevented a determination of type of stone for pit 2145. Pit 1285 produced a total of seven fragments of stone (and two complete rotary querns, discussed above). Fragments included both upper and lower greensand stone. These specific upper greensand stone examples probably originated from the Lodsworth quarries near Midhurst in Sussex (Cunliffe and Poole 1991, 390; Peacock 1987). Pit 1285 produced sandstone deposits in seven out of eight VCs; including the deposition of both upper and lower stone varieties in context 3. In terms of patterning, one fragment came from a top VC, two from upper VCs, two from mid VCs, and two from lower VCs. The two associated complete rotary querns were discovered in the basal VC of this feature along with infant deposition Sk.189.

Briquetage

Briquetage was found in two basal (Pits 1285 and 2155) and one upper (Pit 79) VC. All three features were given a Mid to Late Iron Age date. In each instance, briquetage was discovered alongside numerous other objects and bones. For instance, VC 8 of Pit 1285 also contained a human infant (Sk. 189), sheep bone, a DIB cattle deposit, pottery, a double deposit of rotary querns, lower greensand stone, a decorated daub oven cover and charcoal. VC 5 of Pit 2155 contained a DIB deposit of sheep bone, an IB deposit of cattle bone, pottery and charcoal. VC 3 of Pit 79 contained sheep bone, three cattle bones, an IB horse deposit and a rare bone awl.

Bone objects

Seven bone objects were discovered in three associated Mid to Late Iron Age pits. Pit 79 contained three objects: (1) a bone awl, found in VC 3 (discussed above under briquetage) ; (2) a bone needle in VC 4, discovered with two sheep skulls, cattle bone, an IB pig bone, pottery, a rare deposit of seven different metal objects (IMOs), oven daub, daub, a triangular object and slag; and (3) a second bone needle found, this time found in VC 5 alongside human adult deposition Sk. 93, sheep bone, cattle bone, a DIB deposit of pig bone, a further deposit of seven metal objects (four of which were IMOs, with the remaining three items being jointly associated), green sandstone, pottery, slag, flint nodules, and chalk blocks. Only 63 awls (Cunliffe and Poole 1991, 359) - of which the majority were similar dated - and 55 needles (Cunliffe and Poole (1991, 358) - 36 of which were Mid to Late Iron Age in date - were found onsite. In addition to this, Hill (1995, 66) has suggested that one quarter of all bone needles were discovered in non-pit features, therefore making this discovery even more interesting.

Pit 1285 also contained three associated objects: two bone toggles (Fig. 8.10), of which there were only 46 found in total onsite, with 36 having been similarly dated (Cunliffe and Poole 1991, 358) - and a needle. Objects were discovered in VC 1 - along with a burnt chalk weight and upper green sandstone - and as part of a DIB deposit in VC2 - alongside a bone needle, sheep bone, a DIB deposit of cattle bone and pottery.

Pit 463 contained an antler comb - associated with sheep bone, cattle bone, pottery, a rare decorated glass bead and a chalk spindle whorl - of which there were only 71 similar items found in total at Danebury; 48 of which were contemporarily dated to the Mid to Late Iron Age (Cunliffe and Poole 1991, 354).

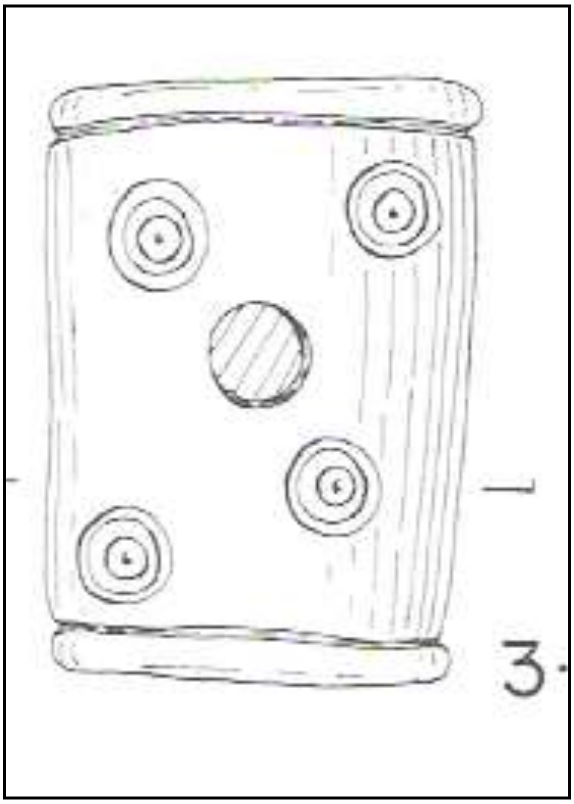


Figure 50: Bone toggle from pit 1285 (Sellwood 1984, Fig. 7.31 (3.41))

One object came from a top VC, three (two associated features) from upper VCs, one (one associated feature) from a middle VC, and two (one associated feature) from a lower VC. None were found in basal VCs.

Oven Covers

A total of fifteen oven covers were found at Danebury, six of which were discovered in two of the analysed pits. Both features, namely Pits 79 and 1285, were Mid to Late Iron Age in date. Pit 1285, boasted 48 kg of daub cover material, of which at least one squared example bore a finger incised dimple decoration (Cunliffe and Poole 1991, 149). Pit 79 contained small decorated clay cover fragments. This was one of only two onsite features to have produced decorated clay fragments at Danebury (Poole 1984, 121). Associated covers were found in one upper, two middle, two lower and one basal VC.

Chalk objects

Three chalk objects were discovered in two of the analysed Mid to Late Iron Age pits. Pit 1285 produced a double deposit of chalk weights, from an entire onsite total of 256 (Laws *et al* 1991, 397); though of these, only 86 were contemporaneously dated (Brown 1984, 10; Laws *et al* 1991, 397). Pit 1285 produced a single chalk spindle - of which 94 were found at onsite, 51 of which were Mid to Late Iron Age (after Laws *et al* 1991, 397, 402). Associated objects were found in one top, one upper and one lower VC.

Guido class 6 Oldbury bead

A single cobalt blue and decorated (with white spirals) Guido class 6 Oldbury type bead was discovered in an upper VC of Mid to Late Iron Age pit 463 (Fig. 8.11). A total of eleven glass beads were discovered at Danebury. This was one of only five CP7 glass beads found at Danebury, and one of only eleven found in entirety (dating to any period) onsite (Henderson 1984, 396-8; 1991, 368).

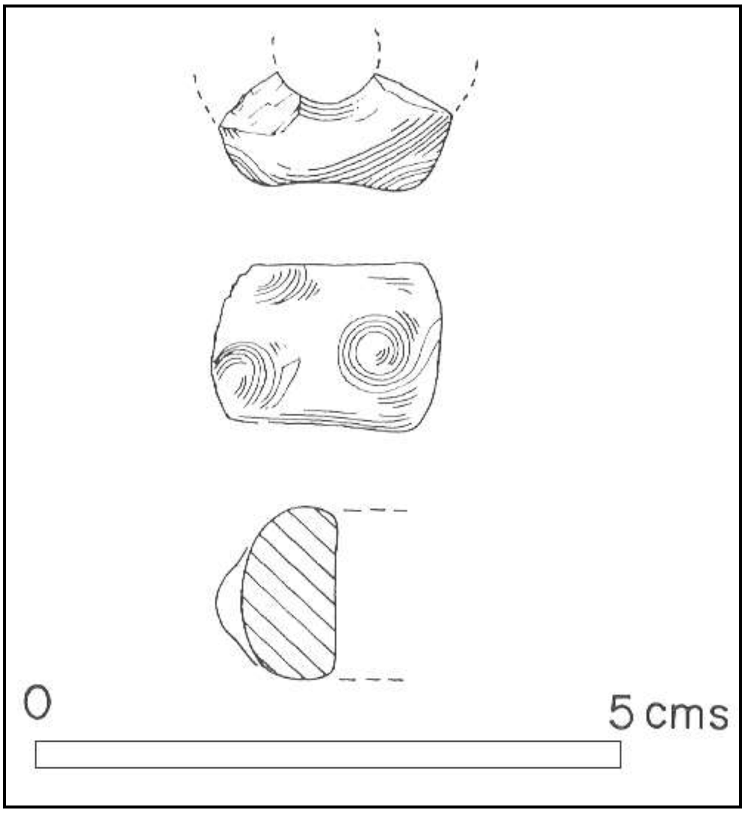


Figure 51: The Guido Class 6 Oldbury type bead from Danebury (Sellwood 1984, Fig. 7.31)

8.6.2 Results: Same horizontal context as infant (SHC) patterning

Non-Infant human bone

Non-infant human bone was encountered in just one SHC. This was an IB deposit of a proximal end of a left femur found in Middle Iron Age beehive pit 430. The femur displayed signs of excarnation in the form of associated carnivore gnaw marking. Associated infant depositions Sks. 17 and 18 were also reported as having been excarnated (see Section 7.4).

Animal bone

Sheep

228 sheep bones (21% of the entire VC associated faunal record) were discovered in nine of the SHCs. Two were dated Early to Middle Iron Age, one as the Middle Iron Age and six as Mid to Late Iron Age. Complete sheep skulls were discovered in two SCHLs, being associated with Sks.19 and 278. SK. 19 was also associated with a DIB deposit of sheep bone, which was very much in keeping with the wider evidence for this SHC, which further produced both an IB pig and DIB cattle deposit, along with a complete calf, a partially broken pot and additional pottery sherds.

Cattle

49 instances of cattle bone (25% of the total vertical associated assemblage) were encountered in six of the SHCs (associated with seven infant depositions). This included the deposition of a complete calf against the south-east wall of Middle Iron Age beehive Pit 437. Sk. 19 was deposited against the west wall in the same SHC. This is likely to represent an intentional association. Hill (1995) suggests that such deposits were rare throughout the Iron Age in Wessex (*ibid* 59), at which time sheep, pigs and dogs were more commonly deposited whole (*ibid* 61), while cattle were commonly represented by skulls (*ibid* 60; see also Wait 1985, 134-137).

In addition, three features produced DIB deposits of cattle bone. This included: VC 2/3 of Early to Middle Iron Age Pit 437 (mid VC), associated with infant Sk. 19, the complete calf and a number of further Type classificatory animal bone and pot deposits (discussed above under 'Sheep'); VC2 of Mid to Late Iron Age

Pit 79 (upper VC), which also produced infant Sk. 92, sheep bone and a quern fragment; and VC 8 of Mid to Late Iron Age Pit 1285 (basal VC), which also produced infant Sk. 189, and a number of distinctive Type deposits, including an IB dog bone, a QIQ of rotary querns, and isolated briquetage, stone and a rare decorated oven cover.

Overall, one of the cattle bone associated SHC deposits dated to the Early to Middle and Middle Iron Age, while the remaining four dated to the Mid to Late Iron Age.

Pig

Four SHCs produced pig bone. An IB deposit was found in Early to Middle Iron Age Pit 437 (Beehive, VC 2/3, associated Sk. 19), while a DIB deposit was discovered in Mid to Late Iron Age Pit 2155 (Beehive, VC 2, associated Sk. 219). A deposit of three isolated pig bones - demonstrated above to have been an intentionally repetitive type of deposit onsite throughout this period - was found in Mid to Late Iron Age Pit 79 (Beehive, VC 2, associated Sk. 92). The remaining SHC was found in Mid to Late Iron Age Pit 2145 (Cylindrical, VC 1-3, associated Sk. 278) and contained a total of eight pig bones.

Dog

An IB of dog bone was found in both Mid to Late Iron Age Pit 1285 (Beehive, VC 8 (basal), associated Sk. 189), along with numerous other deposits including sheep bone, a DIB deposit of cattle bone, pottery, a DIQ deposit of two rotary querns, briquetage, lower green sandstone and a rare decorated oven cover. A DIB deposit was found in similarly dated Pit 2155 (Beehive, VC 2, associated with Sk. 219), along with sheep bone, cattle bone, a DIB deposit of pig bone, pottery, daub and quernstone. These two deposits represent 43% of the total vertically associated pig bone assemblage.

<u>Other objects</u>

Pottery

203 pottery sherds and one vessel were discovered in ten SHCs (24% of the total vertical associated assemblage). Sk.19 was the only infant deposition to be associated with a near complete vessel (this and its association with other objects and bones are discussed above under ‘Sheep’). Four SHCs produced in excess of twenty sherds: with SK.219 having been associated with 69 sherds (Mid to Late Iron Age Pit 2155), Sk.278 with 49 sherds (Mid to Late Iron Age Pit 2145), Sk.31 with 33 sherds (Early to Middle Iron Age Pit 857) and Sk.115 with 21 sherds (Mid to Late Iron Age Pit 463). Seven of the associated pits were beehive in shape, two were cylindrical and one was sub-rectangular. Overall, one of the associated feature’s was dated Early Iron Age, two as Early to Middle Iron Age, one as Middle Iron Age and six as Mid to Late Iron Age.

Quernstone

See Section 8.5.2 for a discussion of vertical associated Quernstone: all of which were discovered in SHCs.

Briquetage

Briquetage was found in one SHC. This came from the basal VC of Mid to Late Iron Age Pit 1285. It was found alongside Sk.189 and a range of other finds, all of which have been discussed above.

Carbonised Grain

Carbonised grain was found in one SHC: Mid to Late Iron Age cylindrical Pit 2589 (associated with Sk.283). Cunliffe (2003, 147) has previously suggested that deposits of this kind were both intentional and “special” at Danebury.

Large chalk blocks

Large chalk blocks were discovered in three SHC layers. The body of Sk. 31 was probably sealed beneath massive loose blocks in Early to Middle Iron Age pit 857. Sk. 219 had been intentionally placed directly on top of a large chalk block in the middle of a SHC layer in Mid to Late Iron Age pit 2155 and Sk. 115 was reported to have also been associated with large chalk blocks, although details for this were missing from the archival record for Mid to Late Iron Age pit 463.

8.6.3 Recognising small scale repetitive object relationships at Danebury: Sheep bone, cattle bone and pottery

Of the 76 associated VCs found within the twelve study pits at Danebury, 59 contained evidence for repetitive object relationships, in the form of associated combinations of sheep bone, cattle bone and pottery (SCP). This type of repetitive patterning was also apparent on the other three study sites, though the nature of preferred objects for inclusion varied among them. At Danebury, these three items were consistently included as part of VC deposition throughout the Iron Age. They were included with all deposits of: oven daub, bone objects, chalk objects, quernstones and briquetage. They were found with fifteen of the seventeen encountered metal objects, and with all but one of the deposited animal skulls. They were also associated with eight deposits of human bone. This kind of small scale subtle patterning has to date been overlooked by Hill, Gwilt, Hamilton, Hamilton and Gregory, and Woodward and Hughes (see Section 8.3).

8.7 Structured deposition at other sites

8.7.1 Winnall Down

Hill (1995, 42-73) reported structured depositionary practices at Middle Iron Age Winnall Down. For the purposes of this chapter, a total of ten contemporaneously dated, human infant associated pit features were (re)analysed for indicators of structured deposition (Table 8.4). The site's record was markedly inferior to that of Danebury and as such, many of the details relating to infant age at death and skeletal type were absent (Table 8.4). The fragmented nature of the site's record prevented identifying type of associated species within deposits recorded as 'animal bone' and, in some instances, correlating individual finds with their positioning within associated VCs.

Despite these limitations, repetitive find relationships did emerge from within the Winnall Down dataset, namely in relation to the frequency of flint, animal bone and pottery (FBP) deposits, which were discovered in a total of 87 out of a possible

91 investigated VC layers; mirroring the selective repetitious patterning of animal bones and materials at Danebury (see Section 8.7.2), Houghton Down and Winklebury (Section 8.7.4). The presence of associated deposits of pot sherds is contrary to Hill's (1995, 46) suggestion that at Winnall Down pottery was more frequently deposited into upper pit third layers, though Hill (1995, 51) based this according to MSW and the visibility of large sherd assemblages. In 'looking for the bigger picture' the current analysis has therefore uncovered repetitive but subtle patterns of deposition, of the kind easily overlooked when defining deposition on quantity and not simply presence alone.

Sk. No.	**Pit No.**	**VC (Position)**	**Age at death**	**Skeletal Type**
143	2416	4, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17 (throughout matrix)	Infant	A
156	4006	5 (middle)	0+ to 6 Months	N/A
420	7372	5 (upper)	Infant	N/A
470	8630	1 (top)	Infant	A
567	8594	3 (upper)	Infant	N/A
3563	8564	1 (top)	Infant	N/A
3564	8585	5 (middle)	Infant	B
1473	1473	1 (top)	Infant	B
2002	2002	10 (lower)	Infant	B
5789	5789	1 (top)	Infant	B

Table 13: Associated infant details for Winnall Down

The repetitive patterning evidence for associated deposits of flint, animal bone and pottery at Winnall Down differed to that found at Danebury, where a conceptually similar relationship occurred in relation to deposits of cattle bone, sheep bone and pottery (see 8.4.4). Indeed, there were further differences between the two sites. For example, metal objects were discovered in all but middle VC layers at Winnall Down (Table 8.7), while at Danebury they were found exclusively in lower and basal VCs. There were also discrepancies in terms of what objects were included / excluded between the two sites. Both clay and stone objects were found deposited at Winnall

Down (Tables 8.8 and 8.9), while both were absent from the investigated pits at Danebury. Quernstones were also treated differently (Table 8.10). At Danebury querns were always associated directly with infant depositions, while at Winnall Down they were exclusively found in non-infant VCs.

Associated Sk. No.	**Pit No.**	**Type of Object**	**VC**
420	7372	Iron nail	Top
		Copper plated brooch fragment	Upper
		Iron blade with wood graining	Lower
567	8594	Iron nail	Top
		Iron object and slag	Basal
2002	2002	Slag / Crucible fragment	Basal
5789	5789	Iron nails	Upper

Table 14: Metal objects at Winnall Down

Associated Sk. No.	**Pit No.**	**Type of Object**	**VC**
156	4006	Decorated (lined) burnt clay	Top
420	7372	Baked loom weight	Middle
		Loom weight	Lower
		Baked clay	Middle
		Baked clay	Middle
567	8594	Baked clay sling missile	Upper
1473	1473	Baked clay loom weight	Basal

Table 15: Clay objects at Winnall Down

Associated Sk. No.	**Pit No.**	**Type of Object**	**VC**
420	7372	Decorated stone weight	Lower
567	8594	Chalk spindle-whorl	Lower
		Chalk spindle-whorl	Basal

Table 16: Stone objects at Winnall Down

Associated Sk. No.	Pit No.	VC
143	2416	Top
		Basal
156	4006	Lower
		Lower
420	7372	Top
		Upper

Table 17: Quernstones at Winnall Down

IB Deposits	Top	Upper	Middle	Lower	Basal
Metal	2	1	0	1	1
Quern	2	1	0	2	2
Stone Objects	0	0	0	2	1
Clay Objects	1	1	0	1	1
Total	**5**	**3**	**0**	**6**	**5**

Table 18: Non-human IB deposits from the 10 study pits at Winnall Down

DIB Deposits	Top	Upper	Middle	Lower	Basal
'Animal'	0	0	1	0	0
Cattle	0	0	1	0	0
Metal objects	0	0	0	0	1
Querns	0	0	0	1	0
Total	**0**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**1**

Table 19: Non-human DIB deposits from the 10 study pits at Winnall Down

Despite the vaguely reported number of associated finds / bones per feature, some deposition type patterning did emerge, this included:

Human bodies and bone

As demonstrated by table 8.6, in all but one instance (Pit 2002), human infant remains were found in mid to top VC layers. Non-infant human remains shared this patterning. Adult remains were found: alongside infant Sk. 156 and a type A foetal dog in mid level VC 5 of Pit 4006 (ambiguous adult bone); contextually beneath infant Sk. 420 in VC 6 of Pit 7372 (an IB deposit of an adult femur); in lower VC 9 of Pit 860 (Type A adult skeleton); and in upper VC 7 of Pit 8564 (Type A adult skeleton).

Animal bone

As suggested above, deposits of animal bone tended to be vague, rarely specifying details for associated species. Patterning evidence included: a type A foetal dog, a DIB deposit of two cattle skulls, a DIB deposit of animal spine and pelvis and a DIB deposit of human remains in VC 5 of Pit 4006. Indeed, this feature (associated with Sk. 156) yielded other evidence for isolated and dual item deposition. In addition to VC 5, VC 8 contained a DIQ quern deposit, and VC 9, an isolated quern (IQ).

VC 4 of Pit 7372 produced an IB deposit of both sheep and bird bone. As part of his research, Hill (1995) examined the structured deposition patterning of this feature (associated Sk. 420). Presumably relying upon published literature, Hill suggested there to have been nine separate VC layers. The data for this was reanalysed for the purposes of the current investigation, for which an archival visit was undertaken to view all available and associated source material (e.g. paper records, site plans, etc.). This revealed that Pit 7372 actually contained sixteen separate VC layers, many of which produced other deposition type patterning. For example: VC 1 (topmost fill) contained an IB nail and Quern deposit; VC 2 (upper) contained an IB brooch fragment and quern deposit; (as suggested above) VC 4 (upper) contained an IB deposit of sheep and bird bone; VC 6 (upper) contained an IB deposit of human bone (adult femur); VC 10 (lower) contained an isolated stone weight and IMO of an isolated iron blade; VC 11 (lower) contained an isolated loom weight and IP deposit of a complete saucepan pot; and, VC 12 (lower) also contained an IP deposit of a complete saucepan pot.

Pit 8630 (VC uncertain) produced three different deposits of sheep bone, including an IB sheep skull with cut marking to the occipital condoyles where it had been removed from its associated vertebrae, and two DIB deposits of sheep feet bones - both of the fore and hind feet. Pit 2416 (layer 2629, VC position uncertain) produced a complete horse skeleton. Enclosure ditch segment M produced an IB deposit of cattle and ox bone and a DIB deposit of sheep bone, while segment 5M produced an identical deposit of all three species.

Iron objects

Six features yielded iron objects. Pit 7372 produced two IMO deposits: a brooch fragment from upper VC 2 and an iron blade from lower VC 10 (other associated finds are discussed above). An ambiguous iron deposit was recovered from VC 20 (basal) of Pit 8594. Pit 5777 produced a double coiled ring complete with point (VC uncertain). IMO deposits of single iron nails were found in Pits 7372 and 8594. Both came from topmost layers (VC 1). DMO deposits of iron nails were found in three pits, namely 1989, 5789 and 8585. VC details were absent for all three features. A further unspecified number of iron nails were found in VC 2 (upper) of Pit 5789.

In addition to iron nails, Pit 8594 (associated Sk. 567) also produced other isolated and dual deposition patterning. As well as the iron nail in VC 1, VC 4 (upper) produced an isolated clay sling missile, and VC 20 (basal) produced an IQ quern deposit, an isolated chalk spindle whorl and an IMO iron object.

Hill (1995, 47) previously suggested that iron objects, including brooches, were most frequently discovered in upper pit thirds at Winnall Down. While overall, the results of the current analysis support this patterning, three iron objects were found in lower and basal layers.

Quernstone

IQ deposits of quernstone were found in six pit features and seven associated VC layers (Pits 1645 (VC uncertain), 2416 (VC uncertain), 4006 (VC 9), 7372 (VCs 1 and 2), 8594 (VC 20), 8585 (VC 7)). A DIQ deposit was found in Pit 4006 (VC 8). Hill (1995, 47) suggested that ‘unusual’ items, including deposits of quernstones tended to be found in lower or middle pit thirds. As demonstrated by table 8.11, the current analysis produced varied results. While four of the seven associated querns were indeed discovered in lower and basal VCs, the remaining three came from both top and upper layers.

Stone objects

Stone objects were found in two of the analysed pit features. Details for these are given in Table 8.9. Hill previously suggested that decorated weights tended to originate from lower or middle pit thirds at Winnall Down. This is confirmed in relation to the discovery of a similar item in a lower VC of Pit 420 (Table 8.9).

Clay objects

Isolated clay objects were found in four of the analysed pits. Details for these are given in table 8.8. Hill (1995, 47) has suggested that at Winnall Down, loom weights were most commonly deposited in lower and middle pit thirds. This was confirmed by the current analysis (Table 8.8).

9.7.2 Houghton Down

A single Iron Age infant deposition (Sk. 364, Type IB - frontal bone) was discovered in VC 5 (middle fill) of Early Middle Iron Age beehive Pit 364 at Houghton Down. The archive for the associated feature was good and it was possible to examine the VC matrix for indicators of repetitive find associations and for similar or differential patterns of object inclusion / exclusion based on the comparative records for Danebury and Winnall Down. As with the other study sites, there was some evidence for repetitious patterning, in the form of charcoal and flint, which was found in ten out of fourteen VCs. Cunliffe and Poole (2000, 25) unknowingly supported the intentionality of this patterning, when commenting upon their use within onsite posthole deposition:

> Of some note is the fact that a significant percentage of the post-holes of the post-built circular structures were packed with occupational debris including charcoal, burnt flints, daub and pottery of CP1-3 (EEIA). … The charcoal present in many of them was in small pieces well mixed with other material and could not have derived from posts burnt *in situ*. The implication for this is that we are observing a pattern of behaviour involving the deliberate redistribution of midden material. … The most prolific occurrences of this practice focused on CS2 where the richest deposits were in the post-holes of the entrance and those of the adjacent wall.

The highest (percentage) concentration of these deposits was found in circular post-built structure CS2, within which associated Pit 364 was situated, clearly implying that midden type material was selectively incorporated into structured deposition rationales.

Though included repetitiously, deposits of both flint and charcoal were absent from four of the VC layers of Pit 364. These four also produced special deposits, including that of a broken complete pot (R41, mid VC 8), infant Sk.364 (IB deposit) and an associated animal pelvis and sacrum (R37, lower VC 5) and an intentionally placed broken cattle skull (R38, lower VC 4). Therefore, while this feature boasted repetitious find associations, it also implies a clear preferential rationale for what objects should and should not be deposited together. In this instance, the associated animal pelvis and sacrum would have been visually more impressive than the inclusion of an infant IB deposit. Though as the results for Danebury suggest, it is likely that both were perceived as fulfilling some rationale specific purpose in a similar if not identical way. In a similar way to Danebury, this feature also produced a large amount of structural oven daub - the largest amount found onsite at 51,207 gm. It was suggested that this deposit originated from the site’s most complex type of oven (Cunliffe 1984).

IB Deposits	Top	Upper	Middle	Lower	Basal
Bird	1	0	0	0	0
Cattle	0	0	0	1	0
TOTAL	1	0	0	1	0

Table 20: Non-human IB deposits from Houghton Down

DIB Deposits	Top	Upper	Middle	Lower	Basal
‘Animal'	0	0	0	1	0
TOTAL	0	0	0	1	0

Table 21: Non-human DIB deposits from Houghton Down

8.7.3 Winklebury

Two infant depositions were found in Middle Iron Age pit 615 at Winklebury (Sks. 626 and 744). Flint, daub and charcoal was found in all the VCs of this feature (6/6), mirroring the selective repetitious patterning of animal bones and materials at Danebury (Section 8.7.2), Houghton Down and Winklebury (Section 8.7.4). The pit also produced interesting horizontal context patterning and associated find relations, including a possible repetitious inclusion of bones drawn from either the left or right hand side of the body/carcass: a left cattle femur (upper VC), a left cattle metacarpal (mid VC), and a left horse tibia (lower VC), and a right hand side sheep tibia (mid VC) and human infant femur (lower VC). The repetitious inclusion of flint, daub and charcoal was also found in VCs containing ‘special’ deposits (including those discussed above). Further associated ‘special’ deposits included a horse mandible (upper VC), the associated deposition of an iron object, a broken antler pick and two fragments of quernstone (mid VC) and the associated deposition of whole horse lumber vertebrae 5, 6 and 7 and a complete pottery rim (lower VC). Interestingly, both the top and basal VCs only contained the repetitively associated deposits of flint, charcoal and daub. As demonstrated by Tables 8.15 and 8.16, this feature also produced deposition type evidence in the form of both IB and DIB patterning.

IB Deposits	Top	Upper	Middle	Lower	Basal
Cattle	0	0	0	1	0
Horse	0	1	0	0	0
Metal object	0	0	0	1	0
Bone object	0	0	0	1	0
Total	0	1	0	3	0

Table 22: Non-human IB deposits from Winklebury

DIB Deposits	**Top**	**Upper**	**Middle**	**Lower**	**Basal**
Sheep	0	0	0	1	0
Horse	0	0	0	1	0
Quern	0	0	0	1	0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**

Table 23: Non-human DIB deposits from Winklebury

8.8 The treatment of human remains in relation to animal bones, objects and materials

8.8.1 Introduction

As the following sub-sections demonstrate human remains were treated contemporaneously to deposits of animal bones, objects and materials. There is little evidence to suggest that the presence of human remains acted as a form of centrally structuring deposit, from which all other associations were made. In all of the investigated instances, human bodies and bones presented as having temporally represented ‘human remains’ and not burials. The above results may be taken to support Gwilt’s (1997, 162) thesis that during the Iron Age, structured deposition relied upon the material type, rather than the original function of the artefact, and that it was this important factor that determined whether the artefact should be selectively and structurally deposited in the first instance.

8.8.2 VC patterning

The above results suggest clear prescriptive rationales for which type of objects and materials should be included as part of structured depositionary practices, and with regards to their VC positioning and exclusion within general pit fill matrices. While apparent on all study sites, specific patterning was either similar in nature or differed subtly between each.

At Danebury, structured deposits of human bodies and bones were discovered in all VC levels. This was similar to deposits of sheep bone and cattle bone and pottery, which were discovered in 59 out of an investigated 76 VC layers. In an identical way to both wider patterns of onsite pit associated human deposition and the deposition of cattle bone and pig bone, the remains of human infants were most frequently discovered in middle to top VC layers. Lower VCs were most favoured for the deposition of sheep bone (49%) and horse bone (48%) but also contained 17% of all onsite encountered pit associated human bone, of which, two depositions were aged infant. As well as repetitive patterns for object inclusion, the above results also suggest important patterns of animal bone exclusion. For instance, no pig bones were found in top VCs, no horse bone in basal VCs and no dog bone in upper VCs. Horse bones were also excluded from all layers containing human infant bone (SHCs). Rather, results suggest that ‘special’ relationships occurred between human infants, sheep bone, cattle bone, pottery and quernstone.

A conceptually similar, but distinctly different pattern to that of Danebury emerged at Winnall Down. Of the ten pits investigated for structured deposition, nine produced middle and upper VC associated infant deposits. The Danebury and Winnall Down evidence differed to that for both Northamptonshire and Sussex where human remains were traditionally deposited in lower and basal VC levels (see Section 8.3).

Infant associated adult bone was scarcely associated with infant bone at both Danebury and Winnall Down; with both sites only producing four associated examples each. At Winnall Down, human infant bone was repetitively found alongside deposits of cattle bone, sheep bone and pottery. At Danebury, metal objects were discovered exclusively in lower and basal layers, while at Winnall Down they were found in all but middle VC layers. Further discrepancies included the presence of both clay and stone objects at Winnall Down, while both were absent from the investigated pits at Danebury. Quernstones were also treated differently. At Danebury complete quernstones were always associated directly with infant depositions, while at Winnall Down they were exclusively found in non-infant VCs.

Human bone was found in middle VC layers at both Houghton Down and Winklebury. In a similar way to Danebury, infant bone was found alongside deposited sheep bone, cattle bone, horse bone and quernstone at Winklebury, though metal objects were also associated at this site but not at Danebury. At Houghton, infant bone was found alongside a special deposit of animal pelvis and sacrum. While numerous other objects and bones were present in the associated pit feature, these were otherwise excluded from SHC association.

The above data clearly suggests that human bone, of all ages, was being incorporated into structured depositionary practices. Rather than representing ‘burials’, it would seem that Hill (1995, 56) was correct to address them as human ‘remains’. It would seem that human bodies, body parts and bones were being treated in a contemporaneous way to other deposited items, including animal bone, objects and materials. As the next sub-section shall highlight, rather than occupying a centrally structuring position within their associated features, human bone appear to have played an identical role to these other deposits. On this basis it may be suggested that these human deposits were in fact perceived in objectified ways.

8.8.3 Emphasising repetitive relationships

At Danebury, sheep bone, cattle bone and pottery were repetitiously encountered in 59 of the 76 investigated VCs. At Winnall Down, a similar repetitious patterning occurred with deposits of animal bone (species ambiguous), flint and pottery, which were found in 87 out of 91 investigated VCs. At Houghton Down, charcoal and flint were found in ten of the fourteen investigated VCs. While at Winklebury, flint, charcoal and daub was discovered in all six investigated VCs. Based upon their level of frequency, it might be suggested that smaller scale repetitively associated finds represented the core ingredients for deposition, with all other bones and objects being associated with them, rather than with human remains.

8.8.4 Deposition type categories

As discussed above, all four study sites produced deposits of animal bones and objects with similar deposition type patterning to that encountered with human remains. This included deposits of isolated and dual isolated bones (IB and DIB) and objects. Furthermore, it became clear that within many of the structured features, deposits of three isolated bones (TIB) or objects were intentionally placed as part of the wider deposition rationale. Specific examples are discussed above for each site. This type of deposition occurred with all manner of animal bones and objects, with no preferential patterning.

Chapter 9: Summary and discussion

9.1 Introduction

This chapter will summarise and discuss the investigation results set out in chapters six to eight, and will specifically consider the conceptual nature of infancy at this time and the presence, nature, role and meaning of infant bodies, body parts and bones within acts of burial and deposition in Iron Age southern England. It will be argued that throughout this period, human bodies were treated, curated and manipulated in multiple - yet often complementary - ways: only some of which involved a perceived 'burial' of the corpse and its associated Self. Rather, many of these practices present as having been intrinsically performance orientated, with associated human deposits occupying and fulfilling numerous roles and parts within possibly public and private actions and activities.

9.2 Appreciating complexity and multiplicity

Mol and Law (2006, 1) define complexity as occurring when things don't add up, when events occur outside the boundaries of linear time, and if and when phenomena share a space but cannot be mapped in terms of a single set of coordinates or outcomes. Multiplicity, they suggest, describes the presence of multiple coexistences at any one moment in time and / or space (*ibid* 8).

On the basis of the evidence put forward in chapters 5 to 8, and as summarised below, there is little doubt that the first millennium BC was both a complex and multiply constituted period, during which people lived, died and were deposited in numerous co-existing spaces and ways. In this sense, the Iron Age cannot be seen to "add up" to a single linear body of understandable data. From an archaeological perspective, one simply cannot locate a single set of coordinates - be it through the use of material culture or the mortuary record - from which to deduce what it meant to be human during this period. The construction of personhood and identity was, at this time, complex. So too were the outcomes of these identities, with regards to the numerous ways in which bodies underwent, and were transformed through, death and post mortem moments and practices.

9.3 Was there a concept of infancy in Iron Age southern England?

Of the 33 investigated southern English sites, the ages of infancy and adulthood stood out as being the most commonly incorporated age categories in deposition (see Chapter 6). Infants comprised 38% of the entire mortuary sample at these sites (see Section 5.4).

As demonstrated by figure 6.1, 59% of the infant sample was aged between the foetal period and 3 months. Of the remaining bodies and bones, 22% were ambiguously aged as ‘infant’ only, 14% were aged between three months and three years, while 5% were aged somewhere between birth and one year. Of those aged foetus to three months, 86% were aged foetus to 0+ (around birth). This age group was represented at 23 of the 33 sampled sites (see Section 5.4). Of the remaining ten sites, a further three contained deposits ambiguously aged as ‘infant’ only. It is therefore theoretically possible that these also contained similarly aged bodies and bones.

Analysis therefore confirmed that there was indeed clear and repetitive young age patterning across the sampled 33 sites and that this patterning might well imply a two-fold concept of infancy, that of earliest infancy - foetal period to 0+ - or of infancy and childhood: possibly occurring as early as 0+>.

9.3.1 Discussion of results

The historical and ethnographic records offer comparative examples in which, prior to reaching some socially defined developmental benchmark, an infant was/is considered as being a pre-social creature.

Archaeologists working with other chronologically later periods, often cite the provision of a name (Crawford 1999; Rawson 2003; Karl and Löcker 2008; Scott 1992), the ability of speech (Scott 1992), the ability to walk (Scott 1992) and the ability to eat either real or symbolic food stuffs as frequently playing some role within the social processes associated with the transformation of the infant from a liminal object into a human being (Lally 2008a; 2008b).

However, as Geertz (1983) suggests, what may present as being common sense for one person, is anything but for others. As one might therefore expect, the ethnographic record offers numerous additional possibilities. Actions and activities such as speech, walking and eating are always interpreted and defined by those constituting culture at any one moment in time and are therefore historical and subject to change and influence over time.

Biologically, many of these actions and activities - including the ability to walk, talk and smile - may be scientifically predictable and therefore statistically 'measurable'. However, such a standpoint assumes that different people always recognise the lifecourse in some standardised linear way. This is not the case. Different cultures define and understand even biological development in numerous contradictory ways. In Uganda, for instance, Baganda infants normally sit unassisted by four months of age (Kilbride 1974), something at odds with the majority of western infants, who normally begin to develop this ability from around six to seven months.

The ability to walk

A discussion relating to the social attainment of status through an ability to walk is provided in Section 2.1.5. That earliest infancy, or the age of infant-as-object occurred during foetushood to one month post birth, implies that walking played no part in defining this conceptual age category.

The ability to talk

A discussion relating to the social attainment of status through an ability to talk is provided in Section 2.1.5. On the basis of peak age at death, the Iron Age data would not support the notion that speech - even baby babble - contributed to any period of age transition between infancy and childhood.

The provision of a name

A discussion relating to the social attainment of status through the provision of a name for the infant is provided in Section 2.1.5. It is tempting to align the Iron Age data with that of the more recent Celtic literature - although obviously acknowledging the limitations of doing so. In the above instances, both *Llew* and *Cú Chulainn* received their names when old enough to bear arms and marry: though *Cú Chulainn* was forced to undertake additional adventures to secure both of these independently. That both figures - although mythical - were aged beyond our modern understanding of childhood is of particular importance. This, coupled with the Roman sources on aging in Iron Age tribes - such as Livy's references to late Hallstatt age in the Alpine regions, in which he defined *seniores* (elders) from *iuventus* (youngsters) (Dobesch 1980, 53-54, 188-190; 1996) and Caesar's (B.G. VI, 18.3) suggestion that it was shameful for a Gallic son of boyish age to be seen in public with his father - it is possible that the over-riding age categories at this time were indeed that of young and old. If so, then the end of earliest infancy might in fact demarcate the point at which childhood or *iuventus* first began. On this basis the earliest infancy might be thought of as a liminal time in which, although occupying a physical body, the Iron Age infant was caught betwixt and between the pre-social and the social: with social age commencing at the onset of childhood at some point shortly after birth (0+>).

Smiling: Marking the end of infancy and the starting point of childhood?

A discussion relating to the social attainment of status through the infant's ability to smile is provided in Section 2.1.5. It is entirely plausible that the Murngin example, as detailed in Section 2.1.5, offers an analogous parallel for the Iron Age data. The majority of the Iron Age infants were aged between foetushood and 0+ (a few weeks old) at time of death. As such, the majority of the infant dataset will have been inappropriately aged for smiling. Smiling may therefore have formed the social benchmark at which point either the infant-as-object became an infant-with-identity, or at which time the infant-as-infant became a child (see Section 9.3.5 for examples where childhood started after a very short period of infancy).

It is also possible that the importance placed on an ability to smile was further supported by a contemporaneous appreciation for additional - and similarly age constituted - forms of non-verbal interpersonal communication, including, for example, the demonstration of awareness through both gaze and facial expression (for a discussion on these see Hsu and Fogel 2001, 89).

Born as an object?

If indeed accurate, this raises the possibility that at least some Iron Age people started the lifecourse as pre-social infant-objects, having a form of objectified prototype agency (see 2.2.5). Objectivity may offer an important insight into how and why other, biologically older, human bodies were treated in certain ways in death. For the youngest infants, their prototype status as objects placed them in an ideal position for deposition incorporation. In this way, many of those deposited were possibly contemporaneous to other forms of objects, including animal bodies and bones and a range of other artefacts (discussed in chapter 8). As such, objectified materials, including human remains of all ages, may have individually held some form of ambassador agency (see 2.2.6), which, when combined together, fulfilled the necessary criteria needed for the attainment of specific rationales.

If we return to the traditionally cited reasons as to why human remains were incorporated into acts of deposition at this time, e.g. that these people were either members of the elite, enemies, outcasts, the unclean, the sacrificed, those killed in warfare, victims of head hunting, etc (discussed in Section 3.5.5). In each of these instances, whether for characteristic reasons of purity, innocence, naivety, immaturity, an inability to function in the correct manner deemed suitable by society, uncontrolled behaviour, etc., these persons may have warranted an analogous mimetic (see Section 2.2.7) association with earliest infancy - and the infant-object stage - and possibly with all of the above infantile characteristics.

This would certainly explain the presence of human remains in structured deposits across southern England. In being analogous, those responsible for the treatment and deposition of these persons and their bodies may have inferred an early infancy state upon them (for a discussion on collective inference see 2.2.4), redefining and reiterating their innate human-as-object prototype capacity (as discussed in 2.2.5).

This theory does not explain all forms of body treatments at this time (for a comparative discussion see Chapter 3). We know that formalised burial also occurred during the Iron Age, and that it was often chronologically concurrently with these other forms of (often structured) deposition, yet it would explain the presence of objectified bodies in Iron Age non-burial features.

9.4 If so, did this concept vary during the Iron Age?

The Iron Age infant results were contrasted against a chronological framework, which, for analytical purposes, divided the Iron Age into Early, Early to Mid, Middle, Mid to Late, Late and Latest Iron Age sub-periods (see Section 3.2). The results for this analysis, given in Figure 5.3, strongly suggest that the preference for earliest aged - now defined as 'pre-social' - infant bodies and bones remained consistent throughout the Iron Age, though numerically their presence increased over time (see Section 5.3.2).

9.5 Were there regional variations in its conceptuality?

For reasons set out in Section 5.3.3, the question of regional variability was investigated using the two counties of Dorset and Hampshire. These two areas produced both high numbers of depositions throughout time, and contemporaneously regionally variable deposition practices, including differences in burial rites and traditions (the South-Dorset burial rite and others), forms of material culture, occupational patterning and agricultural lifestyles. Both areas therefore offered some already known degree of differential potentiality and thus presented as suitable choices for exploring differences in conceptual versions of infancy and early childhood.

The results of this analysis, given in Figure 5.4, suggest that the two-fold concept of early age - that of pre-social infancy and early childhood - were consistent between the two regional areas with both areas possibly having shared a culturally inferred (see 2.2.4) prototype (see 2.2.5) (or how this age group should be socially understood) understanding of earliest age. While age patterning remained relatively stable, there were differences in numbers of depositions between the two areas over time. Specifically, the Dorset data suggested that infant deposition was less favoured - though still apparent - in the Early Iron Age but increased numerically throughout the Middle Iron Age before peaking during the late period. In contrast, the Hampshire data suggests that infants were selectively incorporated into deposition in all periods, peaking during the Middle Iron Age.

The lack of distinctly regional variations in infant depositional practices is striking when contrasted against the heavily varied, complex and multiple nature of the material culture record across southern England at this time. Among others, variations included numerous different pottery styles (Cunliffe 2005, figs. 21.4, 5.9, 7.14, 17.26, 18.15; Moore 2006, figs. 8.7; Woodward and Hill 2002), the type, style and distribution of coinage (Creighton 2000, figs. A.1, 3.6b, 3.8; Cunliffe 2005, figs. 6.1 to 5, 7.9, 21.7), metalwork and decoration styles (Cunliffe 2005, fig. 17.1, 17.4), quernstones (Moore 2006, fig. 8.9), salt production and briquetage containers (Lane and Morris 2001) and settlement types and distribution patterning (Cunliffe 2005, fig. 21.6).

So why then, collectively, were the bodies of infants treated in consistently similar ways throughout and across much of southern England at this time? I believe that the answer to this question lies with the conceptuality of the pre-social infant-object, with those older individuals represented in the Iron Age mortuary record, having been analogously or mimetically (see Section 2.2.7) associated with this age category for a possible variety of reasons, as discussed in Section 9.3. One might suggest that during this period, at least some human bodies were perceived in a prototype objectified manner (see 2.2.5 and 9.3); in as much as having an inferred objectified role of capacity placed upon them.

9.6 How does infancy inform upon the wider lifecourse at this time?

The fact that there appears to have been a temporally and spatially consistent concept of pre-social infancy and early childhood throughout the Iron Age raised the possibility that it might also be possible to archaeologically locate other lifecourse stages for this period.

As stated in Sections 4.2 and 5.1, one would not necessarily select to investigate the concept of lifecourse within an Iron Age mortuary assemblage; human deposition appears to have mostly been a selective practice at this time, and as such, selectivity may have been biased towards certain bodies for any number of possible reasons (see also Section 6.4). Whilst this is important, the current thesis sought to investigate whether there was any repetitive age patterning at the 33 sites, which might suggests that age related concepts underpinned whatever biases were inherent within selectivity.

In order to achieve this, a database of all human depositions, as found at the 33 study sites, was created and analysed. Investigations sought to highlight any evidence for any further indicators of some later age transition between infancy and childhood - with which to suggest that the above model of childhood might in fact have represented a two fold concept of younger and older infancy; childhood to adolescence and adolescence to adulthood. This analysis was conducted using White and Folkens (2000, 341-2) age methodology, which defined 'child' as being 3-12 years, 'adolescent' as 12-20 years, and 'adult' as 20+ years. Results suggested that the age of childhood did indeed commence at some point during the first month of life - contemporaneous with the biological and social ability of smiling, gazing and the development of facial expression. The middle age range between the point at which childhood commenced and adulthood (methodologically defined as occurring from 20 years of age onward) was poorly represented. Overall, this large range constituted just 36% of the entire dataset. In contrast adulthood constituted 56% of the overall sample. These results confirmed that in death, bodies were treated in one of three age related ways – that of the pre-social infant, as children and as adults.

9.7 Were infants deposited on all types of Iron Age site?

Infant (intended as denoting pre-social and early child age categories) bodies, body parts and bones were found on all known types of Iron Age site. Of the investigated 33 study sites, twenty were settlements, eleven were hillforts, five were defined as multi-use sites - combining either hillfort or settlement with a formal cemetery area - and two were exclusive cemetery areas (see Section 7.2). As demonstrated by Table 6.1, human infant remains formed the largest representative age group at 11 of the 33 sites, namely: Puddlehill, Gussage All Saints, Guiting Power, Micheldever Wood, Old Down Farm, Winnall Down/Easton Lane, Silverstone Fields Farm, Wakerley, Gravelly Guy, Knap Hill and Yarnbury Camp.

Infant remains were discovered in small numbers on hillfort sites throughout the Iron Age. There was limited evidence for the development of regional patterning for infant deposition at these sites (discussed below; see also Section 7.2; Figures 7.3 to 7.8). Unlike the hillfort evidence, the deposition of human infant remains on settlement sites increased throughout the Iron Age. There was also some evidence for regional variability throughout this period (discussed below; see also Section 7.2; Figures 7.3 to 7.8).

While not theoretically excluded from any type of site, one need place the level of infant consistency within a wider consideration of Iron Age settlement density for southern England. In reality, the overwhelming majority of period associated sites produced no human infant bone at all. Using Moore's (2006) data sample for the Seven-Cotswolds region, just four of his 706 study sites produced human infant bone; although some of these sites contained little evidence for occupation, other than a few ceramic sherds and are therefore questionable as to whether they were ever actual occupational sites *per se*. Nonetheless, this begs the question, why do we find Iron Age infants at all? Why were so few deposited in visible ways?

The answer for this may partly lie in both taphonomic agency, the nature of general sampling strategies and poor excavation techniques (see Section 2.1.3). While these may have contributed to a general absence of infant remains, the fact that certain infant bones survive equally well to adult comparatives suggests that a presence of infant osteology might be expected on all sites containing human adult osteology. The answer to why so few infants are found would therefore appear to be intrinsically bound to temporally selective depositional rationales, taphonomy and poor excavation and sampling techniques and strategies (see 2.1.3 and 9.6).

However, that so few infants were deposited or buried should not surprise us. Selectivity played a massive role within Iron Age depositional rationales. For instance, Stead's (2006) recent re-evaluation of Iron Age swords and scabbards detailed only 274 artefacts in total. These came from a much wider sample area than the Iron Age infants considered here. Yet, there is little dispute over the fact that swords and scabbards, often elaborate and complex, were socially important items during the Iron Age. Why then should a larger sample of human infant remains, as deposited in a much smaller sample area, be of any less significance within social acts of deposition at this time?

9.8 How did infant deposition temporally develop throughout the Iron Age?

Early Iron Age

As discussed in Section 3.2, archaeologists often struggle to define the exact moment in which the Late Bronze Age ended and the early Iron Age first began across much of southern England. Period blurring is a common dynamic for anyone researching the Early Iron Age in particular. Nonetheless, using primary archival material, it was possible to deduce that during this early period, eight sites produced 26 infant depositions. These came from four counties, namely Cambridgeshire, Dorset, Hampshire and Oxfordshire. Sites included Greenhouse Farm, Hod Hill, Maiden Castle, Old Down Farm and Suddern Farm, all of which produced a single deposition during this period; Winnall Down/Easton Lane, which produced three deposits; Danebury, which produced five deposits; and Gravelly Guy, which produced 13 deposits. During this time a total of 17 depositions were found in pits, four in ditches, two in postholes and one in both a gully and hillfort rampart (discussed in detail in Section 7.4.6).

Early to Middle Iron Age

A total of 39 depositions were discovered at seven sites, in five counties during this period. Counties included Cambridgeshire, Dorset, Hampshire, Kent and Oxfordshire. Sites included: Greenhouse Farm, Danebury, Gravelly Guy, Suddern Farm and Winnall Down/Easton Lane - which all additionally produced firmly dated Early Iron Age deposits, Gussage All Saints and North Foreland. During this period, Greenhouse Farm, Gussage All Saints and Winnall Down/Easton Lane all produced a single deposition, Danebury produced three deposits, North Foreland produced four depositions, Gravelly Guy produced seven depositions and Suddern Farm produced 22 depositions. As detailed in Section 7.4.6, during this time, 32 of the deposits were found in pit features, four in graves, and a single deposition in a ditch, a posthole and a shallow scoop.

Middle Iron Age

Ten sites produced 86 depositions during this period. These came from just three counties, namely Dorset, Hampshire and Oxfordshire. Sites included Gussage All Saints, Danebury, Suddern Farm, Winnall Down/Easton Lane and Gravelly Guy: all of which produced infant depositions in both the Early and Early to Middle Iron Age periods; Maiden Castle, which also produced an Early Iron Age deposit; and Houghton Down, Micheldever Wood and Owslebury, all of which were virgin sites at this time. During this period, Gravelly Guy continued to produce high numbers of depositions with 29 associated deposits. While at Winnall Down/Easton Lane and Maiden Castle, the highest number of deposits occurred to date, with 25 at Winnall Down/Easton Lane and five at Maiden Castle. In addition to this, Micheldever Wood produced thirteen depositions, Gussage All Saints produced six depositions, the sites of Danebury, Owslebury and Winklebury - all based in Hampshire - produced just two depositions each, while Houghton Down and Suddern Farm each produced a single deposition.

As in the earlier phases, pit deposition dominates the record for this period. In total, 60 Middle Iron Age deposits were placed in pit features. A further eleven were found in ditches, four in postholes, three in graves and gullies, two in association with both floors and hearths and one within a rampart. A total of 70% of the associated depositions were discovered on settlement sites, compared to 30% on hillfort sites.

Mid to Late Iron Age

During this period, five sites produced nineteen depositions. These came from three counties, namely Gloucestershire, Hampshire and Somerset. Sites included Danebury and Suddern Farm, both of which produced deposits in all previous periods; Old Down Farm, which also produced Early Iron Age deposits; and Glastonbury Lake Village and Salmonsbury, both of which are virgin sites at this time. During this period, Danebury produced the highest number of deposits to date with eight depositions - this was also the final phase of infant deposition at this site; Glastonbury Lake Village produced four depositions, Old Down Farm produced three, Salmonsbury produced two and, in contrast to its earlier phases, Suddern Farm produced a single deposit. In terms of contextual association, twelve of the depositions were found in pit features, two in both postholes and in association with floors and one in direct association with a hearth. The remaining two depositions had no recorded contextual details. Three of these sites were settlements and the remaining two were hillforts (Figure 7.1).

Late Iron Age

A total of 78 depositions were found at eleven Late Iron Age sites, in six counties, namely Bedfordshire, Dorset, Hampshire, Northamptonshire, Somerset and Wiltshire. Sites included Maiden Castle, which also produced Early and Middle Iron Age deposits; Old Down Farm, which also produced Early and Mid to Late deposits, Gussage All Saints, which also produced Early to Mid and Middle deposits; Glastonbury Lake Village, which also produced Mid to Late deposits; Owslebury, which also produced Mid deposits; and Flagstones, Puddlehill, Rotherley, Viables II (Jay's Close) and Wakerley, all of which were virgin infant sites. With regard to numbers of deposits per site, Gussage All Saints produced the highest number for this period with 31 depositions. Wakerley produced fourteen, Owslebury produced thirteen, Maiden Castle produced seven, Rotherley produced five, Puddlehill and Poundbury both produced two, and Flagstones, Glastonbury Lake Village, Old Down Farm, Owslebury and Viables II all produced one deposition. Of these sites, eleven were settlements and only two were hillforts.

Latest Iron Age

During the Latest Iron Age, 41 depositions were found at a total of eight sites in five counties, namely Dorset, Hampshire, Hertfordshire, Northamptonshire and Wiltshire. Sites included Winnall Down/Easton Lane, which also produced Early, Early to Mid and Middle Iron Age depositions; Micheldever Wood, which also produced Middle Iron Age depositions ; Poundbury and Rotherley, which also produced Late Iron Age depositions; and Fordington Bottom, Baldock, Wick Avenue and Silverstone Fields Farm, all of which were virgin infant producing sites at this time. With regards to numbers of deposits per site, the majority, some fifteen depositions, were found inhumed in association with the settlement area at Poundbury. In addition, Rotherley produced six depositions, Silverstone Fields Farm produced five; Baldock and Micheldever Wood both produced four; Fordington Bottom and Winnall Down/Easton Lane both produced three; and Wick Avenue produced one.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of Latest Iron Age deposition lies in the fact that grave features replace pits as the predominant depositional feature at this time. In all, nineteen depositions were found in graves, followed closely by sixteen in ditches, five in pits and one in a scoop like feature. As with all previous periods, settlement sites dominated the depositional record, with six of the eight sites being of this variety. The remaining sites were comprised of a hillfort and cemetery.

Unphased deposits

A total of ten sites produced unphased Iron Age depositions. These came from six counties, namely Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Kent, Oxfordshire, Somerset and Wiltshire. These site included Danebury, where depositions were additionally found securely phased to the Early to Middle Iron Age; Owslebury, where securely dated Middle Iron Age depositions were also found; Glastonbury Lake Village, where additional depositions also securely dated to the Mid to Late and Late Iron Age; and on seven exclusively unphased sites including Guiting Power, Mill Hill, Frilford, Segsbury Camp, South Cadbury, Knap Hill and Yarnbury Castle. Of these, South Cadbury produced the highest number of deposits with 21 deposits, Yarnbury produced nine depositions, Danebury produced four, Glastonbury Lake Village produced three, Mill Hill produced two, and Guiting Power, Owslebury, Frilford, Segsbury Camp and Knap Hill all produced just one.

Due to poor levels of recording, it was only possible to ascertain associated contextual details for nineteen of these depositions. Of these, ten were found in ditches, four in both grave features and postholes and one in a pit. Unlike the phased evidence, the unphased sites are dominated by hillfort locations (five of the ten sites). The remaining sites comprise of three settlements, one cemetery and one circular stake built ceremonial enclosure at Frilford.

Based upon associated site literature, it is possible that the unphased Glastonbury Lake Village depositions were in fact of a Mid to Late Iron Age date. Coles and Minnitt (1995, 178) suggest that the site may have established around 250BC and continued to be occupied until around 50BC, though Haselgrove (1997, 51-72) has suggested, using brooch dating, that the site was abandoned in 20BC. Either way, these deposits are likely to have dated to this period; though dating continues to vary according to which methodology one pursues. For instance, radiocarbon dating has suggested that the early phase of occupation may have begun around 792BC, with the site associated causeway being dated between 168BC and AD236 (Coles and Minnitt 1995, 176). Due to this, it is important to treat the three unphased infant depositions with some caution.

9.9 Did infant bodies enter the Iron Age record in a similar or different way to those of older individuals at this time?

9.9.1 The wider evidence for human deposition and burial

In order to consider the above question, it was first necessary to gauge some understanding of the various ways in which older aged human bodies and bone first entered the Iron Age record (Sections 3.5 and 3.6). As set out in Table 7.2, to date, the most detailed framework for this was compiled by Lucy Walker (1984) as part of the post-excavational analysis for Danebury. Walker devised a framework which subcategorised the deposition of human remains into six deposition typologies. She defined these as Type A (whole bodies), Type B (incomplete skeletons), Type C (multiple, partially disarticulated skeletons and skulls), Type D (skulls or frontal bones), Type E (pelvic girdles) and Type F (individual bones and bone fragments).

9.9.2 The infant evidence

Though not definitive, this model of deposition provided a structured way for approaching the infant dataset in order to consider whether this young age group entered the Iron Age record in a similar or different manner. Analysis produced interesting results. There were striking similarities between several of Walkers deposition type categories and the infant deposits. Specifically, Type’s A, B and F were contemporaneous, though Type F was re-classified as Type IB to better represent the discovery of deposited isolated bone; thus complementing the additional new Type category (discussed below). It is possible that Type D may have been applicable but taphonomic factors prevented any firm conclusion of this.

In addition to these categories, the infant dataset also produced subtle differences to Walker's model, though whether these were actual age related differences *per se* or were overlooked as part of the enormous post-excavational analysis is hard to tell. A new deposition Type category nonetheless emerged. This were characterised by the deposition of two isolated bones and was termed Type DIB deposits (Dual Isolated bone). Importantly, the combination of these bones varied considerably and they were often not found in any form of articulated association.

As demonstrated by Figure 7.10, once the infants deposition typology was defined, further detailed analysis concluded that 32% of the entire infant dataset was classifiable as Type A. This was sequentially followed by 23% as Type B, 3% as Type DIB and 15% as Type IB. A further 27% had no recorded skeletal type categories and therefore remain ambiguously represented.

9.9.3 Skeletal type and associated age at death

The following results are discussed in detail in Section 7.3 and summarised by Figures 7.11 to 7.14.

Pre-social infancy

55% of all Type A deposits, 47% of all Type B deposits, 40% of all Type DIB deposits and 42% of all Type IB deposits were aged between the foetal period and 0+ at time of death.

Early childhood

In contrast with earlier infancy, 11 % of all Type A deposits, 10% of both Type B and DIB deposits and 4% of Type IB deposits were aged 0+> to three years.

The ambiguous dataset

Due to poor levels of recording and reporting the remainder of the dataset were either ambiguously aged as 'infant' only, or had no associated deposition type details. As such these depositions offered no potential to contribute towards an understanding of the relationship between biological age and a deposition Type category.

9.9.4 Regional variability

Table 8.4 provides an overview of deposition Type category evidence drawn from the 12 study counties. Within this, there was some evidence of regional variability. The following pattern most likely reflects localised preferences in body treatments during the Iron Age. When contrasted with a map of southern England, there is no apparent correlation with regional groupings.

Absence of type 'A' deposits

There was a total absence of Type A deposits in both Kent and Sussex.

Absence of type 'B' deposits

There was a total absence of Type B deposits in Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Northamptonshire and Wiltshire.

Absence of type DIB deposits

Of the twelve study counties, three produced DIB deposits of human infant bone. These were Hampshire, Oxfordshire and Somerset. The remainder - Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Dorset, Gloucestershire, Hertfordshire, Kent, Northamptonshire, Sussex and Wiltshire - produced no example of DIB deposition.

Absence of type IB deposits

Five counties produced no IB deposits of human infant bone. These were Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Northamptonshire, Sussex and Wiltshire.

Counties boasting all four deposition types

The following counties boasted all four Types of deposition during the Iron Age: Hampshire, Oxfordshire and Somerset.

Counties boasting three deposition types

Both Dorset and Gloucestershire boasted three Types of deposition during the Iron Age, namely Types A, B and IB. There was a total absence of Type DIB.

Counties boasting two deposition types

Only Cambridgeshire boasted two of the four deposition Type categories. These were Types A and IB. There was a total absence of Type B and DIB.

Counties boasting just a single deposition type

The majority, some four of the twelve study counties, boasted just a single deposition type category. Three of these, namely Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire and Wiltshire only boasted Type A deposits. The fourth, Sussex, only boasted Type B.

9.10 How were infant bodies treated in death? Did this treatment mirror practices accorded to contemporaneous older bodies?

Excarnation

Excarnation by exposure, or by other means, has become the standard explanation for the general absence of human remains for Iron Age southern England (see Sections 4.5.3; 8.4.2). Three of the study sites produced evidence for excarnated infant remains. Evidence included animal gnaw marking, bone weathering and bone charring (by fire). Associated sites included Danebury, South Cadbury and Glastonbury Lake Village. Full details for this are provided in 7.4.2. These confirm that infant bodies and bones received exactly the same kinds of excarnation treatment commonly awarded to older individuals. That so few sites have produced such evidence should not be surprising to us. Osteologically, human infant bone often fails to survive through time (see Section 3.3). Given the additional affect of excarnation, one would naturally expect there to be very little evidence for this practice in relation to young bodies, and as such, that there is some evidence tends to suggest that this practice may have been far more widespread.

Cremation

In a very similar way to excarnation, finding cremated human infant bone is highly problematic and rare (see Section 3.5.3). From the outset of this thesis, cremation was not a part of my remit (focusing instead on deposition), though section 7.4.3 does highlight the evidence for cremated human infant bone, so as to demonstrate that bodies of this age group were not excluded from this particular type of Iron Age mortuary treatment.

A general search of literature, coupled with extensive enquires, revealed that five Iron Age sites are currently known to have produced cremated infant remains. The details for these are set out in Section 7.4.3. Sites include: Owslebury, which produced a Middle Iron Age Cremation - quite unusual for Hampshire during the Iron Age; Kingsmead Park, Jubilee Corner, Boxford and Yapton. These remaining four examples were all given a Late Iron Age date, which is contemporaneous with the introduction of the Aylesford style of cremation from 70 BC onwards (Fitzpatrick 1997b, 208).

The Owslebury cremation - an infant aged between one and two years at time of death - was represented by only a few scraps of well burnt bone. This was given a 2nd century BC date (Collis unpublished notes, Hampshire Archaeological Archive). It was discovered within a section of the site's banjo enclosure antennae ditch and was therefore associated with an occupational settlement - something clearly at odds with the later introduction of Aylesford style cremation (Inskip and Lally 2007). The Owslebury infant was directly associated with numerous fragments from three different pottery vessels and a bronze bracelet or torc, complete with threaded glass bead.

In recent years, a number of other Middle Iron Age cremations have also become apparent on settlement sites, though none as far south as Hampshire. These sites, all based around the Northamptonshire / Leicestershire region, include Elms Park, (Boyle 2000, 196-7), Wanlip, (Marsden 1998; Baxter 1998) and more recently, Tattenhoe, Northamptonshire (Inskip and Lally 2007). For a full discussion of these see Inskip and Lally (2007).

Inhumation

As detailed in Section 7.4.5, a total of 47 infants were inhumed in grave features. These were found at a total of twelve sites, in eight counties, namely, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Dorset, Hampshire, Kent, Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire. Sites include: Puddlehill, Greenhouse Farm, Fordington Bottom, Maiden Castle, Poundbury, Owslebury, Suddern Farm, Winnall Down/Easton Lane, Mill Hill, Wakerley and Frilford (Figure 8.15). Burials dated throughout the Iron Age, reaching a peak in the Late to Latest Iron Age period (77%). The majority of grave associated burials were found to contain Type A deposits (54%), followed by Type B (27%), IB (15%) and DIB (4%). This data suggests that although formal inhumation became more popular through time, the traditions of fragmenting the body as part of deposition into Type A, B DIB and IB deposits, continued to play some informed role within burial ritual.

Deposition

Contextual evidence for infant deposition is discussed in Section 7.4.6 and summarised in Section 9.2.9.

9.10.1 Were pre-social infants and young children massacred?

Recent research on human massacre in Iron Age southern England

There is some evidence to demonstrate that interpersonal violence occurred during the Iron Age, however, based upon the small associated sample of bodies with weapon trauma evidence, it is likely that group warfare and conflict was not as endemic as previously thought (cf. Sharples 1991). In relation to the site of Danebury, Craig, Knüsel and Carr (2005) recently re-examined the taphonomy of the two largest pits containing human bone. These two pits, (923 and 1078) contained the remains of *c.* 21 individuals, constituting 1151 bone elements. Of these elements, just 91 or 7.9 percent displayed evidence for fragmentation. Among these, a smaller unspecified number boasted evidence of mutilation / dismemberment, in the form of spiral fracturing, a peri-mortem chop mark and at least a further two instances of cut marks.

This evidence may suggest that a tiny number of individuals had been subjected to decapitation; although it is uncertain whether this constituted their cause of death. It is possible that these biologically deceased bodies retained some degree of social life, making even a post mortem act, such as decapitation, transformational (Lally 2007; 2008a).

Further trauma evidence was recorded from other contemporary features. A deposit of two skulls in Early Iron Age pit 2509, had mandibles with traumatic injury marking which would be consistent with the decapitation of the skull in association with both C2 and C3 vertebrae (Craig, Knüsel and Carr 2005). Craig, Knüsel and Carr (2005) suggest that these heads were subjected to display for a period of time before being deposited in their associated pit, as evidenced by the displacement of the mandibles from their respective crania, indicating they were not attached at time of deposition. While it is common for a degree of bone movement as part of natural taphonomic processes, the fact that these skulls were tightly packed within their associated contexts, suggests a stable environment for deposition, excluding any possibility of post depositional movement (Craig, Knüsel and Carr 2005).

This stable environment, combined with an absence of cut marking relating to disarticulation, may suggest that the mandibles became separated from their crania at some point before deposition. It is likely that this occurred after the strong temporomandibular ligament had decayed (Craig, Knüsel and Carr 2005). Hooper (1991, 428) has suggested that at Danebury, at least ten individuals sustained weapon trauma, most commonly inflicted by a sword. Of these ten, three sustained more than one sword stroke or puncture. The repetitive nature of these decapitations, coupled with their similar deposition contexts may imply that these were *ritualised acts of rational violence* (Craig, Knüsel and Carr’s 2005).

Cunliffe and Poole (1991, 425) and Bishop and Knüsel (2005) have suggested that some of the partial human bodies found at Danebury, and indeed elsewhere, may have been deposited after a ‘cleaning up’ of deceased bodies following some period of incursion or warfare. They suggest that many of the individuals found in the pit features, originated via acts of periodic human massacre. Bishop and Knüsel (2005, 210) suggest that the infant remains found at Danebury may have been massacred due to some fear that if allowed to live, these individuals might grow into warriors in waiting, or tomorrows warriors and seek revenge for the earlier act(s) of massacre. However, a detailed consideration of the demographic profile for the site, coupled with its long term tradition of structured deposition - in which human bone played some role - suggests that massacre alone cannot directly account for how and why bodies appear archaeologically visible.

Rethinking human massacre

Despite presenting a case for human massacre and display, both Craig, Knüsel and Carr (2005) and Bishop and Knüsel (2005) fail to discuss the contextual relationship between the 'fragmented' bones and other finds discovered in the same associated features. For instance, pit 1078 may have contained two instances of intentionally fragmented human bone but these elements were found within a feature matrix of twenty different find producing vertical fill layers. Four of these layers produced deposits of human remains, varying from single bones through to the discovery of six whole / partial skeletons, three human skulls and two isolated human bones in lower vertical context 6b. In nearly every instance, these layers also produced multiple structured deposits of both animal bone and objects, and repetitive find relationships between them (a detailed and convincing account of structured infant deposition at Danebury is provided in chapter 8 and summarised in Section 9.14).

For instance, thirteen of the twenty fill layers produced evidence for the repetitive inclusion of sheep bone, cattle bone and pottery, in an identical way to those structured features containing human infant bone (discussed above). Pit 1078 also produced other similarities to the infant associated features. This included the preferential deposition of cattle bone (47 %) and bone objects (50%) in upper contexts, and pottery (57%) and metal objects (eight out of nine objects) in lower contexts. In addition, and in a different way to the infant associated features, the majority of sheep bone from Pit 1078 was discovered in lower contexts (54%), while horse bone (73%) and stone objects (all 5 objects) were primarily deposited in upper contexts.

Furthermore, the majority of Danebury's skeletal material, including those of its pre-social infants and young children, was not deposited in a single instance. Rather, it is possible that circumscribed acts of 'ritual violence', incorporating clear 'over-kill' intent, went hand-in-hand with specific depositional rationales. As such, while it is possible that some of the bodies from Danebury and other sites may have been intentionally killed as part of warfare or human sacrifice, it would seem that rather than simply being thrown out with the rubbish or tidied away, they were often subsequently treated and used in a range of other transformational ways, such as being employed, along with animal bodies and bones and a range of other objects, as part of structured depositionary practices. Therefore, our modern perception of what constituted a 'normative' and 'non-normative' mortuary treatment may well be misleading. It is apparent that the deposition of multiply treated whole, partial and fragmented human bodies was both rational and normative within local and temporal traditions of practice that spanned around 450 years at Danebury.

The archaeological record for Iron Age southern England demonstrates that acts of violence were not limited to adult bodies alone. Evidence exists to show that children were treated in similar ways. Direct evidence for this has been found at Viables II (Jay's Close) in Hampshire, where infant deposition L1037, a six to seven month old, had been intentionally split in half from the head to the groin, either resulting in death or at some point soon after death (Baxter and Duhig 2004, 24). A similar example was reported at Wandlebury, where the remains of a dismembered six year old child were found (Hartley 1957; Cunliffe 2005, 573; Green 1998; 2002, 53-54). Here, analysis suggested that the child had had his legs 'hacked off' before being deposited in a pit feature. A second, 'drastically mutilated' (Hartley 1957, 15) deposition was also uncovered in another of Wandlebury's pits. This took the form of an adult female, whose head lay apart from her trunk and whose femurs had been deliberately broken off a few centimetres below the pelvis. The pelvic girdle itself had been crushed by a huge block of flint (Hartley 1957, 1-26; Longton 1957, 27; Green 2002, 54). Other examples of flint-crushed bodies have been reported at Fyfield Bavant (Clay 1924), Rotherley (Cunnington 1933), Maiden Bower (Matthews 1976, 162) and Wilbury Hill (Applebaum 1933, 352-61; 1949), while chalk-crushed bodies have been reported at Fyfield Bavant (Clay 1924), Twywell (Jackson 1975), Worlebury (Dymond 1902) and Bury Hill (Wilson 1981).

When contrasted with the wider, yet limited, evidence for intentional violence and possibly even human sacrifice during the Iron Age, it is likely that the Viables II infant had been the victim of an intentional killing and that it's associated treatment originated through sacrificial violence rather than some form of infanticide. As Green (2002, 50) has suggested, during the Iron Age sacrificial violence was closely associated with extreme force, the level of which was far in excess of what was necessary to achieve the desired function of defunctionalising or killing. Certainly, the severing of an infant into two parts might be considered as evidencing over-kill violence.

9.11 In what contexts were infants deposited and were these similar to those used for older remains?

As discussed in detail in Section 7.4.6, infant depositions were found in the following features:

Ditches

As detailed in Section 3.5.5, archaeologists have traditionally approached Iron Age boundary ditches as liminal places, used for the focus of identity rituals and with the demarcation of emic social members from the etic world. Ditches and ramparts are directly associated with the separation of internal and external spaces, though in the case of only some ditches and the majority of ramparts, this separation can take the form of a public and highly visual statement. Enclosures of this kind have traditionally been associated with ritual and spiritual protection throughout the ages. For example, the Romans believed that many different gods protected bounded spaces, including *Terminus*, the god of boundaries and boundary markers, *Cardea* protecting doors and hinges, *Forculus* protecting gates and gateways, *Limentius* protecting the doorstep, and the two-headed *Janus* protecting doors and all manner of gateways (Lecouteux 1987; Karl and Löcker 2008).

As both Kelly (1988, 140-141) and Vendryes (1974, 146-147) suggest, this need for divine protection also manifested itself in early medieval 'Celtic' and German culture and law. In relation to Celtic law, legal protection was referred to by the cognate terms Old Irish *snádud* and Middle Welsh *nawdd* (see also Karl and Löcker 2008). While in Germany, the term *Hausfrieden* was used to relate to the spiritual protection of the home - as a form of sanctuary - protecting people from any evil crossing of the fence or ditch area (Karl and Löcker 2008; Lupoi 2000, 380; Wenskus 1961, 372).

Returning to the Iron Age infant data, a total of 59 depositions were found in ditch features. These came from fifteen sites in eight counties, namely Bedfordshire, Dorset, Hampshire, Kent, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire and Wiltshire. Sites included: Puddlehill, Gussage All Saints, Maiden Castle, Micheldever Wood, Owslebury, Winnall Down/Easton Lane, Baldock, Wick Avenue, North Foreland, Silverstone Fields Farm, Wakerley, Gravelly Guy, Knap Hill, Rotherley and Yarnbury. Details of numbers of deposition per site are given in figure 8.16. Chronological details are given in Section 8.4.6 and Figure 8.17. This shows that ditch deposition occurred throughout the Iron Age, peaking during the late period. In these instances, it is arguably likely that the presence of infant - and older (Whimster 1981, 241-248) - human remains in ditch and rampart (Whimster 1981, 249-252) features were sanctioned and understood in symbolic contexts. If we return to the earlier suggestion that infants and older individuals had some prototype potentiality to by analogously (re)associated with the pre-social infant-object stage, then their associated liminality may have posited them as natural ambassadors for diving propitiation; either being used as intermediaries between the earth and ancestors, or as supplication deposits.

In association with floors

Four depositions were found associated with occupational floors. All came from Glastonbury Lake Village and were of a Middle Iron Age date. None had any associated depositional Type details. All were aged to earliest infancy (one foetus and three 0+). Deposition Sk.M29 was found on top of a mound floor, while SK’s. 37, 38 and 39 were all sealed beneath floors, though, due to poor levels of recording, their exact contextual locations remain problematic - as does any associations to objects or other items.

Gullies

As discussed in 8.3, evidence is now emerging to suggest that rather than being purely functional areas, Iron Age gully features were occasionally associated with structured depositionary practices. Four sites produced eight gully associated depositions, namely Danebury, Owslebury, Winnall Down/Easton Lane and Gravelly Guy. The archive was generally poor for these associated gully features. As such it was not possible to ascertain whether associated finds - including the human deposits - were structurally deposited within them. The four sites were found in the modern counties of Hampshire and Oxfordshire. Depositions dated to the Early, Middle and Late Iron Age. Five were aged as pre-social infants (0+) and three as older infants (one as one to two years and two as 'infants' only). Two of the depositions were Type A, four were Type B, one was Type IB and one had no associated type details.

In association with hearths

Glastonbury Lake Village was the only site to produce hearth associated infant deposits. There were three in total, all of which may well have been contemporaneous. Two were dated as Middle Iron Age, while the third was dated to the Mid to Late Iron Age. All three were pre-social infants (0+). No deposition Type details were available for any of these deposits.

Pits

Pit associated deposition formed the largest contextual sub-dataset, with 165 associated instances. These came from twenty sites, in eight (66%) of the twelve associated counties; namely, Cambridgeshire, Dorset, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Kent, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire and Wiltshire. A detailed list of associated sites and numbers of depositions per site are given in Figure 8.18. Chronological results are given in figure 7.19. These show that pit deposition occurred throughout the Iron Age, peaking during the Middle Iron Age period (36%). The shape of pits tended to vary, both on the same site and across space. 37% of pit features were cylindrical in shape, 24% were beehive, 7% were bowl, 5.3% were rectangular and 2% were irregularly shaped. Due to poor levels of recording and reporting, the remaining pit features had no associated shape details available. The majority of pit associated infants were deposition Type A (47%), followed by Types B (32%), IB (18%) and

DIB (3%). 24 depositions had no recorded deposition Type details. Possible reasons as to why pits were used to contain bodies and structured deposits are given in 3.5.5 and chapter 8.

Postholes

As Figure 7.20 shows thirteen infant depositions were found in postholes. These came from just four sites, in only two counties, namely Hampshire and Oxfordshire. Sites included Old Down Farm, Winnall Down/Easton Lane, Danebury and Gravelly Guy. Associated deposits occurred in very small numbers throughout the Iron Age (7.4.6). That posthole deposits occurred in such small numbers prevents any detailed analysis of associated patterns of intentional deposition Types. Overall, just three deposits were Type A, two were Types B and IB and one was Type DIB. A further five depositions had no recorded Type details. With regards to age, the majority - eight deposits - were aged 0+, while the remaining five were recorded only as ‘infants’. It is possible that at least some of the associated human deposits originated via structured depositionary practices (discussed in Sections 8.3 and 8.5), though on the basis of their poorly constituted associated archives and paper records, this remains purely speculative.

Ramparts

Maiden Castle was the only site to produce rampart associated depositions. Three were found in all, one of which dated to the Early, Middle and Late Iron Age. All three deposits were deposition Type A, and all were categorised as being young children, aged between three and six months at time of death. Ramparts may have been both functionally defensive, while also serving as a medium for bringing communities and different social groups of people together for a shared purpose (Sharples 1986). Indeed, the communal aspect involved in rampart construction is often archaeologically evident. For example, the ramparts of Maiden Castle present as having been erected by several contemporaneously working groups of construction workers, as attested by the clumsy joining of independently worked strips. A further, detailed discussion of rampart meaning, contexts and possible associations is provided in the above summary of ditch associated deposition.

In addition to this, rampart deposition may well have been associated with foundation offerings, of the kind more commonly recognised during the Romano-British period. During this latter time, human infants played a consistently specific role (after Scott 1992), frequently being deposited in association with urban, rural (after Pearce 1999) and ritual (after Scott 1992) structural construction programmes.

For instance, the remains of four infants, aged approximately six months at time of death, were uncovered during the excavation of Temple IV at Springhead, Kent (Penn 1960). The four depositions were found in opposing corners of the same building. The two infants deposited in the north-east and south-west corners had their heads decapitated. They were subsequently placed carefully onto their sides, in a flexed position. Within the same building stood a number of 'freestanding' posts (evidenced by cut features alone). Many of these postholes contained further deposits of human infant bone, though co-mingled with both ox and horse remains (Penn 1960). Infant foundation deposits are widely attested during the Romano-British period, occurring on other sites such as Sleaford police station and Rudstone Villa (Lally 2000).

Ramparts may have been defensive, but they were also communal and symbolic structures. By enclosing areas of land, ramparts were a means of segregating an inner space from the etic world (after Barrett, Freeman and Woodward 2000, 319-320), though in a clearly visible and possibly performance orientated way. An example of rampart performance is provided by Hamilton (1998, 37), who has suggested that the ramparts at the Caburn, Sussex, served to demarcate and differentiate public from private spacing and associated acts of deposition:

> Looking at the Caburn from the outside, the ramparts are situated well below the crown of the hill and the locations of many of the pits are extremely visible. From the inside, by contrast, the Caburn offers visibility over very short distances. Indeed, from the top, virtually nothing can be seen of the 'ramparts' and lower parts of the site. Likewise, from the entrances there is minimal visibility into the centre of the site. Whatever meaning we ascribe to the pit deposits at the Caburn, they provide an interesting topographic paradox that from the inside what would 'appear' to be a private act of deposition, is

actually a highly public action to any observer outside the site, albeit one situated at a distance.

Scoops

Only three depositions were found in features defined as ‘scoops’. Scoops are representative of shallow pits, not capable of containing anything other than small deposits of bones, or infant sized bodies. The three scoops were found at the sites of Owslebury, Baldock and Gravelly Guy. These are situated in Hampshire, Hertfordshire and Oxfordshire. Indeed, it is likely that deposition Sk. 62 from Owslebury was deposited within a feature temporally perceived as a small pit. This feature was immediately associated with a complex of other deeper pits. The remaining two instances remain less certain. The Gravelly Guy scoop was given an Early to Middle Iron Age date, while both of the remaining deposits were given a Latest Iron Age date. All three were deposition type A deposits. One was aged ‘pre-social infant’ (0±), one as an older infant (0+> to three months) and one as ‘infant’ only.

9.12 Were infants provided with grave goods?

As stated in Section 7.5, defining what was, and was not, once perceived to have been a grave good is problematic at best. As discussed in both chapter 7 and above, the majority of individuals represented within the infant dataset were not formally inhumed. The majority were deposited. As such, traditional terms used to describe the discovery of infant deposits - such as ‘burial in grave’, or just ‘burial’ - are inaccurate. Therefore, for the most part, assigning grave goods relationships may very well be a redundant task. In these instances, attention should be given to correlating finds patterning and the likely relationship between human and other deposit. As chapter 8 has demonstrated, in some situations at least, human remains may not have always acted as a centrally structuring deposit. Where placed as part of some structured depositionary rationale, it is entirely plausible that human remains were being manipulated, conceived and deposited as contemporaneous objects themselves.

Nonetheless, there is some evidence to show that human infants were provided with grave goods in death. As discussed in Section 7.5, and demonstrated by Table

7.6, there were seven likely instances. These include two pit depositions found at both Gussage All Saints and Winnall Down/Easton Lane, and single depositions found at Gravelly Guy, Owslebury and Poundbury. Both of the Gussage depositions, namely SKs. 661 and 132(9), had green copper staining to their crania. Although the responsible copper objects failed to survive (due to taphonomic factors), that there was such staining evidence suggests that these individuals were in direct contact with copper for some extended period of time. Due to an absence of a published (Wainwright 1979) or archived feature / burial plan for these individuals, it was not possible to even speculate as to what these objects may have been.

At Winnall Down/Easton Lane, grave deposit Sk. 159, was found directly associated with a complete pottery vessel (SF100). Sk. 161, also a grave associated deposit, was directly associated with a double coiled ring with a point and an animal goad. After an extensive search, the only comparative example found in which an infant was provided with double finger rings, came from the early Romano-British phase at Ham Hill (Grey 1924). In this instance, the infant in question was provided with two finger rings - not a double coiled ring, as at Winnall Down/Easton Lane - before being inhumed beneath an urned cremated adult. Together, these were then deposited into a stone lined cist (AD.50-100). At Gravelly Guy, infant deposition Sk. 2062/A/1 was found directly associated with a complete foetal lamb/goat, part of another sheep/goat, and a fired clay object (possibly a loom weight). Though widely attested in the structured depositional record for this period, these objects were classified as grave goods on the basis that they directly accompanied the corpse in what presents as having been a grave - a feature cut with the apparent sole purpose of containing the body and associated finds.

Sk. 69 from Owslebury has already been discussed above under cremation (Section 9.2.8). This Middle Iron Age cremation burial was discovered closely associated with numerous pottery fragments from three different vessels and a bronze bracelet or torc, complete with a threaded glass bead. This was the only cremation burial and deposits of finds encountered in a forty metre excavated stretch of the site’s banjo antennae ditch (Collis). After an extensive search, the only comparable example found, in which an infant of similar age (Sk. CE) was associated with a bracelet comes from the later (AD 350-420) Romano-British site of Dunstable (Matthews

1981). Finally, deposition Sk. 1391 from Poundbury was directly associated with coffin nails, an iron ?coffin plate and a complete pottery vessel. It is likely that this individual was deposited in line with the south Dorset burial rite, otherwise termed the Durotrigian burial tradition (Whimster 1981, chapter 2, appendix B; Woodward 1993, 217-219).

9.13 Is there any pathological evidence for violence against infant bodies during the Iron Age?

The only direct evidence for sacrificial violence against an infant body comes from Viables II (Jay's Close), where older infant Sk. L1037 - a six to seven month year old - was found to have been cut in half from the head to groin (discussed in Section 8.6; Figure 8.21). It is possible that this constituted cause of death, and if so may represent evidence for an intentional human sacrifice. Comparative examples, in which older aged bodies posit evidence of intentional trauma, possibly indicating - in some instances - human sacrifice, are provided and discussed in chapter 7.

9.14 Were infants structurally deposited?

9.14.1 Introduction

For reasons set out in Section 8.4, only the site of Danebury produced the kind of largely complete and detailed archive with which to thoroughly investigate structured depositionary practices. Other sites were also investigated, though on a much lesser basis.

9.14.2 Introduction to the Danebury case study

As detailed in Section 8.5, Danebury produced a total of 22 infant depositions, aged between 0± and three years. A general site chronology is provided in Table 8.1. Twenty of the depositions were pre-social infants (0±), one as *c.* one year and one as *c.* three years. Thirteen were Type A, two were Type B, five were Type IB and two were DIB deposits (Table 8.3). Six date to the Early Iron Age, two to both the Early to Middle and Middle Iron Ages, eight to the Mid to Late Iron Age, and four were ambiguously dated as 'Iron Age' only (Figure 8.2). Type A deposits dated to all periods, Type B deposits to the Mid to Late Iron Age only, Type IB to the Early to Middle Iron Age only, and Type DIB to the Early Iron Age only.

Fifteen of the depositions were found in pit features, six in postholes and one in a gully section of roundhouse structure CS9. Age details per type of feature are given in Table 8.2. Pit depositions dated to all periods, of the posthole deposits, one dated to both the Early and Early to Middle Iron Ages, and five to the 'Iron Age' only. The gully deposition dated to the Early Iron Age. Poorer levels of primary recording prevented investigations into gully and posthole associated structured deposition, while of the fifteen pit deposits, just fourteen had associated recorded details. Two of these were found in the same feature. As such, a total of thirteen pit features were investigated for structured practices. Of these features, ten (75%) were beehive in shape, two were both cylindrical and sub-rectangular and one was irregular (Table 8.3). Feature shape associated details are given in figures 8.5 for age and 8.6 for associated deposition Types.

On the basis of the wider evidence for structured deposition in both gully areas and postholes (9.3), it is entirely possible that at Danebury, these types of features also contained structured finds. Structured deposits in gully features are attested at Crick Covent Farm (Woodward and Hughes 2007), while structured posthole deposits are known from Lancing Down (Bedwin 1981), Harting Beacon and The Trundle (Hamilton 1998). A common feature of deposition between these posthole associated sites included repetitive quern deposits, along with human and boar teeth, jaw bones and tusks (discussed in Section 8.3).

9.14.3 Summary of results

A total of nineteen human deposits were found in the fourteen investigated pit features; fifteen were aged as infant and four as adult. Based on Figures 8.7 and 8.8, these individuals comprise just 8% of the entire human assemblage at Danebury. Of the infant depositions, two were found in both top and lower VCs, five in both upper and middle VCs and one in a basal VC. Of the adults, one was found in both an upper and middle VC and two in a lower VC. Infant deposition Type details are given in figure 8.3, while their chronological details are given in Figures 8.2 and 8.4. Of the adult material, one deposition was defined as Type A, two as Type B and one as Type IB. Two of these were Early Iron Age in date, while the remaining two were Middle, and Mid to Late Iron Age. Two adult depositions provided evidence of having been excarnated. The IB deposit - a proximal end of a left femur - boasted carnivore gnaw marks, while one of the Type B deposits comprised a detached from torso articulated forearm and other bones.

Structured VC patterning

Features were investigated using a pit fifth model. This broke all features in basal, lower, middle, upper and top most VC layers. These were individually determined using both section drawings and primary field records relating to feature matrices. Once these were confirmed, further investigations sought to determine the presence or absence of two types of structured practice: VC patterning and same context horizontal layer patterning (SCHL). Two main depositional find categories emerged from this, namely animal bone and other objects. Six different species constituted the faunal record: sheep/goat, cow/ox, pig, horse and bird. Eight objects constituted the 'other object' category: pottery, metal objects, quernstones, briquetage, bone objects, daub oven covers, chalk objects and glass beads.

The structured deposition of animal bone:

Sheep bone

VC Results: 1095 sheep bone specimens emerged from within the investigated feature dataset. These comprised 79% of the total faunal record for these features and were represented by all of the same depositional Type categories as associated with human remains: Types A, B, DIB and IB. Sheep bone was encountered in 66% of all investigated VC layers (50/76). Deposits included six complete sheep skulls; something clearly at odds with the wider faunal record for this period (Wait 1985, 134-7; Hill 1995, 60), in which sheep were normally deposited whole (as Type A deposits). Cunliffe (2003, 147) has previously suggests that sheep skulls were normally deposited at Danebury as part of ritual activities.

Deposited sheep bone(s) were found in twelve of the fourteen pits. Eight of these features were beehive in shape and two were both cylindrical and sub-rectangular. 95% of all deposits dated to the Mid to Late Iron Age; though associated bones were regularly present in much small quantities in pits dating to all other periods. This patterning is clearly at odds with the wider site faunal record, in which sheep constituted 57% of the Early faunal record and 68% of the Late Iron Age faunal record, dipping in visibility during the Middle Iron Age. Rather than mirroring wider contemporaneous depositional practices, the infant associated record implies an associated preference for regular small scale deposits during the Earlier to Middle Iron Age, at which time sheep deposition became numerically stronger in terms of its representation within the associated deposition rationales. In most instances, sheep bone was found associated with other objects.

The majority, some 542 specimens (49%), were found in lower VC layers. This was numerically followed by 303 in top VC layers, 155 in mid VC layers, 66 in upper VC layers and just 29 in basal VC layers. On the basis of this data, within these features, there was a clear preference for both lower and topmost VC deposition.

The intentionality of sheep bone within acts of structured deposition is supported by the fact that ‘many of the bones assigned to the latest phase did not come from discrete pits, but from the top layers of pits whose primary fill dated from earlier phases of occupation’ (Grant *et al* 1991, 454-455). As such, two theoretical possibilities emerge. The first suggests that many pit features were only partially filled with domestic rubbish by the time of the late period, at which time they conveniently received additional sheep bone - as domestic / economic waste. The second, and more likely based upon the wider evidence for onsite intentional structured deposition, is that in many instances, sheep bone was perceived as being a correct category of material for capping or closing previously exposed or open features. In this sense, the lesser, but nonetheless importantly visible deposition of sheep bone in earlier phase pit features containing structured deposits of human infants, might be understood as forming a part of continuing deposition practices, with a prescribed but ongoing associated rationality. It is then likely that the massive increase in sheep bone deposition in the later period may have been understood in a similar but importantly different way: similar in as much as continuing a form of deposition in existence from much earlier times, but different in as much as being perceived as a closing or ending deposit.

SHCL results: As detailed in section 8.6.2, a total of 228 bone specimens were found in nine SCHLs as human infant bone. This constituted 21% of the entire investigated feature associated faunal record. Two deposits dated to the Early to Middle Iron Age, one to the Middle Iron Age, and six to the Mid to Late Iron Age. Complete sheep skulls were found in two SCHLs, one of which also contained a DIB deposits of sheep bone, a complete calf, an additional DIB deposit of cattle bone, an IB deposit of Pig bone, a near complete pottery vessel and additional pottery sherds (associated with infant Sk.19).

Cattle bone

VC Results: Represented by 195 bone specimens and a complete calf, cattle bone was the second most frequently encountered bone group and constituted 14% of the investigated faunal record. Dating to all periods of the Iron Age - though increasing sharply during the Mid to Late Iron Age - deposits were found in ten of the study pits and in 50% of all investigated VC layers (38/76). This chronological pattern - in a similar way to sheep bone - contradicts the wider site evidence, which witnessed a general decline in cattle deposition to the final phase (Grant *et al* 1991, 462). With regard to dating, just seven bones were given both an Early and Middle Iron Age date, five were Early to Middle Iron Age, and 177 (90%) originated from Mid to Late Iron Age contexts. Contextually, 49 bones came from top VCs, 34 from upper VCs, 31 from middle VCs, 78 from lower VCs and just four from basal VCs. There was strong deposition Type patterning, including seven DIB and six IB deposits. In addition, there were also six deposits of three associated - though not necessarily articulated (this remained unsubstantiated due to poor recording) bones. Doth DIB and deposits of three bones occurred in all periods, while IB deposits only dated to the Mid to Late Iron Age. In most instances, cattle bone was found associated with other objects.

SCHL results: 49 cattle bones constituted 25% of the investigation associated SCHL faunal record. They were found in six pits: one dating to both the Early to Mid and Middle Iron Ages, and four to the Mid to Late Iron Age. One of these deposits was a complete calf which was deposited against the south-east pit wall of feature 437, along with infant Sk. 19 - which was placed against the west pit wall - and a DIB deposit of both sheep and cattle bone, an IB deposit of Pig bone, a near complete pottery vessel and additional pottery sherds. In Section 8.6.2 I concluded that this was an intentional deposit and likely reflects one of many directly associated structured finds, which together, formulated some form of structured depositional package.

There were three SCHL associated DIB deposits, including that described above, a deposit in VC 2 of Mid to Late Iron Age pit 79 - along with infant bone, sheep bone and a isolated quern fragment (IQ fragment), and a basal deposit in Mid to Late Iron Age pit 1285 - which also contained infant bone, an IB deposit of dog bone, a double isolated deposit of complete quernstones (DIQ), an isolated deposit of briquetage, stone and a complete rare daub oven cover, complete with decoration.

Pig bone

VC results: Pig bone represented the third most prevalent species (5%). This was less than expected, as pigs in fact constituted 12% of the wider onsite faunal record (Grant *et al* 1991, 470). Within the current investigations, pigs were represented by 74 bone specimens and were found eleven of the investigated pit features, and within 26% of all the studied VCs (10/76). Just two bones dated to both the Early and Middle Iron Age, eleven to the Early to Middle Iron Age, and 59 to the Mid to Late Iron Age. In a similar way to both sheep and cattle bone deposition, this peak increase contrasted with the wider onsite faunal record, in which the presence of pig bone reduced during this final phase (Grant *et al* 1991, 470-473). There were eight Type IB deposits, six DIB deposits and three deposits of three associated - though not necessarily articulated (the record did not specify what the bones were) bones together. This pattern of three associated bones was also encountered with cattle bone deposition. Furthermore, there was additional patterning evidence in relation to the associated placement of these Type deposits (see 8.6.1). A complete pig skull constituted one of these IB deposits. This was found in Mid to Late pit feature 2145 along with a complete sheep skull. In total, 30 bones were discovered in topmost VCs, just five in upper VCs, 27 in lower VCs and just four in basal VCs. Pig bone was commonly found associated with other objects.

SCHL results: Only four of the thirteen SCHLs produced pig bone. This comprised of an IB, DIB, a three associated bone deposit, and a deposit of eight bones (see 8.6.1).

Horse bone

VC results: A total of 21 horse bones were found in just three VC layers. None of these came from SCHLs. Two of these layers contained IB deposits, while the third contained nineteen bones. With regards to spatial patterning, ten of the 21 horse bones were found in a single lower VC, while the remainder came from all but basal layers. There was a total absence of basal associated deposits. Hill (1995, 62) has suggested that horses were accorded 'special treatment' in both deposition and perception. Save for their incorporation into structured deposits, and their IB patterning, there is little evidence to suggest that they were accorded an unusually 'special' treatment within the pits containing human infant bone at Danebury.

Dog bone

Only five dog bones - 0.5% of the associated faunal record - were found in five of the investigated features. That dogs were so minimally represented should not necessarily come as a surprise. Grant *et al* (1991, 476) stated that dog bone constituted just 3% of the wider onsite faunal record. All of the investigation centred deposits were Mid to Late Iron Age in date. They were discovered in all but upper VC layers. Deposits were only Type DIB (two) or IB (three). Dog bone was commonly found to have been associated with other objects.

Hill (1995, 41) has suggested that his analysis revealed that during the Iron Age dog bones showed a series of relationships with other species. This 'special' relationship did indeed present itself as part of the current investigation, yet also included a repetitious association with pottery sherds and possibly other objects and materials. For instance, IB deposits of dog bone were discovered alongside: thirteen sheep bones, an IB deposit of cattle bone, three pig bones, an IB deposit of horse bone, fourteen pot sherds, a daub oven cover, upper green sandstone and charcoal in VC 4 of Pit 1285; as well as, fourteen sheep bones, a DIB deposit of cattle bone, sixteen pot sherds, two rotary querns, lower green sandstone, an IB fragment of briquetage, a decorated daub oven cover and charcoal in VC 8 of Pit 1285; and, twelve sheep bones, a complete sheep skull, three cattle bones, a DIB deposit of pig bone, 22 pot sherds, daub and charcoal in VC 4 of Pit 2155. DIB deposits were found alongside: 133 sheep bones, 21 cattle bones, seven pig bones, 59 pot sherds, a chalk weight, lower greensand stone and charcoal in VC6 of Pit 1285; and, 48 sheep bones, fifteen cattle bones, a DIB deposit of pig bone and 69 pot sherds in VC 2c of Pit 2155.

SCHL results: Two deposits were discovered in SCHLs. This included an IB and DIB deposit. The IB deposit - found in pit 1285 - was associated with a deposit of sheep bones, a DIB deposit of cattle bone, pottery, a deposit of two (termed dual) complete rotary quernstones (DIQ), briquetage, lower greensand stone, and a rare decorated daub oven cover. The DIB deposit - found in pit 2155 - was associated with sheep bone, cattle bone, a DIB deposit of pig bone, pottery, daub and quernstone.

Bird bone

A single, intentional, Type A, unidentified bird deposition was found in a top Mid to Late Iron Age VC layer (pit 2589). No bird bone was discovered in any SCHL. This deposit was associated with other objects including 61 sheep bones, eleven cattle bones, seven pig bones, an IB deposit of horse bone, 24 pottery sherds, flint nodules and chalk blocks.

The structured deposition of other objects

Pottery

VC results: A total of 846 pottery sherds and two partially broken vessels were found in twelve of the pit features. Most were associated with other objects. Ten sherds dated to the Early Iron Age, 94 to the Early to Middle Iron Age, just ten to the Middle Iron Age and 734 to the Mid to Late Iron Age. 219 were found in topmost VC layers, 115 in upper VCs, 185 in middle VCs, 269 in lower VCs and 60 in basal VCs. In an identical way to the deposition of human and animal remains (discussed above), there was also some evidence for depositional Type patterning. Specifically, pottery was discovered as an isolated sherd (termed IP (Isolated Pot)) in one VC, as a dual isolated deposit (DIP) in two VCs, and as a three-associated-sherd deposit in three VCs. These deposits were associated with other Type patterned deposits of both human and animal bone (see Section 8.6.1). Up until the Mid to Late period, pottery sherds were repetitiously included in small quantities throughout the majority of VC layers. This changed during this latter period, at which time pottery sherds were deposited in much greater numbers.

SCHL results: Of the 848 pottery deposits, 203 (24%) came from ten of the SCHLs. One dated to the Early Iron Age, two to the Early to Middle Iron Age, one to the Middle Iron Age and six to the Mid to Late Iron Age. Infant deposition Sk.19 was the only infant to have been directly associated with a near complete pottery vessel. These - the infant’s body and pottery vessel - contributed towards a multiple package of objects which were deposited together in pit 437. This package also included a complete calf, a DIB deposit of both sheep and cattle bones, an IB deposit of Pig bone and additional pottery sherds. Only four of the ten SCHLs produced in excess of twenty sherds (see Section 8.6.1).

Metal objects

VC results: A total of seventeen metal objects were found in three of the investigated pits. Many of these were rare items, or were one of only a small number of similar items found onsite (see Section 8.6.1). All were Mid to Late Iron Age in date and were associated with other objects. None came from SCHL layers. Fifteen of these objects were found in one feature - namely pit 79 - while the remaining two came from two further features. Sixteen of the seventeen objects were found in lower VCs, while the remaining one object came from a basal VC. No metal objects were found about the lower VC mark. In 8.6.1, I theorised that many of these objects may have been perceived as collectively grouped and deposited isolated (IMOs) and dual isolated metal objects (DMOs). As such, the deposition of metalwork would have been consistent with that of both human and animal bodies and bone.

Quernstone

VC and SCHL results: Five complete quernstones were discovered in four pit features. All were Mid to Late Iron Age in date. Two were found in one basal VC, and one in a middle, upper and top VC layer. There were no lower deposits. All originated from SCHLs as human infant bone, being associated with SKs. 92, 115, 189 and 219. Sk. 189 was associated with a dual deposit of lower greensand rotary querns (a DIQ). The remainder were isolated quernstones (IQs).

Briquetage

VC results: A single deposit of briquetage was found in three of the investigated pit features. Two came from basal VCs and the other from an upper VC. All were Mid to Late Iron Age in date. All were associated with other objects (see Section 8.6.1).

SCHL results: A single deposit of briquetage was discovered in a SCHL. This came from the basal VC of pit 1285 and was associated with infant deposition Sk. 189 and other objects, including fourteen sheep bones, a DIB deposit of cattle bone, an IB deposit of dog bone, sixteen pottery sherds, two rotary querns, charcoal and lower greensand stone.

Bone objects

VC results: Seven bone objects were found in three of the Mid to Late Iron Age investigated pits. Section 8.6.1 provides specific details of these finds and their associated feature details. Some of these items were rare when contrasted to the wider onsite finds record. Most were associated with other objects, including animal bone and other finds and shared their pattern of deposition Type patterning. None were found in SCHLs as human infant bone.

Oven covers

VC results: Fifteen oven covers were found at Danebury as part of the wider site excavations. Six of these came from just two of the investigated features, namely pits 79 and 1285. All were Mid to Late Iron Age in date and associated with other finds. Covers came from one upper, two middle, two lower and one basal VC layer. None were found in SCHLs as human infant bone.

Chalk objects

VC results: Only three chalk objects were discovered within two of the investigated Mid to Late Iron Age pit features. These came from one top, upper and lower VC layer and included rare items (see Section 8.6.1). None were found in SCHLs as human infant bone.

Glass beads

VC results: A single glass bead was found in one of the investigated pit features, namely Mid to Late Iron Age pit 463 (Figure 8.11). This was one of only eleven glass beads found dating to any period onsite, and one of only five found dating to this period (Henderson 1984, 396-8; 1991, 368). The bead - a cobalt blue and decorated (with white spirals) Guido class 6 Oldbury type bead - came from an upper VC.

Hill (1995, 64) has suggested that beads were rarely discovered in pit fills at Danebury, instead they tended to originate from both the layers and trenches (*ibid* 66). Indeed, while acknowledging the possibility that beads may have been missed as part of the general site excavations, Hill (1995, 66) argued that their absence from pit features represented 'real patterning' evidence, therefore making this particular discovery both unusual and interesting. While possible that the bead accidentally found its way into Pit 463, the fact that it was deposited alongside other bones and objects suggests otherwise. Associated finds included deposits of sheep bone, cattle bone, pottery, a rare antler bone and a chalk spindle whorl. Indeed, every VC of this feature produced structured finds, repetitively including sheep bone, cattle bone and pottery, but also including a human infant (Sk. 115), pig bone, a quern fragment, rare burnt chalk and an iron bucket handle.

9.15 Is there any evidence for the modification of infant bone into functional objects?

There is currently no reported evidence for human infant bone modification by human agency. By this, I refer to the manipulation of bone into functional objects. There is, however, ample other evidence to show that on occasion, older bodies and their bones were conceptualised, modified and used in this way. The evidence for this is discussed in. Section 3.5.4. While the source of these objectified bones remains uncertain, coming from either naturally or intentionally deceased bodies, they support the notion that biological death did not always correlate with a perceived social death.

Chapter 10 From animals and stones to bodies and bones: Conclusions on the deposition of infant and older bodies in Iron Age southern England

10.1 (Re)thinking infancy in Iron Age southern England

The question, 'what are infants, and how might they contribute toward an understanding of Iron Age humanity?' forces us to re-evaluate and re-examine much of our understanding of later prehistory. Where present, the social conceptuality of infancy is normally grounded somewhere between both human biological development and a socio-cultural constitution. However, the concept of infancy is not present in all societies. Where it does constitute a stage of the human lifecourse, it is undoubtedly unpredictable, different and modern. Underpinned by both historical narratives, and Self and collective experience, infancy is always constructed, constituted and embodied in the present, or in the *now* (see Section 2.1; see also Lally and Ardren 2008). From an archaeological perspective, specific concepts of infancy cannot, therefore, be perceived as having transferability. What infancy *is* or *means* will conceptually vary throughout both time and space.

Infancy is the first corporeal stage of being. While many societies believe that foetuses are returning ancestors - fully knowledgeable of the human and 'other' world (see Chapter 2), infancy always marks the point at which post-birth corporeality begins. Infancy is therefore intrinsically linked to the earliest formations of Self, and with wider perceived notions of identity and culture. In this way, infancy may mark the primary foundation, upon which all other social developments begin or evolve.

The way in which infancy is constructed and embodied is normally formulated through a modern group's collective and historical experience of young age. This collective conceptuality plays a role in what Gamble (2007, 6) defines as *childscape*: a term created to reference environments of development (see Section 2.2.3). In a similar way to *childscape*, collective conceptuality (or the collective cultural mind) is hidden (after Gamble 2007, 229), intertwined with other cultural thought processes.

In this way, historical narratives and experiences serve to underpin modern societal mores and behaviour. We learn and create our own version of infancy based on a juxtaposed understanding and interpretation of previous versions, coupled with a modern collective interpretation of it (see Chapter 2). Interpretations are dynamic and adaptive. In this sense, conceptually, infancy is intertwined with personal and culturally collective biographies.

Traditionally, our approaches towards identifying Iron Age identity have overly revolved around source literature and, in more recent years, various forms of material culture. This is natural. British prehistory has no formative literature of its own. Therefore, prehistorians have viewed materiality as being culturally loaded. However, material codices rarely offer the potential for informing about people, other than in relation to their production, exchange and depositional networks and practices. The question of what it was to be human at this time, has largely eluded archaeologists to date. This is true even in relation to death and 'burial'. Rather than focusing on what bodies have to say about life and localised and wider Iron Age identities, human bodies have been used as a means of indexing and reaffirming changes in wider materiality, burial traditions, the social practice of warfare or incursion, ritualistic rationality, and the reason as to why certain forms of deposition took place (see Chapter 3).

I have shown that bodies have the capacity to say much more. In the past few decades, the human body has become the critical nexus for theorizing society and self (Meskell 1999, 13; see also Sofaer 2006, 30) and whilst Hill (2000) has suggested that archaeology has recently started to engage in a fruitful examination of the body in prehistory, the position of infancy within this bodily discourse remains both unexplored and unproblematised.

Where present, past considerations of the infant body have tended to centre upon humanist perspectives, including for instance, a study of juvenile osteology, including biological age and sex, nutrition and pathology (Dupras, Schwarz and Fairgrieve 2001; Fazekas and Kosa 1978; Faerman *et al* 1998; Gowland and Chamberlain 2002; Isaacson 1996; Loth and Henneberg 2001; Mays and Faerman 2001; Scheuer and MacLaughlin 1994; Scheuer and Black 2000; Schutkowski 1993;

Smith and Kahila 1992; Weaver 1980), and the presence and absence of infant skeletal remains within the record for past mortuary populations, and the comparative mortuary treatment accorded to infant bodies over those of older children and adults (e.g. Baker *et al* 2005; Gowland 2001, 2006; Gowland and Chamberlain 2002; Mays 1993, 2000; Mays and Faerman 2001; Scheuer and Black 2000). While archaeologists have mainly explored the infant body through the lens of sociality, incorporating issues such as status and liminality (e.g. Baxter 2005; Crawford 1999; Lucy 2005; Scott 1999; Sofaer Derevenski 2000), material culture (e.g. Baxter 2005; Bird and Bird 2000; Greenfield 2000; Grimm 2000; Sofaer Derevenski 2000, 2002) and the infant body's potential for indexing time and chronological biography (Robb 2002). In a similar way to the humanist approach, several archaeologists have also considered the differential treatment accorded to infants over children and adults, although the focus of this has to date largely centred upon on the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods (e.g. Buckberry 2000; Crawford 1999, 2000; Pearce 1999; Scott 1999; Stoodley 2000).

Few researchers have considered Iron Age infancy. Where present, considerations have tended to downplay the social worth of infants. For instance, infants have been described as: non-entities with either low or no social status, as a less rewarding category of research than older bodies, and as mini-adult prototypes, often being disposed of during periods of conflict on an assumed basis that, unless killed, infants might evolve into revenge seeking warriors in waiting (see Chapters 2 and 3).

Until now, the bodies of Iron Age infants retained an untapped source of potential. Their ability to inform upon different forms of identity at this time was uncertain. As a pivotal lifecourse stage (see Chapters 1 and 2), I therefore decided to investigate Iron Age identity via a consideration of infant death and associated body treatment.

10.2 Infancy as an informer on Iron Age identity

This led to the formation of research aims (see Section 4.5), which evolved out of a juxtaposed understanding of both traditional approaches towards identity in Iron Age southern England (chapter 3), and the general important role played by infancy in identity formation (chapter 2). Questions initially sought to identify whether (i) there was ever a concept of infancy at this time? (ii) If so, was this conceptuality stable or open to change throughout the Iron Age? (iii) Whether there were any regional variations in its conceptuality? And (iv) if and how infancy fitted into any wider perceived notion of an Iron Age lifecourse?

All questions were tested against a demographic dataset of 968 human depositions, as found at 33 different sites in 11 modern southern English counties (table 6.1). Using White and Folkens' (2000, 341-2) aging methodology (6.2; 9.6), the Iron Age lifecourse was hypothesised as comprising of infancy, childhood, adolescence and adulthood. These theoretical concepts were used to organise and structure the formation and analysis of the demographic dataset.

From this I was able to demonstrate that the Iron Age lifecourse did not revolve around the hypothesised framework. Rather, the lifecourse was broken into three main conceptual life stages; that of pre-social (infant-as-object) infancy - lasting from foetushood to 0+> (around one month); childhood - beginning at around one month and finishing at some unspecified time before the age of 20 years; and adulthood - which began at the point at which childhood ended, definitely being established by the age of 20 years.

The exact time at which childhood ended and adulthood began fell outside the remit of the current thesis and would greatly benefit from further research in the future. On the basis that the Iron Age concept of infancy varied enormously to that of White and Folkens (2000) methodology, it is likely that their definitions of both childhood and adulthood are also inappropriate for the Iron Age. There was little evidence with which to suggest any concept of adolescence during this period, though the inclusive deposition of different aged bodies was always site variable. It is therefore possible that the later lifecourse - childhood to adulthood - was sub-divided in certain communities or even regions, though this was not evident within the current analysis. Overall, there was a surprising homogeneity of age-at-death across the sample area and throughout all sub-periods of the Iron Age.

Following this, questions then sought to determine whether infants were excluded from any type of site during the Iron Age. I was able to categorically show that infant deposition occurred on all types of Iron Age site: specifically, on settlement, hillfort and cemetery sites.

Attention was then given to the evolution of infant deposition, and questions sought to define whether infant deposition was present in all sub-periods of the Iron Age, and statistically, whether all sub-periods boasted similar numbers of deposits. I have shown that numbers of depositions increased throughout the Iron Age. There was some evidence for regional variations here. A comparison of the two largest modern county datasets showed differences between Hampshire and Dorset. There was a clear Middle Iron Age peak of infant deposition in Hampshire, while in Dorset this occurred during the Late Iron Age. It was suggested that this patterning might correlate itself with periods of wider social change and possibly stress.

I then sought to consider whether infant bodies were treated in similar or different ways to that of older bodies in death. Questions included: (i) did infant bodies enter the Iron Age record in the same ways as older individuals? (ii) Were differently aged bodies contemporaneously treated in death? (iii) Were infants deposited in contemporaneous contexts? (iv) Were infants provided with grave goods? And (v) Were infant bodies subjected to pathological violence?

I was able to demonstrate that the traditional approach towards Iron Age infancy - in as much as infants were believed to have either low or no social status - is wrong. Rather, infants were treated in contemporaneous ways to older individuals. The only difference to emerge between the infant and older bodies occurred in relation to the modification of human bone via human agency. While there are a handful of known examples in which older bones were manipulated in usable artefacts (Lally 2007), there are currently no infant-aged examples.

On the basis that certain infant bones survive equally well to adult comparatives (Section 2.1.3), it is entirely plausible that infant bodies and bones were similarly modified, and that this manipulation heightened their susceptibility to natural taphonomic loss or misidentification during excavation, therefore making them archaeologically invisible.

In all other ways, infant bodies and bones appear to have entered the Iron Age record in similar ways to that of older individuals. Patterns were defined by ‘deposition types’. These ranged from the disposal of whole bodies through to that of fragmented, dual, and isolated bones. Furthermore, infant bodies were contemporaneously treated to older bodies in death, being subject to excarnation, inhumation, cremation and deposition related practices.

Deposits of infant remains were discovered in all features contemporaneous with older human deposition: being found in formal graves, settlement features (including pits, ditches, postholes, gullies, hearths, beneath floors and in ramparts), and in structured features and deposits.

On occasion, their presence in formal graves was complicated by an archaeologically visible relationship with earlier settlement feature. For instance, many of the Iron Age infants discovered at Poundbury were discovered in grave features cut into previously existing ditches. I have suggested that these ‘burials’ were juxtaposed between a relatively new formal burial rite - the south western burial rite - and a conscious and intentional association with the past. Taken together, these relationships may have constituted them as temporally liminal deposits - existing in the past (they once lived as biological beings for some period of time, and were deposited in a once living feature), present (they were once deposited at a modern moment in time), and future (if deposited in accordance with an afterlife belief, or if deposited as proprietary offerings). In this way, one may argue that Iron Age burial was never a linear practice. It may have been intertwined with any number of additional rationales.

Infants appear to have been provided grave goods in just seven instances (see Section 7.5; 9.12), though the deposition record for this period is problematic. The overwhelming majority of infant remains came not from ‘burials’ or ‘graves’ but rather from deposits, or as forms of depositions. I have extensively shown that human body material was frequently incorporated into structured depositionary practices. Many Iron Age bodies and bones were therefore objectified and did not constitute the reason why other finds were placed in features with them. As such, it was important to differentiae between what constituted a burial, as opposed to some other form of deposition. Burials are understood to occur when a body is formally deposited in a feature cut for the sole containment of the corpse; as opposed to a pre-existing feature used to contain a human deposition. This definition is in many ways inadequate and the subject of defining ‘burial’ during the Iron Age requires considerably more in-depth research.

Of the seven infants provided with grave goods, the Owslebury Middle Iron Age cremation boasted, among other items, a small bronze torc or bracelet with attached threaded glass bead (see Section 9.12). After extensive research, I have found no other similar examples in southern England. The closest comparative examples for this come from Grubiasco in Switzerland and Mesmil in Marne, France (Iron Age Gallery, British Museum 2007). From a British perspective, Hill (2001) has described how the Wetwang Slack mirror was decorated with badly preserved horse hairs and tiny blue beads which were tied to its handle. Other grave goods included copper objects from Gussage All Saints - ascertained by the presence of green copper staining to the skull (see Section 9.12) - a double coiled ring and animal goad from Winnall Down, and a complete foetal lamb from Gravelly Guy (see Section 9.12).

Analysis demonstrated that young child Sk. L1037 - a 6 to 7 month year old - was the only victim of intentional pathological violence in the dataset (see Section 9.13). This child had been cut in half from head to groin, which may possibly have constituted the cause of death of this individual. This was similar to a number of other known instances, where on other sites older bodies were mutilated prior to deposition.

Final questions sought to identity whether infant bodies and bones were objectified during the Iron Age, either being modified into artefacts or deposited as part of structured depositionary practices. I was able to demonstrate that infant remains were incorporated into structured practices, features and deposits. Repetitive finds patterning was site variable, though, for instance, consistently included infant remains with: older human remains; animal remains; pottery; metal, bone and stone objects; and oven covers. As well as identifying objects that were obviously intentionally deposited - such as quernstones, animal carcasses, etc. - I was also able to show highly repetitive smaller scale patterning. In particular, one, two and/or three small objects appeared to have been repetitiously incorporated into depositionary acts across Hampshire. In the majority of instances, this patterning incorporated small scale deposits from each of the main depositional object categories, though in instances where combinations were associated with one another - e.g. one pottery sherd, one sheep bone, one stone object, etc. - were always site variable (see Section 8.8), though there was strong evidence to demonstrate intentionality and non-taphonomic modification or agency (see Sections 8.8; 9.14). As discussed above, there was no evidence for infant body or bone object modification outside structured depositionary practices.

10.3 The Importance of this research

This thesis significantly contributes towards a fuller and more complex appreciation of the formation of human identity in Iron Age Southern England. It constitutes the first doctoral study of infancy, infant death and infant deposition for this region and period. It also provides the first Iron Age infant deposition catalogue.

Not only does this thesis attempt to pull together, in a single piece of research, a formative understanding of how archaeologists have traditionally approached identity during the Iron Age, but it specifically bridges the gap between earlier 'burial' led research (Wait 1985; Whimster 1977; 1979; 1981; Wilson 1981) and JD Hill's (1995) important recognition of widespread structured depositionary practices. Importantly, in doing so, this thesis has demonstrated that throughout the Iron Age, the human body was perceived and treated in multiple ways; many of which had little, if anything whatsoever, to do with the formal burial of the person.

The theoretical approach adopted here, in relation to the potentiality of infancy as a social construct and informer upon identity, has already been acknowledged by childhood research peers, as being critical to the rethinking of the archaeological infant (Ardren pers. com.; Crawford pers. com.; Murphy and McKerr pers. com.). Indeed, my theoretical methodology for approaching infancy through a consideration of objectification, is now forming the basis for historic based research (Dr. Sally Crawford has adopted my objectified approach in relation to reinvestigating infancy and childhood in Anglo-Saxon England (Crawford pers. com), while Prof. Traci Ardren is using the same approach to reconsider Mayan infant burials in structural features in Mexico (Ardren pers. com)). Indeed, the objectified approach created and presented within the current thesis, led to the formation of a co-hosted session (Prof. Traci Ardren and I) at World Archaeological Congress 2008, which specifically seeks to investigate childhood through a child-as-material-culture frame (the session is entitled 'The Materialization of Childhood: Embracing Liminal Bodies', WAC 6, Dublin, 30th June 2008).

10.4 Proposed areas for future research and publication

The current thesis represents a formative attempt to locate and rethink infancy as a social construct in later prehistoric England. A number of potential areas for further research come out of this process, all of which I aim to address at a Post Doctoral level; specifically:

- I intend to conduct further research into the nature of identity at this time, moving away from just the 33 investigated sites and the concept of infancy, to a conceptual investigation of childhood and the nature of child deposition in Iron Age Southern England.
- I have already begun to interpret the structured deposition of Iron Age human and animal bodies, objects and environmental matter as form of 'social materials' (Lally 2008c). In order to explore this further, I hope to specifically investigate and expand upon the nature and definition of objectification and associated practices at this time; identifying, where possible, further evidence for a social association, or cognitive linkage, between these materials in deposition.
- By rephrasing our descriptions of deposited objects, I hope to expand upon the definition and traditional approach towards identifying structured deposition. For instance, I am interested in developing the idea that different forms of

body treatment and processing, such as excarnation and cremation, may have been associated with a social desire to curate bodies to a generic state (generic, in that individually identifying features such as the human face, were expected to become lost through either time or action) and that this generic state may have underpinned some of the rationales associated with the incorporation of human materials in certain acts of deposition.

- I hope to attempt to develop the idea that deposition was not always associated with the closure or end-state of its associated rationale. I have started to rethink the nature of deposition at this time and, on the basis of the evidence presented here, believe that in certain instances, many of the objects included within deposition, may have been temporally understood as having a transformed and post-depositional form of social agency; this agency may have become created or heightened through the actions and moments leading up to and following deposition.
- From a theoretical perspective, I am very much interested in developing Latour's (1993) concept of 'Translation' (see Section 1.3); specifically the notion that human identity is constructed through 'heterogeneous materials', including the human body, materiality and the human mind, and that fluid combinations of these heterogeneous materials shape how we live in, and experience, the world. This will form the basis for a pending international paper, which will be published in the United States of America (see below).

In terms of aims for publication, I have already published two papers (one as a solo author and the other as a co-author) on aspects of this thesis (Lally 2008; Lally and Ardren *pending*).

In addition to this, in the short-term, I plan on submitting a paper, based on Chapter 3 (traditional approaches towards identifying identity in Iron Age southern England) to the Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society. I envisage submitting this shortly after completing my Doctoral studies.

I also plan on submitting two theoretical infancy based papers (based on different elements of Chapter 2). The first, an international paper, has already been accepted for inclusion within a Spanish monograph publication on childhood (a publication contract has been agreed with Dr. Margarita Sánchez Romero, Departamento de Prehistoria y Arqueología, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Campus Universitario de Cartuja S/N). The other will be included within a co-edited book (while I am co-editing with Prof. Traci Ardren, Miami State University, USA), which will be forwarded to a yet to be identified American publication outlet.

In the long term, I hope to combine elements of this thesis with subsequent research on childhood and child deposition, and to combine this material in the form of a monograph or book.

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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

School of Archaeology

Bodies, Bones, Objects and Stones: Investigating Infancy, Infant Death, Deposition and Human identity in Iron Age Southern England

Volume 2 of 2

By

Mike Lally

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Appendix 1 (Infant associated) Site excavation details:

Counties with Depositions	**Associated Site Names**	**Excavation Report Details**
Bedfordshire	Puddlehill	Matthews, C.W. 1976. *Occupation sites on a Chiltern ridge: excavations at Puddlehill and sites near Dunstable, Bedfordshire. Part 1: Neolithic, Bronze Age and Early Iron Age*. British Archaeological Report 29. Oxford: Archaeopress.
Cambridgeshire	Greenhouse Farm	Mortimer, R. 1997. *The Iron Age Settlement Sites at Greenhouse Farm, Fen Ditton, Cambridgeshire: A Trial Trench Assessment*. Unpublished client report. No. 240. Cambridgeshire Archaeological Unit.
Dorset	Flagstones	Smith, R.J.C., Healy, F., Allen, MJ., Morris, EL., Barnes, I. and Woodward, PJ. (Eds). 1997. *Excavations along the Route of the Dorchester By-pass, Dorset, 1986-8*. Wessex Archaeological Report 11.
	Fordington Bottom	Smith, R.J.C., Healy, F., Allen, MJ., Morris, EL., Barnes, I. and Woodward, PJ. (Eds). 1997. *Excavations along the Route of the Dorchester By-pass, Dorset, 1986-8*. Wessex Archaeological Report 11.
	Gussage All Saints	Wainwright, G.J. 1979 *Gussage All Saints An Iron Age Settlement in Dorset* London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.
	Hod Hill	Richmond, I.A. 1968 *Hod Hill Vol. 2 Excavations carried out between 1951 and 1958.* London: British Museum Press.
	Maiden Castle	Wheeler, R.E.M. 1943. *Maiden Castle Dorset*. London: Oxford University Press.

		Sharples, N. 1991. *Maiden Castle: Excavations and Field Survey 1985-6*. London: English Heritage.
	Poundbury	Farwell, D.E. and Molleson, T.I. 1993. *Poundbury Volume 2: The Cemeteries*. Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society Monograph Series Number 11.
Gloucestershire	Guiting Power	Saville, A. 1979. *Excavations at Guiting Power iron Age Site, Gloucestershire 1974*. Bristol: Committee for Rescue Archaeology in Avon, Gloucestershire and Somerset.
	Salmonsbury	Dunning, G. C. 1976, 'Salmonsbury, Bourton-on-the-Water, Gloucestershire'. In D W Harding (ed), *Hillforts: Later Prehistoric Earthworks in Britain and Ireland*. London. Academic Press. PP.75-118.
Hampshire	Danebury	Cunliffe, B. 2000. *The Danebury Environs Programme: The Prehistory of a Wessex Landscape, Volume 1: Introduction*. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University Committee for Archaeology. Monograph 48. Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. 1991 *Danebury an Iron Age Hillfort in Hampshire: Vol 5 The Excavations 1979-1988: The Finds.* London: Council for British Archaeology.
	Houghton Down	Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. 2000 *The Danebury Environs Programme: The Prehistory of a Wessex Landscape, Volume 2 – Part 6: Houghton Down, Stockbridge, Hants, 1994*. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University Committee for Archaeology. Monograph 49.
	Jay’s Close	Baxter, I. and Duhig, C. 2004. The human remains. In Gibson (ed.) The Iron Age and

	(Viables II)	Roman site of Viables Two (Jays Close), Basingstoke. *Hampshire Studies 2004*. Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological society, 59, 24.
	Micheldever Wood	Fasham, P.J. 1985 *A Banjo Enclosure in Micheldever Wood, Hampshire.* Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society: Monograph 5.
	Old Down Farm	Davies, S.M. 1981. Excavations at old Down Farm, Andover. Part II: prehistoric and Roman. *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*. 37. PP. 81-163.
	Owslebury	Collis, J. 1977b. 'Owslebury and the Problem of Burials on Rural Settlements'. In Reece, R. (Ed). *Burial in the Roman World*. CBA Research Report No. 22.
	Suddern Farm	Cunliffe, B. and Poole, C. 2000 *The Danebury Environs Programme: The Prehistory of a Wessex Landscape, Volume 2 – Part 3: Suddern Farm, Middle Wallop, Hants, 1991 and 1996*. Oxford: English Heritage and Oxford University Committee for Archaeology. Monograph 49.
	Winklebury	Smith, K. 1977. The excavation of Winklebury Camp, Basingstoke, Hampshire. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*. 34. PP. 31-129.
	Winnall Down / Easton Lane	Fasham, P.J. *The Prehistoric settlement at Winnall Down, Winchester*. Hampshire Field Club Monograph 2. 97-138. Fasham, P.J., Farwell, D.E. and Whinney, R.J.B. (eds.). *The Archaeological Site at Easton Lane, Winchester*. Trust for Wessex Archaeology. Hampshire Field Club Monograph 6.

Hertfordshire	Baldock	Stead, I.M., and Rigby, V. 1986. *Baldock: The Excavation of a Roman and pre-Roman Settlement, 1968-72*. Britannia Monograph Series No. 7, Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.
	Wick Avenue	Site WHW98. 1999. *Excavation at Wick Avenue, Wheathampstead, Hertfordshire: Assessment Report*. Unpublished client report. St. Albans Museum Service. Hertfordshire.
Kent	Mill Hill	Parfitt, K. 1995. *Iron Age Burials from Mill Hill, Deal*. London: British Museum Press.
	North Foreland	Boast E.J. (ed.) *Foreland Heights, North Foreland, Broadstairs, Kent: archaeological assessment report volume 2*: *appendices and figures: appendix 10*. Unpublished Client Report. Thanet: Trust for Thanet Archaeology.
Northamptonshire	Silverstone Fields Farm	Anderson, T. 2002. The Human Remains. In *A43 Towcester To M40 Dualling Project. Unpublished Updated Project Design*. Northamptonshire Archaeology.
	Wakerley	Gwilt, A. 1997. Popular Practices from Material Culture: A Case Study of the Iron Age Settlement at Wakerley, Northamptonshire, In Gwilt, A. and Haselgrove, C. (eds) 1997. *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies.* Oxford: Oxbow Monograph 71.
Oxfordshire	Frilford	Bradford, J S P& Goodchild, G 1939 'Excavations at Frilford, Berks., 1937-8', *Oxoniensia* 4, 1-70
	Gravelly Guy	Lambrick, G.H. and Allen, T.G. 2004 *Gravelly Guy, Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire: the development of a prehistoric and Romano-British community, Oxford archaeology*. Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph No. 21, Oxford
	Segsbury Camp	Lock, G., Gosden, C. and Daly, P. 2005. *Segsbury Camp*. *Excavations in 1996 and*

		1997 at an Iron Age hillfort on the Oxfordshire Ridgeway. Oxford: Oxford School of Archaeology Monographs.
Somerset	Glastonbury Lake Village	Bullied, A. and Grey, H. St. G. 1917. *The Glastonbury Lake* Village, Volume 2. Avon: The Glastonbury Antiquarian Society. Coles, J. and Minnitt (Eds.) *Industrious and Fairly Civilized: The Glastonbury Lake Village*. Somerset: Somerset County Museums.
	South Cadbury	Alcock, L. 1972. *By South Cadbury is that Camelot:. Excavations at Cadbury Castle 1966-70.* London: Thames and Hudson. Barrett, J.C., Freeman, P.W.M. and Woodward, A. 2000. *Cadbury Castle Somerset: The later prehistoric and early historic archaeology*. English Heritage.
Wiltshire	Knap Hill	Cunnington, ME. 1871. Knap Hill Camp. *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 37.
	Rotherley	Pitt-Rivers, FRS. 1907. On excavations at Rotherley, Woodcuts, and Bokerly Dyke. *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 25. PP. 283-311.
	Yarnbury Castle	Cunnington, M.E. 1933. ‘Excavations in Yarnbury Castle Camp 1932’. In *Wiltshire Archaeology and Natural History Magazine*. Number 46, PP.198-217.

Appendix 1.2 Catalogue of Infant Depositions

CATALOGUE OF INFANT BURIALS IN BEDFORSHIRE

PUDDLEHILL

Inhumation 0	Infant	Enclosure Ditch Secondary ditch silting 0.4m from base of ditch With a ?Female child aged c8 years and a 3 year old infant Late Iron Age
Inhumation 0	3 Years Old	Formal Grave In Enclosure Ditch Grave dug into silting of ditch (Enclosure 2) Extended on left side Late Iron Age

CATALOGUE OF INFANT BURIALS IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE

GREENHOUSE FARM

Inhumation 059b	c6 Months	Pit 31 A very large flat-bottomed pit Base of fill Lay on Left side Crouched, with both legs tightly flexed against chest area; Right knee touching Right elbow Near foetal position suggesting that this individual may have been bound or wrapped before being placed in the pit Pit fill also contained 992 sherds of pottery, 1256 bone fragments, 218 pieces of burnt clay, 19 pieces of worked flint, 5 pieces of burnt flint, 2 pieces of

		slag, 4 pieces of quern stone, 1 spindle whorl, 1 iron pin brooch, 1 bone pin and 4 shell fragments
		Also contained 1 piece of adult human skull
		Early Iron Age
Inhumation 3405	Infant	Cemetery
		Isolated bone
		Found with remains of 3 adults and some bird bone
		600 – 300 BC
		Early to Middle Iron Age

CATALOGUE OF INFANT BURIALS IN DORSET

FLAGSTONES

Inhumation SF834	0-6 Months	Pit 302
		Beehive Pit
		Pit contained 8 contextual layers, lower layers contained animal deposits while upper layers contained human bone
		Upper mid fill
		Associated with Adult female
		Associated with 3 animal burials
		The animal deposits were placed on the base the pit immediately following the initial pit excavation. Contained horse and cattle limbs, described by excavators as purposeful deposits
		Associated with Black Burnished ware
		Disarticulated infant
		Late Iron Age

FORDINGTON BOTTOM

Inhumation 4046	Foetal	Grave

		The remains of 4 adults were found in close proximity, as were the remains of ovens or dryers
		South Facing
		Crouched, on Right Side
		Orientated East – West
		Transitionary period
Inhumation 4093	Foetal	Grave
		Orientated East – West
		South Facing
		Crouched, on Left side
		Transitionary period
Inhumation 4325	Foetal	Grave
		Grave located within formal cemetery
		The remains of 17 adults discovered within the same trench
		Cemetery focussed around structure
		Transitionary Period

GUSSAGE ALL SAINTS

Inhumation IG	0+/-	Enclosure Ditch
		Associated with Infant IR
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation IR	0-2 Months	Enclosure Ditch
		Associated with IG
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 34 (i)	0-2 Months	Pit
		Bell Shaped Pit
		Deposited at base of pit, layer 8

		Associated with 3 other infants, all in the same layer, 1.90 M deep
		Disarticulated
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 34 (ii)	0+/-	Pit
		Bell Shaped Pit
		Deposited at base of pit, layer 8
		Associated with 3 other infants, all in the same layer, 1.90 M deep
		Disarticulated
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 34 (iii)	0+/-	Pit
		Bell Shaped Pit
		Deposited at base of pit, layer 8
		Associated with 3 other infants, all in the same layer, 1.90 M deep
		Disarticulated
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 34 (iv)	0+/-	Pit
		Bell Shaped Pit
		Deposited at base of pit, layer 8
		Associated with 3 other infants, all in the same layer, 1.90 M deep
		Disarticulated
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 96(12)	0-2 Months	Pit
		Cylindrical Pit, 1.24M deep,
		Infant lay on the pit floor against the east wall
		Infant had been covered with flint nodules

		Complete, crouched / supine Head to North – West Facing West Lay on back, arms by sides, legs doubled up Late Iron Age
Inhumation 121	0+/-	Pit Cylindrical Pit, 90cm deep Infant deposited near base of pit, layer 5 Disarticulated Late Iron Age
Inhumation 130L	0-2 Months	Ditch Ditch of trapezoid enclosure Once complete but disturbed Associated with 2 adults in the same feature A hunched skeleton, skull pushed forward and resting on rib cage, arms and legs both contorted Deposited into the ditch at an early stage of silting Late Iron Age
Inhumation 130L (7)	Foetal 8-9 Lunar Months	Ditch Ditch of trapezoid enclosure Associated with one other infant Fragmented, both the right leg and pelvis were missing and the left leg had been bent upwards towards the skull On stomach, with head resting on a pile of pot boilers Late Iron Age
Inhumation 131A	Infant	Ditch Ditch of trapezoid enclosure Associated with one other infant

		Described as having been thrown in at random
		Fragmented with both legs missing
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 132(5)	Foetal 8-9 Lunar Months	Pit
		Cylindrical Pit, 2.10M deep
		Associated with 3 other infants
		On back, legs drawn up, arms by the sides
		Complete
		Orientated North - South
		Supine, arms by sides knees drawn up
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 132(9)	0-2 Months	Pit
		Cylindrical Pit, 2.10M deep
		Associated with 3 other infants
		Green stain on Left frontal bone, possibly due to contact with copper object
		On back, legs drawn up, arms by the sides
		West - East
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 132(12i)	0+/-	Pit
		Cylindrical Pit, 2.10M deep
		Associated with 1 infant in same layer and a further 2 infants in same feature
		On back, legs drawn up, arms by the sides
		Head to North
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 132(12ii)	0+/-	Pit
		Cylindrical Pit, 2.10M deep

		Associated with 1 infant in same layer and a further 2 infants in same feature
		On back, legs drawn up, arms by the sides
		Head to north
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 139(4i)	0+/-	Pit
		Bell shaped pit, 1.47M deep
		In the north face of the pit were 4 clay-plugged holes, some 7 cm deep with suggestions of others in the south face. Lumps of red clay occurred on the floor of the pit and are thought to be the remains of an eroded lining
		Associated with one other infant in same layer
		Immediately beneath adult female
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 139(4ii)	0+/-	Pit
		Bell shaped pit, 1.47M deep
		Associated with one other infant in same layer
		Immediately beneath adult female
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 172(4)	0+/-	Pit
		Cylindrical pit, 2.35M deep
		Infant found in top layer of pit fill
		Disarticulated bones
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 199	0-2 Months	Pit
		Circular Pit, 70cm diameter x 9cm deep
		Only infant inhumation of this date
		Early to Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 285(6i)	0-2 Months	Pit

		Cylindrical Pit, 1.23M deep Associated with 1 infant in same layer and an adult male with cut marks (probable cause of death). Below adult Adult associated with metal work Head to North – West Crouched Late Iron Age
Inhumation 285(6ii)	Foetus 7-8 Lunar Months	Pit Cylindrical Pit, 1.23M deep Associated with 1 infant in same layer and an adult male with cut marks (probable cause of death). Below adult Adult associated with metal work South - North Crouched Late Iron Age
Inhumation 290	Foetus 8-9 Lunar Months	Pit Described as ‘premature baby’ Cylindrical Pit, 85cm deep Infant deposited in base layer of pit fill Disarticulated bones Late Iron Age
Inhumation 293(4)	0+/-	Pit Cylindrical Pit, 1.5M deep Associated with three other infants Mid fill North-South Extended Late Iron Age

Inhumation 293(5)	0+/-	Pit
		Cylindrical Pit, 1.5M deep
		Associated with three other infants
		Mid fill
		North-South
		Extended
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 293(7)	0+/-	Pit
		Cylindrical Pit, 1.5M deep
		Associated with three other infants
		Near base of pit
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 310W(i)	0+/-	Ditch
		Infant deposited on base of ditch
		Associated with one other infant and a femur shaft
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 310W(ii)	0+/-	Ditch
		Infant deposited on base of ditch
		Associated with one other infant and a femur shaft
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 347	0+/-	Pit
		Bell shaped pit, 1.79M deep
		Infant deposited near base of pit
		Disarticulated
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 418	0+/-	Pit
		Cylindrical Pit, 1.40M deep

		Infant deposited on base of pit
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 439	0-2 Months	Pit
		Cylindrical pit, 1.90m deep
		Deposited within top layer of pit fill
		Head to North, facing East
		Crouched on Left side
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 470(7)	0+/-	Pit
		Cylindrical pit, 90cm deep
		Deposited within the floor of the pit
		Associated with a fragment of right femur
		Disarticulated
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 531(4)	0-2 Months	Pit
		Cylindrical pit, 1.70m deep
		Deposited near top of pit
		West-East
		Facing North
		Crouched on side
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 661	0-2 Months	Pit
		Cylindrical Pit, 1.07M deep
		Infant deposited near base of pit
		Green stain on left frontal bone and occipital bones, possibly due to contact with copper object
		Disarticulated
		Late Iron Age

Inhumation 709(i)	0+/-	Pit Cylindrical Pit, 1.35M deep Infant inhumed when pit was partially silted (layer 4) Associated with one other infant Late Iron Age
Inhumation 709(ii)	0+/-	Pit Cylindrical Pit, 1.35M deep Infant inhumed when pit was partially silted (layer 5) Associated with one other infant Complete Late Iron Age
Inhumation 769	0+/-	Pit Cylindrical pit, 1.65m deep Deposited near base of pit Disarticulated Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 781	0-2 Months	Pit Cylindrical Pit, 1.85M deep Disarticulated Remains Infant deposited within near top layer Late Iron Age
Inhumation 942(3)	0+/-	Pit Rectangular Pit aligned North West – South East This pit cut pit 261 44cm x 32cm x 30 cm deep Vertical pit sides Infant covered with flint nodules

		Deposited at base of pit Complete but very Fragmentary Late Iron Age

HOD HILL

Inhumation 0	0+	Pit 15B One of 3 pits within a Penannular Enclosure Associated with 2 adult females, one of which was discovered in the same context as this infant Lower primary burial was crouched with a pot nearby Upper secondary burial also crouched, with infant Context associated with mandibles of a horse, cattle and pig Context associated with a loom weight Fragmented Early Iron Age

MAIDEN CASTLE

Inhumation 9 (SK T7)	Foetus	Pit Shallow pit cut into natural chalk Pit sealed by Iron Age metalling outside inner horn work Lay on back Arms behind back and legs flexed Complete but fragmentary Orientated North-South Head to North 300 BC

		<IA ‘A’
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 11	c3 Months	In Rampart
(T29)		Small grave in Rampart
		Between portals of the Eastern entrance
		Complete
		On Right side, knees bent tightly, arms flexed, head leaning on side of grave
		Associated with a ‘whistle’ bone object and an iron arrowhead, both found to the South-West of the infant’s skull
		300-200 BC
		IA ‘A’
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 12	c2 Years	?Pit
		Not Clear (Iron Age Deposit on Site L)
		Isolated fragment of frontal bone
		300-200 BC
		IA ‘A’
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 13	c3 Months	In Rampart
(SKP3)		Small grave in Rampart
		Contemporary with enlargement of inner horn work at East entrance
		Placed beneath 2 limestone blocks with a Middle Iron Age Pottery sherd
		Infant was beneath the tail of the IA ‘B’ enlargement of the inner hornwork at the east entrance
		Complete
		Knee’s flexed

		Orientated North-South
		IA ‘B’
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 14	c3 Months	Not recorded
		IA ‘A’
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 15	c3 Months	Pit R1
		Cylindrical Pit
		Associated with pottery sherds and chalk lumps
		IA ‘A’
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 22	c3 Months	Ditch
		Formal Grave in ‘Y’ Ditch
		Grave in second silting of ditch at East entrance
		Sealed by a limestone slab
		Head to West, Crouched
		75 BC – AD 0
		IA ‘Bi’
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 28	c3 Months	Pit R2
		Crouched
		IA ‘B’
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 29	c3 Months	Pit R1
		Cylindrical pit
		Associated with burial 30
		Associated with Bii Pottery
		Crouched

		IA ‘Bii’
		Late 1st Century BC
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 30	Foetal	Pit R1
		Cylindrical pit
		Associated with burial 29
		Associated with Bii Pottery
		Complete
		Lying on back, with legs doubled up
		Late 1st Century BC
		IA ‘Bii’
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 31	2 Years	Grave
(Burial 1)		Shallow grave
		Part of ‘ordered line’ cemetery within outer works of East entrance
		Covered by slab with Belgic bowl placed upon it
		Associated with burial 32
		Complete
		Head to South-East, Facing North-East
		Flexed
		Associated with infant 32
		AD 25 – 50
		IA ‘C’
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 32	c1 Year	Grave
		Part of ‘ordered line’ cemetery within outer works of East entrance

		Associated with infant 31
		Orientated South-East
		Facing North-East
		Complete
		Crouched
		AD 25-50
		IA ‘C’
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 2001	3-6 Months	Rampart
		Inhumed within a shallow grave
		Deposited within top of Rampart
		Complete but fragmentary
		Early Iron Age

POUNDBURY

Inhumation 253	<12 Months	Formal Grave
		Rectangular grave: 18” long x 3” wide
		Grave was a part of a LIA / Early Romano-British burial group
		Head to West
		Crouched, laying on Right side
		Transitionary Period
Inhumation 265A	<12 Months	Formal Grave
		Isolated bone
		Associated with 0265
		Transitionary Period
Inhumation 596	0+/-	Formal Grave
		Rectangular grave: 23” long x 10” wide

		Later than Iron Age Ditch
		Grave was a part of a LIA / Early Romano-British burial group
		Transitionary Period
Inhumation 1214	c18 Months	Formal Grave
		Oval plan grave: 18” deep x 48” long x 24” wide
		Later than Iron Age Ditch
		Grave aligned South West – North East
		Head to South
		Crouched, laying on Right side
		Grave was a part of a LIA / Early Romano-British burial group
		Transitionary Period
Inhumation 1366	6 Months	Formal Grave
		Almost square plan
		9” deep x 19” long x 14” wide
		Head to East
		Transitionary Period
Inhumation 1371	0+/-	Formal Grave
		Irregular plan
		8” deep x 20” long x 13” wide
		Grave aligned North – South
		Head to South
		Crouched, laying on Left Side
		Transitionary Period
Inhumation 1372	0+/-	Formal Grave
		Almost square plan
		3” deep x 17” long x 11” wide
		Immediately next to Infant 1382

		Head to East
		Crouched, laying on Right side
		Transitionary Period
Inhumation 1380	0+/-	Formal Grave
		Irregular plan
		2” deep x 21” long x 15” wide
		Next to Gully or Foundations for IA Hut IA3
		Earlier than Early Roman Structure R18, later than Middle Iron Age structure IA 3
		Head to North
		Laying on left side
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 1382	0+/-	Formal Grave
		Almost square plan
		8” deep x 11” long x 7” wide
		Immediately next to Infant 1372
		Grave aligned North East – South West
		Head to North East
		Crouched, lying on Right side
		Transitionary Period
Inhumation 1388	0+/-	Formal Grave
		Oval plan
		1” deep x 17” long x 12” wide
		Head to East
		Crouched, disturbed
		Transitionary Period
Inhumation 1389	6 Months	Formal Grave
		Oval Plan

		Cut into IA Pit E960
		9” deep x 18” long x 14” wide
		Head to East
		Crouched, disturbed
		Transitionary Period
Inhumation 1390	1 Year	Formal Grave
		Edges not recognised
		Cuts IA Pit E901
		19” deep
		Grave aligned North – South
		Head to North
		Supine, legs extended, disturbed
		Transitionary Period
Inhumation 1391	1 Year	Formal Grave
		In a doubled ringed circular structure Hut IA5
		Oval Plan
		17” deep x 39” long x 23” wide
		Associated with coffin nails and iron plate (Fe 1088), pottery vessel (FC 2227) both by skull
		Once Complete but disturbed
		Torso supine, legs disturbed
		Transitionary period
Inhumation 1392	6 Months	Formal Grave
		18” long x 17” wide x 6” deep
		Grave aligned North – South
		Head to North
		Crouched, lying on Right side
		Late Iron Age

Inhumation 1393	6 Months	Formal Grave
		Oval Plan
		8” deep x 17” long x 11” wide
		Head to West
		Complete
		Prone with legs contracted back under torso
		Transitionary Period
Inhumation 1394	0+/-	Formal Grave
		Almost square plan
		Cut into IA Pit E960
		4” deep x 15” long x 15” wide
		Grave aligned North – South
		Head to South
		Once complete but disturbed
		Crouched, disturbed
		Transitionary Period
Inhumation 1395	0+/-	Formal Grave
		Oval plan
		Cut into IA Pit E960
		3” deep x 22” long x 14” wide
		Grave aligned North – South
		Head to South
		Once complete but disturbed
		Possibly supine, badly disturbed
		Iron Age to Transitionary Period

CATALOGUE OF INFANT BURIALS IN GLOUCETERSHIRE

GUITING POWER

Inhumation 0	Foetus C7 Lunar Months	Pit Iron Age

SALMONSBURY

Inhumation a	0+	Pit Associated with one other infant in same layer 2nd – 1st Century BC Middle to Late Iron Age
Inhumation b	0+	Pit Associated with one other infant in same layer 2nd – 1st Century BC Middle to Late Iron Age

CATALOGUE OF INFANT BURIALS IN HAMPSHIRE
103

DANEBURY

Inhumation 13 A	c3 Years	Pit 374, layer 5 Sub rectangular pit Lower Middle Fill Centre of pit Within slightly weathered and angular chalk fragments Deliberate deposit and fill around infant Almost complete skeleton

		Associated with two adult burials in same pit, Male adult aged 17-25 years (14A) and 61(B) 14A was a complete skeleton, while 61B consisted of an articulated forearm and other disarticulated bone 13A was crouched, on left side Limbs tightly contracted against the body, may have been bound Loose silt surrounding body, may be fabric remains All three humans shared a common pathological condition: bilateral usura orbitae (both 13A and 61 are defined as having I, while 14A is II) Animal bone in the pit included sheep, pig and ox, there was also some pottery NNE-SSW, facing E, on left side CP3 Early Iron Age, 550-450 BC
Inhumation 15A	0+	Pit 381, layer 2 Beehive pit Upper half of fill Deliberate deposit and fill Within slightly weathered and angular chalk fragments and occasional flints Layer disturbed by collapse of dry stone walling Complete skeleton Body exposed to be sealed by natural silting and chalk shatter Right femur gnawed by rodent, probably a mouse CP3 Early Iron Age, 550-450 BC
Inhumation 17	0+	Pit 430, layer 2-3 Beehive Pit

		Mixed with skeleton 18A Complete skeleton It is most likely that the flesh of the infants decayed in situ whilst they were exposed in the pit Pit also contained the adult deposit 113F, which was a single proximal end of a femur that had been gnawed by a carnivore Bones were sealed within a compact layer of chalk shatter, eroded from southern edge and wall (about half way down the pit) Chalk shatter sealed a lens of daub, charcoal, burnt clay and flints in the south west edge of the pit CP6 Middle Iron Age, 400-300 BC
Inhumation 18A	0+	Pit 430, layer 2-3 Beehive Pit Mixed with skeleton 17 Complete skeleton It is most likely that the flesh of the infants decayed in situ whilst they were exposed in the pit Pit also contained deposit 113F, which was a single proximal end of a femur that had been gnawed by a carnivore Bones were sealed within a compact layer of chalk shatter, eroded from southern edge and wall (about half way down the pit) Chalk shatter sealed a lens of daub, charcoal, burnt clay, flint and many burnt flints in the south west edge of the pit Possible blade cut marks on the side of the pit Layer 1 (top) contained a wattle fabric oven wall Animal bones included within layer 2 were x2 sheep and x5 ox CP6 Middle Iron Age, 400-300 BC

Inhumation 19A	0+	Pit 437, layer 2-3 Beehive pit Middle of pit, under NW overhang Complete skeleton Contracted, with right leg flexed at pelvis was fully extended. The left leg was tightly flexed against the body. Arms were folded close to the body Body placed on top of tightly packed chalky soil, interleaved with loose burnt flints with charcoal fragments and sealed by a deliberate tip of daub, burnt clay and flints The carcass of a neonate calf at the south-east edge of the pit was also interleaved between layers 2 and 3 The pit may have been left open before the deposition of the infant and calf but was then deliberately backfilled Animal bone within layer 2 and 3 included x2 sheep, x2 ox, x1 pig and a complete ox skeleton There were also x8 pottery fragments as well as a special deposit of a partially broken pot Diagonal adze / blade marks around basal angle of pit SW-NE, facing NW, on left side CP5 Early to Middle Iron Age, 450-400 BC
Inhumation 31A	0+	Pit 857, layer 1 and 2 Sub Rectangular Complete skeleton Body probably deposited on 2 but sealed by 1 Right femur gnawed by a rodent, probably a mouse Layer 2 was made up of massive loosely packed chalk blocks, with occasional flints and frequent charcoal flecks and fragments Layer 1 consisted of erosion silts from the last

occupation layers of House CS9

Situated within and contemporary with House CS9

After the house had fallen into disuse, all previous features were sealed by grass turf line (layer 310) before being finally buried under an extension of the Northern Rampart

Associated with Pit 858 which contained a skull fragment in its top layer (also within house CS9)

The infant and associated skull fragment may be contemporary with the abandonment of the house

Also associated with child burial (58) within CS9 Gully

General pit fill included some undisclosed amount of pot and animal bone

CP3

Early Iron Age, 550-450 BC

Inhumation 92F 0+/-	Pit 79, Layer 4

Beehive Pit

Individual isolated bone

Shaft of (?) right humerus

Deliberate tip

Deposited in the middle of the pit

Dark brown pit fill contained a considerable amount of daub and clay.

Also contained iron strips, iron reaping hook, bronze fragments, carved bone

In same pit, the infant was also associated with two thoracic vertebrae, one rib, and an upper right premolar (deposit 93F)

93F was associated with pot sherds, animal bones, a bone needle, two iron strips, an iron object, an iron bar and slag

Animal bone included sheep, ox and pig

CP7

		Middle to Late Iron Age, 300-100/50 BC
Inhumation 98F	0+/-	Pit 153, layer 1 of 2 (very shallow) Irregular Top fill of shallow irregular long pit Disarticulated Two bones only Filled the entire small pit Right tibia and left ulna CP3 Early Iron Age, 550-450 BC
Inhumation 115F	0+/-	Pit 463, layer 1 Beehive Pit Top of fill Deliberate tip Isolated bone Ulna only Fill contained charcoal flecks, burnt flint and chalk, burnt chalk, pot sherds, animal bones and a quern stone fragment The pit was initially left open to silt up naturally before an organic layer was deposited; it was finally backfilled with occupation and domestic debris Animal bone included x81 sheep, x6 ox, x3 pig, x1 fish and a quantity of snail shell Finds within the pit included x126 pot, stone, a quern stone, an antler comb, a glass bead, a chalk spindle and an iron bucket handle CP7 Middle to Late Iron Age, 300-100/50 BC
Inhumation 171F	0+	Gully 34, layer 26 Archive describes it as a drainage Gully

Associated with the rear of the secondary rampart

Natural fill

Isolated bone

CP3

Early Iron Age

Inhumation 189 0+

Beehive Pit 1285

Basal Layer (bone report) of pit with a deliberately constructed dry-stone, squared chalk blocking wall

Layer 7/8 (third from base – lower half)

Deposit was incorporated with slabs of oven daub

Incomplete: Skull; mandible fragments; right clavicle; right ulna; left tibia, fragmented left fibula

M-LIA

Inhumation 201 0+

Posthole 5802

Small pit (grave) “hole”

Layer 1

Containing chalk and occupational debris (daub)

Incomplete (yet published bone report suggests complete). Skull fragments, thoracic vertebrae and ribs

Iron Age

Inhumation 202 0+

Posthole 5803

Small pit (grave) “hole”

Isolated bone: Left fibula

CP3

Early Iron Age, 550 to 450BC

Inhumation 203 0+

Posthole 6756

Small pit (grave) “hole”

Layer 1

Surrounded by very compact capping of sub-

		rectangular chalk lumps and flints ranging from 2 to 16 cm 2x Isolated bones: Fragments of right ulna and left humerus Iron Age
Inhumation 204	0+	Posthole 6768 In a small pit (grave) “hole Layer 1 Very compact fill Root disturbed Complete Iron Age
Inhumation 205	0+	Posthole 6383 Small pit (grave) “hole” Layer 1 Complete Iron Age
Inhumation 218	<1 Year	Pit 2115 Beehive Partially Complete, yet “scattered” Infant placed directly on top of large chalk block Spatially, in the centre of the pit context In a layer of charcoal, daub, burnt flint and on top of layers containing occupational material Scattered with animal bone and pot Deliberately sealed by angular chalk rubble and flint Mid fill Subsequent pit fill was the result of natural silting, suggesting that the ‘infant’ layer was final sequence in the deliberate filling of the pit.

	Deliberately sealed by angular chalk rubble and flint
	M-LIA, 300 to 100 / 50BC
Inhumation 219 0+ (Not in published report)	Pit 2155
	Beehive
	Complete
	Placed on a chalk slab and surrounded by flint nodules
	Occurred within a deposit resulting from natural silting
	Orientated NNE-SSW
	CP7
	Mid to Late Iron Age, 300 to 100/50BC
Inhumation 252 0+	Pit 2566
	Beehive
	Layer 3a, Mid fill, above cone of primary erosion
	Deposited with “dump” of oven daub, archive suggests this contextual layer was a “daub layer”
	Orange and red oven base / wall daub, ranging in size from 2 to 9 cm pieces
	Near Complete
	M-LIA, 300 to 100/50BC
Inhumation 261 0+	Posthole 10010
	The feature did not have the normal posthole profile and resembled a small U shaped pit with a diameter of just 0.5m
	“Burial lay just above the bottom silt”
	3 contextual layers, infant deposited in layer 3 (basal)
	Complete (archive bone report), Incomplete (published bone report) complete (archive notes)
	Crouched
	“Deliberate burial”

Early Middle Iron Age

Inhumation 278 0+
(Not in published report)

Pit 2145

Cylindrical

Almost complete

In layers 1, 2 and 3

Mid to Late Iron Age, 300 to 100/50BC

Inhumation 283 0+

Pit 2589

Cylindrical

Isolated bone: Distal end of left femur

Near base of pit

Within a deliberate tip

CP7

Mid to Late Iron Age, 300 to 100/50BC

<u>EASTON LANE</u>

Inhumation 1035 1-3 Years

Ditch 990

Cut into phase 4 of ditch of unenclosed settlement (?)

Middle fill of ditch

Fragmented

Crouched Position

Articulated, missing head, arms, hands and feet

SE-NW

Early Middle Iron Age

Inhumation 5337 0+/-

Layer 5337 of Enclosure ditch 5624

A recut of earlier Ditch 5295

Mostly complete

Late Iron Age - Transitionary

Inhumation 5424B	0+	Large oval grave 5338 Most of the skeleton of a foetal / neonate Associated with the skeleton of a woman aged 17-25 years in same grave Infant discovered post excavation Late Iron Age - Transitionary

HOUGHTON DOWN

Inhumation P364	0-1 Year	Pit 364, layer 5, erosion layer from pit side Beehive pit Isolated frontal bone Associated cattle skull implying deposited after death, possibly as a ritual act Layer 9 contained the only excavated site remains of a crow or rook Largest amount of structural oven daub in any feature onsite weighing 51,207 gm – oven base / lower walls (around 50%), wall (about 40%) and oven plate (about 10%) – all from a slightly more complex oven than the others 146 sherds of pottery – pottery present throughout the fill, with a primary layer in layer 9. In this layer a near complete saucepan pot (no. 120) may have been a special deposit Middle Iron Age

JAYS CLOSE (VIABLES II)

Inhumation L1037	6-7 Months	Pit F1036 R. hand side only Thought that the infant was cut in half either as cause of death or immediately following death "Left part might have been inhumed in another pit just outside the excavation limit"

Inhumed Mid-fill

"Buried with some ceremony" with grave goods – domestic and wild animal bone: horse mandible; dog mandible; fox mandible

Crouched position

"Ritual deposit" "Metaphor"

Dating doubtful. Found with LIA saucepan sherds BUT because excavators believed that infant burial was rare in the LIA – suggested as being ER.

Late Iron Age

<u>MICHELDEVER WOOD</u>

Inhumation 126 0+

Ditch segment 2F

Grave 457

Possibly twins, one laid on top of the other

Disarticulated and fragmented

Associated with an adult inhumation in same feature

No associated finds

NNW-SSE

Middle Iron Age

Inhumation 126 0+

Ditch segment 2F

Grave 457

Possibly twins, one laid on top of the other

Disarticulated and fragmented

Associated with an adult inhumation in same feature

No associated finds

NNW-SSE

Middle Iron Age

Inhumation 153 0+/-

Pit 478, layer 492 (1 of 3 infants in same context)

		Beehive pit with small pit in base Mid Fill Total of three infants all in same layer (infants 153, 208 and 236) Fragmented but Mostly Complete Possibly SE-NW Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 169	6-7 Months	Ditch segment 19B, layer 580 Individual infantile bone belonging to this infant was also discovered in context layers 333, 516 and 548 Mid Fill Mostly complete but missing legs, fragmented Enormous chalk fragments Associated with a complete adult male aged 18-20 at death Finds included pottery in layer N- S, facing SE Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 192	6 Months	Ditch segment 19D, layer 630 Bottom of fill Complete and articulated, small bones missing Finds included pottery in layer NE-SW, facing SE Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 206	10-11 Months	Pit 428, layer 532 Beehive Pit Mid to Bottom fill Complete but fragmented, missing head and small bones

Associated with a 12-15 year old female adolescent inhumation in same feature

N-S

Middle Iron Age

Inhumation 207 0+ Pit 454, layer 482

Beehive Pit

Top of fill

Report states 'Incomplete and fragmented' BUT THE ARCHIVE states that all elements were represented, so this individual would have been deposited complete but fragmentary

NW-SE, facing NE

Middle Iron Age

Inhumation 208 8 Months to 1 Year Pit 478, layer 492 (2 of 3 infants in same context)

Beehive pit with small pit in base

Total of three infants all in same layer (infants 153, 208 and 236)

3 Fragments of mandible survived and loose teeth from the maxilla

Crouched on left side

Chalk fragments and small flints

W-E, facing N

Middle Iron Age

Inhumation 236 Under 1 Year Pit 478, layer 492 (3 of 3 infants in same context)

Beehive pit with small pit in base

Mid fill

Total of three infants all in same layer (infants 153, 208 and 236)

Mostly complete but fragmentary

Supine

SW-NE, facing N

		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 0	Infant	Ditch segment 2C, layer 154 Mid fill Two infant tibia, left and right, both without epiphyses Disarticulated Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 0	<7 Months	Pit 8, layer 83 Cylindrical Pit Bottom-mid fill Remains of a second infant also discovered in same pit Complete skeleton Many chalk lumps Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 0	<7 Months	Pit 8 Cylindrical pit Bottom-mid fill Remains of a second infant also discovered in same pit Incomplete Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 0	Infant	Pit 14, layer 84 Cylindrical pit Mid-upper fill Disarticulated infantile bone – 2 femora and one skull fragment Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 0	6-12 Months	Pit 98, layer 100 **at least 2 individuals (*not stipulated in report or archive)**

		Cylindrical Pit Near top of fill Disarticulated infantile bone discovered in three separated layers in same pit: • Layer 100 – fragment of L&R ulna • 101 – **2 incomplete L&R femora**, 2 fragments of tibiae • 135 – Proximal end of R tibia, Proximal end of L humerus, **complete R femur** and upper fragment of L orbit Late Iron Age to Transitionary Period
Inhumation 0	6-12 Months	Pit 98, layer 100 **at least 2 individuals (*not stipulated in report or archive)** Cylindrical Pit Near top of fill Disarticulated infantile bone discovered in three separated layers in same pit: • Layer 100 – fragment of L&R ulna • 101 – 2 **incomplete L&R femora**, 2 fragments of tibiae • 135 – Proximal end of R tibia, Proximal end of L humerus, **complete R femur** and upper fragment of L orbit Late Iron Age to Transitionary Period
Inhumation 0	Infant	Pit 98, layer 101 Cylindrical Pit Mid fill Disarticulated infantile bone discovered in three separated layers in same pit Late Iron Age to Transitionary
Inhumation 0	Infant	Pit 98, layer 135 Cylindrical Pit Bottom fill Disarticulated infantile bone discovered in three separated layers in same pit Late Iron Age to Transitionary

OLD DOWN FARM

Inhumation 0	0+	Pit 979 Cylindrical Pit Associated with adult female remains in same fill Adult female had an associated brooch The infant was not in direct contact with the adult female Other grave finds included iron wire, a Penannular brooch, an Ae fibula (Colchester type), a double ended bone point, pottery, a saucepan pot, a small bone needle, a large mammal tooth and a polished horse bone (3rd metacarpal) ? Complete Early 1st Century AD Late Iron Age
Inhumation 0	0+	Pit 2134 Cylindrical Pit Disarticulated infant 3rd Century BC to 1st Century AD Middle to Late Iron Age
Inhumation 0	0+	Posthole 2647 Feature details missing Disarticulated infant Double infant burial 3rd Century BC to 1st Century AD Middle to Late Iron Age
Inhumation 0	0+	Posthole 2647 Double infant burial 3rd Century BC to 1st Century AD

		Middle to Late Iron Age
Inhumation 0	0+	Pit 2683 Beehive Pit Pit heavily eroded 7th Century BC Early Iron Age

OWSLEBURY

Inhumation 3	0+	Grave Sealed by posthole F83 and Gully F84 Mostly complete Single black sherd lying between pelvis and ribs E-W 1st Century BC LIA
Inhumation 4	Foetus (c32 Weeks)	Shallow grave About a dozen vertebrae fragments, limb bones and other elements Iron Age
Inhumation 29	Foetus (c8 Months to 0)	Grave pit cut into edge of ditch F642 Crouched burial Few small and much damaged scraps of bone S-N Late Iron Age
Inhumation 30	0+	Butt end of gully F673 No grave noted Incomplete skeleton in fairly good condition Associated with early wheel turned pottery

		Part of small infant cemetery
		1st CBC
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 32	0+	Butt end of Gully F667
		No grave noted
		Fairly complete
		Part of infant cemetery
		1st CBC
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 42	0+	Grave cut into Gully F656
		Few scraps of infantile bone in very poor condition
		On fringe of infant cemetery
		S-N
		1st CBC
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 43	4-6 weeks	Grave cut into Gully F667
		Fairly complete and in good condition
		Extended on back E-W
		1st CBC
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 46	0+	Grave cut through Grave 47 and Gully F656
		Isolated bone and eight fragments of teeth
		Part of the infant cemetery
		1st CBC
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 47	0+	Grave
		Grave cut by grave 46 and gully F656

		Most bones found with burial 46
		Incomplete skeleton
		Part of infant cemetery
		1st CBC
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 48	6 months	Grave
		Lay at junction of gullies F656 and F667
		Sealed by upper fill of F657
		Incomplete skeleton
		Flexed burial
		E-W lay on right side
		Part of infant cemetery
		1st CBC
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 50	0+	Gully F656
		Lay in primary silt of gully
		Incomplete skeleton
		N-S, lay on right side with legs flexed
		Part of infant cemetery
		1st CBC
		Late Iron Age
Inhumation 59	4-6 months	Iron Age Ditch F133
		Many scraps of poorly articulated bone
		Lay on side with legs flexed and arms extended in front of it
		N-S
		Mid 1st CBC
		Late Iron Age

Inhumation 62	Infant	Hollow in pit complex F584 No grave noted Probably lay on left side Once complete but fragmentary N-S 1st Century BC Late Iron Age
Inhumation 64	0+	Grave Cut into and contemporary with quarry F609 Mostly complete, lower part of skeleton has been disturbed and the skull is smashed Crouched burial S-N, lying on right side 1st Century BC Late Iron Age
Inhumation 66	20-22 Months	Iron Age Gully F656 Overlying burial 67 (adult male, age 25-35 years) Most of skeleton removed by plough damage N-S, lying on right side 2nd Century BC Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 70	Infant	Gully F570 Gully defined the western side of the entrance to the banjo enclosure in 1st CAD Disturbed skeleton, crouched burial N-S, lying on left side 2nd CBC Middle Iron Age

There are a large number of later Roman and undated burials and deposits of isolated infantile bone, due to the uncertainties of dating these must remain excluded from this catalogue.

SUDDERN FARM

Inhumation C4 18 Months	Pit 433
	Cut into quarry base
	Largely complete but disturbed
	Slightly flexed
	Lying on left side
	Middle Iron Age
Inhumation C5 0-6 Months	Pit 433
	Cut into quarry base
	Largely complete, articulated but disturbed
	Early to Middle Iron Age
Inhumation C6 0+	Pit 433
	Cut into quarry base
	Isolate bones: left and right femur; right ulna
	Different from C4 and C5
	Early to Middle Iron Age
Inhumation C7 0+	Pit 434
	Cut into quarry fill
	Complete skeleton
	Slightly flexed, lying on left side
	Early to Middle Iron Age
Inhumation C9 0-6 Months	Pit 436
	Cut into quarry base
	Once complete but disturbed
	Early to Middle Iron Age

Inhumation C110+	Pit 438 Complete skeleton SE-NW Early to Middle Iron Age
Inhumation C12Foetus	Pit F439 Cuts into top of pit F441 containing adult inhumation Extended inhumation Complete skeleton but disturbed Associated with a child burial E-W Early to Middle Iron Age
Inhumation C130-6 Months	Pit F439 Complete skeleton but disturbance Extended on back Semi articulated Arms slightly flexed, hands to pelvic area Grave also contained adult and child bones Associated with adult remains in same feature W-E Early to Middle Iron Age
Inhumation C140+	Pit F440 Double infant burial (with C15) also two adult burials in same pit Large upright flint in base of pit Disarticulated burial, incomplete Early to Middle Iron Age
Inhumation C150+	Pit F440 Double infant burial (with C14) also two adult burials in same pit

	Large upright flint in base of pit
	Disarticulated burial, incomplete
	Early to Middle Iron Age
Inhumation C200+/-	F442
	Found in association with an adult male aged 30+
	Skull frags, upper half of right tibia, lower half of right femur, upper half of left ulna and lower end of fibula
	May have been associated with bone found in F442 and F446
Inhumation C210+/-	F443
	Right tibia
	Deposited with a large amount of disarticulated human bone and 'Primary?' burial C21 Adult Male c25 years of age
Inhumation C210+/-	F443
	Left tibia
	Deposited with a large amount of disarticulated human bone and 'Primary?' burial C21 Adult Male c25 years of age
Inhumation C22Foetus	F444
	Found in association with an adult male, c20 years of age
	Fragmentary skull, mandible, pelvis, ribs, long bones
Inhumation C230+	Pit 445
	Small grave pit
	Caped with flint and chalk blocks
	Complete skeleton
	Early to Middle Iron Age
Inhumation C290+/-	Grave Pit in F454
	Oval Grave cut into quarry base
	Infant deposited above an adult and child in same

		grave
		Disturbed burial
		Right half of pelvic girdle
		Early to Middle Iron Age
		Inhumation C310+/- F454
		Small skull frags, humeri, ulnae, femorae, tibiae, fibulae, metacarpals, metatarsals, and ribs
		Found in association with a Child 10-12 years of age (C31 Burial B)
Inhumation C33Infant		F455
		Right and left petrous portions of temporal bones
		Found in association with many other disarticulated bones and ‘primary?’ deposit of Male 40+ (C33)
Inhumation C340-6 Months		Small Pit 457
		Early to Middle Iron Age
Inhumation P150	0+/-	Pit 150
		Isolated infant bone
		Distal half of right humerus
		Early Iron Age
Inhumation P214	0+/-	Pit 214 type 4
		Cut into Pit 190
		Isolated infant bone
		Distal half of left femur
		Middle to Late Iron Age
Inhumation F429a	0+/-	Pit 429
		Skull and mandible frags, vertebrae, ribs, left humerus and ulna, metatarsals and fibulae
		Disarticulated
		Early-Middle Iron Age
Inhumation F429b	0-6 Months	Pit 429

Skull and mandible frags, vertebrae, ribs, left scapulae and right femur

Disarticulated infant bone

Early-Middle Iron Age

Inhumation F429c	0+	Pit 429

Removed by mechanical digger

Left and right temporal bones, half of pelvis, a rib and fragments of both a left ulna and tibia

Disarticulated infant bone

Early-Middle Iron Age

Inhumation F446	Foetal	Pit 446

Isolated foetal bone

Associated with remains of an adult and adolescent aged c16 Years

Early to Middle Iron Age

<u>WINKLEBURY</u>

Inhumation 744	0+/-	Pit 615, layer 625 (containing 744)

CP1-3

Rectangular, flat bottomed pit

Present were: left humerus; left femur; both tibia; left radius; and 3 teeth

Daub, shell, 20 sherds (all from a single pot), horse tibia and vertebra

3rd to 1st Century BC

Middle Iron Age

Inhumation 626	0+/-	Pit 615 (layer 626)

CP1-3

Rectangular, flat bottomed pit

Right femur only

Charcoal, flint, daub, Iron object, broken antler pick, frag. of rotary quern, frag. Of quern, clay, daub, pottery, cattle metacarpal, sheep metacarpal and 2 tibia

3rd to 1st Century BC

Middle Iron Age

WINNALL DOWN

Inhumation 143	Infant	Pit 2416
		Cylindrical Pit
		Complete skeleton
		One of five infants in same pit
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 156	0-6 Months	Pit 4006
		Beehive Pit
		Associated with adult 3576 and a single foetal dog skeleton
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 159	Infant	Grave 4239
		Infant was directly associated with a pot (SF100)
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 161	Infant	Grave 4264
		Associated with a double coil ring with a point and an animal goad
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 266	0-1year	Pit 5777
		Pit Details Missing
		Fragmented Skeleton
		Early Iron Age
Inhumation 397	Infant	Quarry Scoop 6280

		Scoop in NE quarry area
		NE-SW
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 420	Infant	Pit 7372
		Beehive Pit
		Associated with infant burial 3578 and adult burial 419
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 460	Infant	Grave 8184
		In small burial area in NW Quarry
		Fragmented skeleton
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 470	Infant	Pit 8630
		Beehive pit
		One of three associated pits
		Top of pit
		Associated with infant 531 and adult (female) 574 in same pit
		Pit within small burial area S
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 487	Infant	Posthole 8547
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 488	Infant	Posthole 8576
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 531	Infant	Pit 8630
		Beehive pit
		One of three associated pits
		Top of pit
		Associated with infant 470 and adult (female) 574 in

		same pit
		Pit within small burial area S
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 567	Infant	Pit 8594
		Beehive pit
		One of three associated beehive pits in immediate area
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 3517	Infant	Posthole 142
		Associated with infant 3518
		Fragmented skeleton
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 3518	Infant	Posthole 142
		Associated with infant 3517
		Fragmented skeleton
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 3530	Infant	Gully 1989
		Collection of bones
		Associated with adult 3529
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 3534	Infant	Pit 2416
		Cylindrical Pit
		One of five infants in same pit
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 3535	Infant	Pit 2416
		Cylindrical Pit
		One of five infants in same pit
		Middle Iron Age

Inhumation 3536	Infant	Pit 2416 Cylindrical Pit One of five infants in same pit Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 3539	Infant	Pit 2416 Cylindrical Pit One of five infants in same pit Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 3563	Infant	Pit 8564 Beehive pit One of three associated pits, all with human remains Associated with an adult male (500) also Associated with a foetal dog skeleton Area set out for burials Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 3565	Infant	Pit 8585 Cylindrical Pit Fragmented skeleton Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 3578	Infant	Pit 7372 Beehive Pit Associated with infant burial 420 and adult burial 419 Middle Iron Age
Inhumation M	Infant	Enclosure Ditch, segment M Associated with second infant deposit and articulated cattle bones Collection of bones Early Iron Age

Inhumation 5M 0+/-		Enclosure Ditch, segment 5M
		Associated with second infant deposit
		Isolated fragment of infant skull
		Early Iron Age
Inhumation P1473	Infant	Pit 1473
		Beehive Pit
		Scattered infant bones
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation P1645	Infant	Pit 1645
		Pit Details Missing
		Isolated Right femur only
		Late Iron Age to Transitionary
Inhumation P2002	Infant	Pit 2002
		Beehive Pit
		Scattered infant bones
		Middle Iron Age
Inhumation P5789	Infant	Pit 5789
		Beehive Pit
		Scattered infant bones
		Middle Iron Age

CATALOGUE OF INFANT BURIALS IN HERTFORDSHIRE

BALDOCK

Inhumation 80	0-3 Months	Quarry
		Fairly complete
		AD 25 – 50
		Late Iron Age to Transitionary Period

Inhumation 93	0+/-	Ditch Disarticulated bone AD 25 – 50 Late Iron Age to Transitionary Period
Inhumation 94	0-3 Months	Ditch Disarticulated bone AD 25 – 50 Late Iron Age to Transitionary Period
Inhumation 95	Foetal 9 Lunar Months	Ditch Disarticulated bone AD 25 – 50 Late Iron Age to Transitionary Period

<u>WICK AVENUE</u>

Inhumation 0	0+/-	Ditch Deposited on bottom of ditch The ditch had been deliberately in-filled The infant was associated with the remains of a 5 – 45 year old female. The female was discovered in a press-up position with the infant, just having been born, between her legs and feet Both burials were associated with a large quantity of pottery, evidence of metal working, 2 types of bronze, silver, evidence for linchpin type terminals and close by was a bronze coin of Tasciovanus Similar inhumations were discovered within ditches on the St. Albans running tack during the 1950s Excavator suggests burials associated with a clear up of the area at time of conquest – possibly as supplication to the gods at time of change Other local sites that end during the Late Iron Age show signs of deliberate in-filling, e.g. Aldwickbury

		Complete
		AD 20 – 60
		Late Iron Age to Transitionary Period

CATALOGUE OF INFANT BURIALS IN KENT

MILL HILL

Inhumation SK113	1-2 Years	Grave
		South West of cemetery
		Possibly supine, legs bent to Right
		Iron Age
Inhumation SK117	2-4 Years	Grave
		South West of cemetery
		Fragmented
		Small skull fragments and 2 teeth only
		Iron Age

NORTH FORELAND

Inhumation 1227	Foetal	Pit
		Isolated Bone
		Single Left Humerus
		Associated with large quantity of pottery and animal bone
		Associated with Infant Bone 1269
		Early to Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 1269	Foetal	Pit
		Isolated Bone
		Single Left Tibia
		Associated with large quantity of pottery and animal

		bone
		Associated with Infant Bone 1269
		Early to Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 2289	0-1 Year	Ditch
		Left Thoracic Vertebral Arch
		Isolated Bone
		Early to Middle Iron Age
Inhumation 2090	0-1 Year	Pit
		Isolated bone
		Single Left Tibia Shaft
		Early to Middle Iron Age

CATALOGUE OF INFANT BURIALS IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

SILVERSTONE FIELDS

Inhumation SK1a	Foetal 36-40 Weeks	Ditch
		Enclosure Ditch
		Complete Inhumation
		Associated with one other infant
		'Natural Death'
		Transitionary Period
Inhumation SK1b	Foetal 34-38 Weeks	Ditch
		Enclosure Ditch
		Fragmentary Inhumation
		Associated with one other infant
		'Natural Death'
		Transitionary Period
Inhumation SK2	0+/-	Ditch

		Complete Inhumation
		‘Natural Death’
		Transitionary Period
Inhumation SK3	0+/-	Ditch
		Fragmentary Inhumation
		‘Natural Death’
		Transitionary Period
Inhumation SK5	0+/-	Ditch
		Fragmentary Inhumation
		‘Natural Death’
		Transitionary Period

<u>WAKERLEY</u>

Inhumation 0(1)0-9Months	Ditch
	Associated with 8 other infants in same feature and fill
	<1st Century AD
	Transitionary Period
Inhumation 0(2)0-9Months	Ditch
	Associated with 8 other infants in same feature and fill
	<1st Century AD
	Transitionary Period
Inhumation 0(3)0-9Months	Ditch
	Associated with 8 other infants in same feature and fill
	<1st Century AD
	Transitionary Period
Inhumation 0(4)0-9Months	Ditch
	Associated with 8 other infants in same feature

		and fill <1st Century AD Transitionary Period
Inhumation 0(5)	0-9Months	Ditch Associated with 8 other infants in same feature and fill <1st Century AD Transitionary Period
Inhumation 0(6)	0-9Months	Ditch Associated with 8 other infants in same feature and fill <1st Century AD Transitionary Period
Inhumation 0(7)	0-9Months	Ditch Associated with 8 other infants in same feature and fill <1st Century AD Transitionary Period
Inhumation 0(8)	0-9Months	Ditch Associated with 8 other infants in same feature and fill <1st Century AD Transitionary Period
Inhumation 0(9)	0-9Months	Ditch Associated with 8 other infants in same feature and fill <1st Century AD Transitionary Period
Inhumation F274	0-9Months	Pit Top of fill <1st Century AD

		Transitionary Period
Inhumation F312	0-9Months	Grave
		Shallow Grave
		<1st Century AD
		Transitionary Period
Inhumation F615	0-9Months	Grave
		Shallow Grave
		<1st Century AD
		Transitionary Period
Inhumation F617	0-9Months	Grave
		Shallow Grave
		<1st Century AD
		Transitionary Period
Inhumation F824	0-9Months	Grave
		Shallow Grave
		<1st Century AD
		Transitionary Period

CATALOGUE OF INFANT BURIALS IN OXFORDSHIRE

FRILFORD

Inhumation 0	0+/-	Grave
		Discovered in the south – west sector of the circular, stake built ceremonial enclosure
		Associated with and adolescent and child inhumation
		Iron Age

GRAVELLY GUY

1161/B/1	Infant	Pit
		Incomplete, represented by 3 bones: fragments of skull, rib and scapula
		Found in upper fill bowl-shaped pit
		Early-Middle Iron Age
1219/B/2	0+	Pit
		Complete
		Extended, near NW pit side
		Discovered in mid basal fill
		Orientated SE-NW
		Early – Middle Iron Age
1220/C/1	1-2 months	Pit
		Complete
		Discovered in basal fill
		Had a fractured clavicle
		Middle Iron Age
1230/A,B	0+	Pit
		Incomplete
		Found within Enclosure 3, cutting Ring Gully A4
		Several bones from all parts of the body found in upper fill
		Middle Iron Age
1248/A	0+	Pit
		Isolated bone: humerus
		Associated with foetal sheep/goat bones in basal fill
		Early Iron Age
1248/B	6-12 months	Pit
		Isolated bone: Ulna

		Associated with foetal sheep/goat bones in basal fill
		Early Iron Age
1250/C/2	Infant	Ditch
		Ditch of enclosure 3
		Isolated bone: tibia
		Found in upper fill
		Middle Iron Age
1303/B/1	Infant	?
		Isolated bone: ?
		Early Iron Age
1325/A/1	Infant	Pit
		Bowl shaped
		Incomplete. 3 bones: ulna, tibia and femur
		Found in upper fill
		Middle Iron Age
1336/B/1	Infant	Pit
		Shallow bowl shaped pit
		Isolated bone: skull fragment
		Early – Middle Iron Age
1346/A/1	0+	Pit
		Bowl shaped
		Complete
		Found in upper fill.
		Associated with an iron punch
		Middle Iron Age
1362/C, D	0+	Pit
		Bowl shaped pit

		Complete
		Found in upper fill
		Middle Iron Age
1371/B/1	0+	Pit
		Cylindrical pit
		Complete
		Deposited by NE wall of pit
		Found in mid fill
		Orientated N-S
		Associated directly with horse bones
		Middle Iron Age
1391/A/1,2	Foetal 6-7 lunar months	
		Pit
		Cylindrical pit
		Dual isolated bones: Skull fragment and femur
		Found in upper fill
		Early Iron Age
1422/A,B	0+	Pit
		Cylindrical pit
		Complete
		Crouched on left side
		Orientated NE-SW
		Found in mid fill
		Middle Iron Age
1424/A/3	0+	Pit
		Crouched on right side
		Orientated N-S
		Found in basal fill

		Middle Iron Age
143/A/1	Infant	Pit
		Cylindrical shallow pit
		Isolated bone: ulna
		Early-Middle Iron Age
1479/B/1	Infant	Pit
		Cylindrical pit
		Isolated bone: skull fragment
		Associated with a bone gouge
		Found in top fill
		Middle Iron Age
1624/B/1	Infant	Ditch
		Terminal of early cut of south-west boundary ditch
		Isolated bone: femur
		Found in upper fill
		Early Iron Age
1625/A,B	0+	Pit
		Bowl shaped pit
		Incomplete.
		Found in all fill layers
		Early – Middle Iron Age
1648/C/2	0-1 month	Pit
		Cylindrical pit
		Complete
		Found in mid layer
		Middle Iron Age
1757/A/1	0+	Pit

		Large pit Complete Crouched on right side Associated with articulated cattle vertebrae and rib Orientated NW-SE Found in middle layer Middle Iron Age
187/A/1	Infant	Pit Cylindrical pit Dual isolated bone: femur and tibia Found in upper fill Middle Iron Age
2062/A/1	0+	Scoop Irregular ‘v’ shaped Complete Crouched on right side Associated with a foetal sheep/goat and part of another, 5 clay objects, possible loom weight (this was recorded as having possibly been deposited on top on the body) Orientated N-S Found in basal fill Early-Middle Iron Age
2118/A,B	Infant	Pit Bowl shaped Deposited near north pit wall Incomplete. Disarticulated: skull fragments, 4 ribs, clavicle, scapulae, humerus, tibia Associated with a perforated canine tooth (SF630) Found in lower fill

		Early Iron Age
2150/B/1	Foetal 7-8 lunar months	
		Pit
		Beehive pit
		Incomplete: Humerus, femur and 2 tibia
		Found in top fill
		Middle Iron Age
2156/B/1	Infant	Pit
		Cylindrical pit
		Dual isolated bone: rib and femur
		Found in top fill
		Middle Iron Age
2166/A/2,B/2	Infant	Pit
		Beehive pit
		Incomplete: ulna, tibia, femur
		Found in mid fill
		Early Iron Age
2169/A/4	0-1 month	Pit
		Complete
		Found in basal fill
		Middle Iron Age
2217/A/1,B/1	0+	Pit
		Cylindrical shallow pit
		Complete
		Crouched on left side
		Orientated SW-NE
		Found in mid fill

		Early Iron Age
2256/A/2	Infant	Ditch
		Ditch near the SE terminal of enclosure ditch B2
		Dual isolated bones: femur and tibia
		Associated with burnt stone
		Found in top fill
		Middle Iron Age
2293/B/3	Infant	Pit
		Beehive pit
		Isolated bone: tibia
		Found in mid fill
		Middle Iron Age
2300/A/2	Infant	Posthole
		Isolated bone: rib
		Found in lower fill
		Early Iron Age
2313/B/1	2-3 months	Pit
		Beehive pit
		Incomplete: humerus, femur, tibia, fibula
		Found in upper fill
		Early – Middle Iron Age
2317/D/3	Infant	Ditch
		South-west boundary ditch
		Isolated bone: femur
		Found in mid fill
		Early Iron Age
2395/E/1	Infant	Ditch
		Enclosure ditch B3

		Incomplete: humerus, ulna, tibia
		Middle Iron Age
2404/B/5	0+	Pit
		Cylindrical shallow pit
		Complete
		Crouched on right side
		Orientated NE-SW
		Associated with a pig mandible, other animal bones, and 1 burnt stone
		Found in mid fill
		Middle Iron Age
2426/B,244A/D/1	0+	Pit
		Cylindrical pit
		Incomplete: several upper body bones
		Found in basal fill
		Middle Iron Age
2465/A/2	Infant	Pit
		Exceptionally large cylindrical pit
		Isolated bone: ulna
		Found in upper fill
		Late Middle Iron Age
247/B/1	1-2 months	Pit
		Sub-cylindrical pit
		Complete
		Found in all fill levels
		Middle Iron Age
2477/D/2	0+	Gully
		Complete

		Extended on right side
		Associated with 3 large pot sherds near hands, cattle tibia near feet
		Orientated SE-NW
		Found in all fill levels
		Middle Iron Age
2663/B	Infant	Pit
		Beehive pit
		Isolated bone: femur
		Found in mid fill
		Early Iron Age
2680/B/3	0+	Pit
		Deposited against east side pit wall
		Supine, extended
		Orientated S-N
		Found in basal fill
		Early Iron Age
2930/A/2	2-3 months	Pit
		Cylindrical pit
		Incomplete: bones from right side of body
		Found in mid fill
		Middle Iron Age
320/A/1	1-3 months	Pit
		Beehive pit
		Incomplete: bones from right side of body
		Associated with sheep/goat burials and dog burial
		Found in basal fill

			Early Iron Age
330/B/1	0+	Pit	
			Cylindrical pit
			Incomplete
			Deposited against the east pit wall
			Found in top fill
			Middle Iron Age

SEGSBURY CAMP

SC97	18-32 months	Pit
		Found in upper fill
		Associated with 14 early Iron Age pottery sherds, animal bone and daub
		Early Iron Age

SOMERSET

GLASTONBURY LAKE VILLAGE

M16	0+	Uncertain
		Discovered outside the palisade to the north of Mound 49
		Late to final phase
		175BC to 50 BC
		Middle to Late Iron Age
M17	0-3 Months	Uncertain
		Discovered outside the palisade to the north of Mound 49
		Late to final phase
		175BC to 50 BC

		Middle to Late Iron Age
M22	0+	Uncertain
		Discovered close to the north-west edge of the hearth on floor 4 of Mound 57
		Late phase
		175 to 80 BC
		Middle to Late Iron Age
M25	0+	Uncertain
		Discovered near Mound 2
		Final phase
		80 to 50 BC
		Late Iron Age
M27	Foetus	Uncertain
		Iron Age
M28	0+	Uncertain
		Discovered between Mounds
		Iron Age
M33	0+	Uncertain
		Discovered between Mounds
		Iron Age
M37	0+	Uncertain
		Discovered within floor 3 of Mound 70
		In close association with the first hearth from where a fragment of humerus was also found
		Associated with infant M37
		Middle phase
		225 to 175 BC
		Middle Iron Age
M38	0+	Uncertain

		Discovered within floor 3 of Mound 70 In close association with the first hearth from where a fragment of humerus was also found Associated with infant M37 Middle phase 225 to 175 BC Middle Iron Age
M39	Foetus 7½+ Lunar months	Uncertain Discovered in floor 2 of Mound 71 Late phase 175 to 80 BC Middle to Late Iron Age

<u>SOUTH CADBURY</u>

Inhumation B763	Foetal	Not known Trench B No skull, feet or hands Iron Age
Inhumation K591	<3Years	Not known Trench K 3 pieces of a young child’s innominate bone (?L) Iron Age
Inhumation K597	Infant	Not known Trench K Part of an infants R + L Scapulae and a long bone shaft with tooth marks from a small rodent (gnawed) Iron Age
Inhumation K614(SF)	Foetal	Not known Trench K

		Infant bones found
		Iron Age
Inhumation K614ct(4)	<3Years	Not known
		Trench K
		20 Fragments of skull, including unburnt base, one piece of burnt black UID, plus one fragment of a cervical vertebrae which was burnt black
		Iron Age
Inhumation K614ji(d)	Infant	Not known
		Trench K
		Burnt posterior part of right mandible
		Iron Age
Inhumation K642ci	0+	Not known
		Trench K
		Skull fragments
		Iron Age
Inhumation K642ji	0+	Not known
		Trench K
		Two halves of a neonatal mandible
		Iron Age
Inhumation K668	0+	Not known
		Trench K
		Fairly complete infant skeleton
		Iron Age
Inhumation K740	Foetal	Not known
		Trench K
		Foetal remains mixed with those of a ?7 year old child
		Iron Age

Inhumation K829	3+	Not known Trench K Infant bones mixed with animal bones Green stain on lower end of Left Radius Lower end of Radius was burnt Iron Age
Inhumation S151(c)	Infant	Not known Trench P One piece of ulna and one piece of radius Iron Age
Inhumation SCT325C	0+/-	Not known Trench P ?Right femur Iron Age
Inhumation D46C(b)	0-1Year	Not known Trench P Shaft of infant tibia Iron Age
Inhumation SC7	c1Year	Not known Trench P Proximal shaft of infant tibia, proximal end of femur, proximal ends of left and right Femoral Left Femoral had a deep cut into the neck Iron Age
Inhumation SCE	Infant	Not known Trench P Lower half of infant femur Iron Age

Inhumation T317	Foetal	Not known Trench P Associated with one other infant (possibly more) Associated with a tine from a Roe buck antler Iron Age
Inhumation T317	Foetal	Not known Trench P Associated with one other infant (possibly more) Associated with a tine from a Roe buck antler Iron Age
Inhumation P609 (SC/P609)	Infant	Not known Trench P Infant tibia Iron Age
Inhumation C656	Infant	Not known Trench P Infant femur Iron Age
Inhumation C702	Infant	Not known Trench P Infant Humerus Iron Age

WILTSHIRE

KNAP HILL

Inhumation 0	Infant	Ditch

		Enclosure ditch
		Skull and limb bones only
		Iron Age

ROTHERLEY

Inhumation 0(i) 0+/-		Ditch
		Main circle ditch
		Associated with 5 other infants
		Late Iron Age to Conquest Period
Inhumation 0(ii)	0+/-	Ditch
		Main circle ditch
		Associated with 5 other infants
		Late Iron Age to Conquest Period
Inhumation 0(iii)	0+/-	Ditch
		Main circle ditch
		Associated with 5 other infants
		Late Iron Age to Conquest Period
Inhumation 0(iv)	0+/-	Ditch
		Main circle ditch
		Associated with 5 other infants
		Late Iron Age to Conquest Period
Inhumation 0(v)0+/-		Ditch
		Main circle ditch
		Associated with 5 other infants
		Late Iron Age to Conquest Period
Inhumation 0(vi)	0+/-	Ditch
		Main circle ditch
		Associated with 5 other infants

			Late Iron Age to Conquest Period
Inhumation 0	(i)	Infant	Pit 48
			Late Iron Age
Inhumation 0	(ii)	Infant	Pit 48
			Late Iron Age
Inhumation 0		Infant	Pit 49
			Late Iron Age
Inhumation 5		Foetus	Pit 54
			Associated with adult SK2
			Infant deposited near pelvis of SK2
			Late Iron Age
Inhumation 0		Infant	Pit 89
			Late Iron Age

YARNBURY CASTLE

Inhumation 2	Infant	Ditch
		Fragmented but Complete
		Associated with 8 other infants and the burial of a child and 2 adults?
		Section A
		Iron Age
Inhumation 3	Infant	Ditch
		Fragmented but Complete
		Associated with 8 other infants and the burial of a child and 2 adults?
		Section A
		Iron Age
Inhumation 4	Infant	Ditch

		Fragmented but Complete Associated with 8 other infants and the burial of a child and 2 adults? Section A Iron Age
Inhumation 5	Infant	Ditch Fragmented but Complete Associated with 8 other infants and the burial of a child and 2 adults Section A Iron Age
Inhumation 6	Infant	Ditch Fragmented but Complete Associated with 8 other infants and the burial of a child and 2 adults Section A Iron Age
Inhumation 7	Infant	Ditch Associated with 8 other infants and the burial of a child and 2 adults Section C Iron Age
Inhumation 8	Infant	Ditch Fragmented but Complete Associated with 8 other infants and the burial of a child and 2 adults Section F Iron Age
Inhumation 9	Infant	Ditch Fragmented but Complete

		Associated with 8 other infants and the burial of a child and 2 adults Section D Iron Age
Inhumation 10	Infant	Ditch Fragmented but Complete Associated with 8 other infants and the burial of a child and 2 adults Section D Iron Age