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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Archaeology

Pattern and Purpose in Iron Age East Yorkshire

by

Helen Louise Chittock

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Archaeology

Doctor of Philosophy

PATTERN AND PURPOSE IN IRON AGE EAST YORKSHIRE

By Helen Louise Chittock

This thesis presents a holistic study of Middle-Late Iron Age material culture from East Yorkshire (UK). It analyses the decoration, or pattern, of a whole range of different types of objects in order to answer the question; 'what did pattern do?'.

A database of over 4600 plain and patterned objects has been compiled using information from museum databases, published literature, unpublished reports and the Portable Antiquities Scheme database. Analysis of this database showed that patterns found on some objects are inextricably linked to the materials they are made from the broad purposes of objects and the ways they were eventually deposited.

An in-depth investigation into the biographies and itineraries of a sample of objects has allowed for further exploration of the development of the relationship between pattern and purpose during the 'lives' of objects.

This multi-scalar analysis has led to the conclusion that pattern did different three things in Iron Age East Yorkshire. It allowed craftspeople to engage with materials in specific ways; to adhere to tradition and function within design rules whilst also creating individualised objects. Pattern also contributed to the overall purposes of objects during use and deposition. Finally, pattern was an important part of the accumulation of biographies; a process that added value and significance to objects.

This work contributes to new directions of scholarship currently being pursued in the study of decorated Iron Age objects by reintegrating many famous Early Celtic Art objects from East Yorkshire with the full material assemblage in which they once belonged, providing them with context and directing attention towards lesser-studied groups of objects..

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Appendix IV Spread sheet of Objects Examined for Chapter 7

Appendix V Bone and antler data analysis

Academic Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

I, Helen Chittock

declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

Pattern and Purpose in Iron Age East Yorkshire

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. 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 been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. 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;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. 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;
7. Either none of this work has been published before submission, or parts of this work have been published as: [please list references below]:

Signed:

Date:

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Chapter 1: Why Decorate?

1.1 Introduction

In 2011, the archaeologist Jody Joy published a paper in the Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society entitled '*Fancy Objects*' in the British Iron Age: *Why Decorate?*. The paper presents a new approach to La Tène or Early Celtic Art, a category consisting primarily of gold and bronze decorated objects present across Middle-Late Iron Age Europe and patterned in a distinctive curvilinear style. Joy suggests that, when studying the objects that traditionally occupy this category, archaeologists should give equal consideration to the decoration of objects in other media, such as pottery and worked bone; those traditionally considered 'craft' objects. Joy suggests that it may be the decoration of an object that makes it significant, rather than simply the material it is made from. He argues that decorated objects are extremely rare in Iron Age Britain, regardless of media or decorative style, making the decision to decorate a weighty one with the potential to dictate the entire life-course of an object (Joy 2011).

Joy's paper emerged as part of what some have described broadly as the 'deconstruction' of Early Celtic Art (Gosden and Hill 2008, 13); a recent shift in the way scholars are thinking about this material. It is characterised by criticisms of the idea of successive Celtic Art styles (MacDonald 2007), consideration of the all-seeing positions from which archaeologists conduct their studies of art (Scott 2006), destabilisation of well-established chronologies through radiocarbon dating (Garrow *et al.* 2009) and calls for the reintegration of Celtic Art with the rest of the archaeological record (Gosden and Hill 2008, Garrow and Gosden 2012).

Joy brings many of these threads together in his approach and suggests that archaeologists should change the direction of their enquiries on the decoration of Iron Age material culture. He suggests that 'Why decorate?' is the question that archaeologists should now be asking of all decorated Iron Age objects. This question allows for the transcendence of the dichotomous labels 'art' and 'craft' and of the material categories traditionally used by archaeologists to provide a better chance of accessing the intentions behind the production of decorated objects in Iron Age Britain. It is Joy's approach I will be pursuing during the course of this thesis.

1.2 This Collaborative Doctoral Award

This thesis is the result of a Collaborative Doctoral Award, funded by the AHRC via the British Museum. The project was originally formulated during 2012 by Jody Joy and Julia Farley of the British Museum, Andy Jones of the University of Southampton, and myself. My interests in the decoration of Iron Age objects (see Chittock 2014) was combined with Joy's ideas about looking at Iron Age decoration holistically and asking why certain objects were decorated (2011) and Jones' expertise in Later Prehistoric art and materiality. These combined ideas were applied to a large assemblage of objects from the collections of the British Museum. Objects from East Yorkshire (UK) were identified by Joy as a group that would benefit from a study on this aspect of decoration and, as Chapter 4 will describe, presented an appropriate assemblage for such a study. I commenced this research in September 2013 and in 2014 gained a new supervisor in JD Hill, as Joy left the British Museum to become Senior Curator at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge. Please refer to the Acknowledgements section of this thesis to read my thanks to these individuals, who have all had vital influence over this thesis.

1.3 What is this thesis about?

The title of this thesis is *Pattern and Purpose in Iron Age East Yorkshire*. It aims to contribute to the broad shift in approaches to decorated Iron Age objects I described above by presenting a holistic study of objects that gives equal consideration to the decoration of all objects, regardless of the material they are made from, to answer the question; 'what did pattern do in Iron Age East Yorkshire?'. It tests the effectiveness of Joy's theoretical approach to objects on a large assemblage of plain and patterned objects of many different types from East Yorkshire, providing context for the region's famous Early Celtic Art objects. The analysis of these objects at different spatial scales is used to consider the differing spheres of activity across which decorated objects may have operated and the purposes they fulfilled.

The following chapter outline will provide further detail on the parameters, aims, methodology and theoretical approach of the project, and the way this thesis is structured.

1.4 Chapter Outline

This thesis is arranged into eight chapters, the first being this chapter. Chapter 2, will explore in detail the history of the field of research that has led up to

the shifting views of Early Celtic Art scholars I discussed above, and other associated approaches to Iron Age material culture. The chapter will begin by explaining the mid-19th century emergence of Early Celtic Art as a category of objects linked to a particular period of time, and as a field of study. Discussion will move through time, looking at the approaches to Early Celtic Art taken by scholars across Europe during the later 19th and 20th centuries and ways these have fed into wider ideas about Iron Age society. I will then recount the parallel development of the study of decorated artefacts of other media, governed by very different aims and interests than that of Early Celtic Art. The chapter will then move on to an exploration of recent work on Early Celtic Art, constituting the shifting focus that Jody Joy's work characterises.

Chapter 3, *A Return to Pattern and Purpose*, will define the research question that this thesis will answer; *what did pattern do in Iron Age East Yorkshire?* My approach to this question is informed by a 1958 publication written by the archaeologist Cyril Fox, *Pattern and Purpose: A survey of Early Celtic Art in Britain*, drawing on Fox's terminology and perspective. The chapter will discuss the borrowing of the word 'pattern' to refer to certain types of decoration and its original meaning in Fox's 1958 work, in addition to his definition of 'purpose'. The chapter will also look more broadly at the value of Fox's approach to my project, and will suggest that the examination of the relationship between pattern and purpose will allow me to answer my research question.

Chapter 4 focusses on the region on which this thesis is focussed; East Yorkshire, and the reasons for this choice of region. East Yorkshire is home to a Middle Iron Age burial rite that is unusual in Britain, involving the inhumation of individuals within square-ditched barrows, which form large cemeteries and often contain burial goods (e.g. Stead 1991). The practice of this burial rite has been seen traditionally to indicate the existence of a distinct Middle Iron Age culture in the region; the Arras culture. This burial evidence, combined with a strong tradition of settlement archaeology in the region has resulted in an Iron Age archaeological record that is unparalleled within Britain and that provides unique opportunities for the study of different types of patterned objects from different archaeological contexts. Chapter 4 will summarise past research in the region before characterising its Middle-Late Iron Age archaeology. It will then focus on the study of material

culture from Iron Age East Yorkshire to highlight areas where new approaches will benefit understandings.

Chapters 5 and 6 present a large-scale investigation of the relationships between pattern, context and purpose in Middle-Late Iron Age East Yorkshire. They contain the methodology and results of the use of a large dataset in order to begin answering the question ‘what did pattern do?’. Data on over 4600 Iron Age objects from a sample of 30 sites in East Yorkshire has been compiled using museum databases, and both published and unpublished literature. Objects from the Portable Antiquities Scheme database are also included. The resulting database has then been augmented to include specific information on whether each object is plain or patterned, and the styles of pattern present in the latter case. Each object has also been placed into one of two time periods; 400-100BC and 100BC-AD100, allowing me to identify change over time.

Chapter 5 answers questions about how many objects are patterned, which types of objects these are, what materials they are made from and the types of archaeological contexts they are found in. It reveals complex relationships between pattern, materiality, object type and depositional context. Chapter 6 looks more closely at the meaning of purpose in my dataset, augmenting Fox’s ideas about purpose (1958) to include the purposeful deposition of objects in particular contexts. It analyses data on the relationship between pattern and purpose, showing that certain patterns were useful for certain purposes, and that the purposes of pattern changed over time.

The conclusion of Chapter 6 makes it clear that consideration of the changing purposes of patterned and plain objects over time is key in answering the question ‘what did pattern do?’. With this in mind, Chapter 7 comprises an in-depth study of the biographies and itineraries of a sample of 145 objects from my dataset. The chapter focusses on three groups of objects; chariot fittings, swords and bone or antler objects. It also discusses pots. My findings are that objects from all groups seem to have been well-used, regardless of plainness or pattern. In the cases of composite objects, the practices of modification, repair, fragmentation and reassembly are common and have been made deliberately visible on the objects. I conclude that the accumulation of visible biographies and itineraries on objects was important in Iron Age East Yorkshire and perhaps added value and significance to

them. I argue pattern played an important role in this accumulation, making the varying origins of individual components visible.

Chapter 8 is the final chapter of this thesis and presents the answer to my research question; what did pattern do in Iron Age East Yorkshire? I argue that the processes of design and decoration were important, constituting experimentation with materials and pattern, as well as the functioning of craftspeople within particular design frameworks. While pattern was produced for specific intended purposes, the long biographies of some of my objects suggest that these purposes may have changed over time. Pattern became important in the accumulation of visible biographies and itineraries and finally in the act of deposition.

Chapter 2: A History of Celtic Art Studies

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter began by introducing recent work by Jody Joy, in which he poses the question ‘why decorate?’ (2011) in the context of material culture from Iron Age Britain. This chapter will consider the body of work that has led up to Joy’s approach and my own, from the first study of Celtic Art during the mid-19th century to present day scholarship. The aim of the chapter is to provide background and context for this thesis. It will discuss the strengths and weaknesses of past studies of Early Celtic Art and other decorated objects, in order to highlight new directions for study, which will then lead on to the formulation of my own research question in the following chapter.

2.2 The Emergence of a Celtic Art Style

2.2.1 Introducing *Horae Ferales* and *The Grammar of Ornament*

The emergence of Early Celtic Art as a category of objects and as a field of study was gradual and multifaceted. This section of the chapter will centre on the roles of two key publications in this process. The first is ‘*The Grammar of Ornament*’ (Jones 1856), a volume by the Welsh-born architect, Owen Jones, which contains samples of patterns from varied cultures and periods and summarises the author’s theory of design. The Second is *Horae Ferales; or, studies in the archaeology of the northern nations*’ (Kemble *et al.* 1863), which was primarily the work of John Kemble, who died before its publication, but also contained contributions from linguistic ethnologist Robert Gordon Latham and archaeologist Augustus Woollaston Franks. The former volume formalised the idea of a Celtic Art style, while the work of Franks in the latter volume linked this style to the Iron Age, through championing an artefact-based approach to archaeology.

2.2.2 The idea of the Celts

The study of a Celtic art style and the lead-up to the publication of the two volumes introduced above began with a wider interest in the Celts, a group of people who appeared in debates over the peopling of Britain during the early 18th century. The name ‘Celts’ was derived from Greek literary references to Keltoi, the barbarian peoples inhabiting temperate Europe from about 500BC, and later Roman references to Celtae (e.g. Koch 2014, 6, Megaw and Megaw 1989, 9), although it is significant that classical writers never referred to Britain as Celtic (Green 1996, 11-13). The Celts were

resurrected from these classical sources by Annius of Viterbo in 1498 in semi-fictional accounts of the peopling of the world (Morse 2005, 15), and over the following centuries, British scholars began to use the term 'Celtic' to refer to ancient Britons and Europeans in various different contexts.

Linguists, ethnologists and archaeologists all took up the idea of the Celts in their studies during the 18th and 19th centuries. The early 18th century saw the circulation among European scholars of the idea that the Celtic language was the root of all modern European languages. By the mid-18th century the influence of literary studies on linguistics led to the restriction of the Celtic family of languages to a localised group centring on west Britain including Welsh, Breton, Cornish and Manx (Morse 2005, 22, 35). The development of ethnology and the use of craniology as part of this discipline during the early 19th century saw the use of the word 'Celtic' to refer to a particular race of people (Morse 2005, 95).

The emergence of archaeology as a formalised discipline during the early-mid 19th century also saw the use of the word 'Celtic' by British archaeologists, though even within the discipline it was used in a wide range of contexts and could refer to different periods with differing levels of specificity. In the same 1852 volume of *Archaeologica*, for example, it is used by Thomas (1852) to refer broadly to prehistoric monuments, while Akerman (1852) uses it to describe Early Bronze Age daggers, as a contrast to iron swords of the Teutonic Anglo-Saxons (T. Champion n.d.).

The vagueness of the word 'Celtic' at this time was, perhaps, due partly to the difficulty British archaeologists were having with dating much of the metalwork that would later be classified as Celtic Art. On the Continent, finds of Later Prehistoric artefacts in association with one another in graves, for example, facilitated the organisation of these artefacts into typologies and chronological schemes, the most famous and far-reaching being Christian Thomsen's Three Age System (Thomsen 1936). In Britain and Ireland, however, while Iron Age metalwork objects were being discovered in some numbers during the early-mid 19th century, outside the graves of East Yorkshire they did not have archaeological contexts. Rather, they were accidental finds, mainly from rivers, lacking the archaeological contexts of objects from graves and making it extremely difficult to date them. It was also difficult to link these finds to the detailed chronology that was building up on the Continent due to a lack of communication between British and Continental scholars. Thomsen's three-

age-system, although seen today as a revolutionary development in the study of European prehistory, took several decades to become a respected theory in Britain due to language barriers and a lack of dissemination (Rowley-Conwy 2007, 83-5).

The dating of these isolated British metalwork objects was much debated and archaeologists showed a reluctance to consider them as pre-Roman objects. The Polden Hill Hoard, for example was discovered in 1803 and consisted mainly of horse and chariot gear. It was first thought of as Anglo Saxon (Birch 1846, 30-1) but later it was written that it ‘may reasonably be denominated Romano-British’ (Akerman 1852, 182). Franks also initially attributed the objects to the Saxon period and Roach Smith (1853) considered them Roman, but with some Saxon or Frankish influences (T. Champion n.d.).

During the next decade, however, ‘Celtic’ became more firmly defined and was used with more confidence by archaeologists. It soon became used to refer to only the latest part of the prehistoric sequence and post-Roman material, and was used to name the art style practised during these periods.

2.2.3 The Grammar of Ornament

In 1856, the Welsh-born architect Owen Jones published *The Grammar of Ornament*, the culmination of many years work on design theory. The book was a design source book, containing samples of patterns from many different cultures and periods arranged into 20 chapters. One of these 20 chapters is entitled ‘Celtic Ornament’, the first published reference to a specific ‘Celtic’ art style (Collis 2014, 22-24).

The chapter was produced by the archaeologist John Obadiah Westwood. It is focussed on what Westwood saw as “the earliest monuments and relic of ornamental art which we possess” (1856, 196); the Early Christian art of Britain and Ireland, and refers to Anglo-Saxon stone crosses and manuscripts such as The Lindisfarne Gospels.

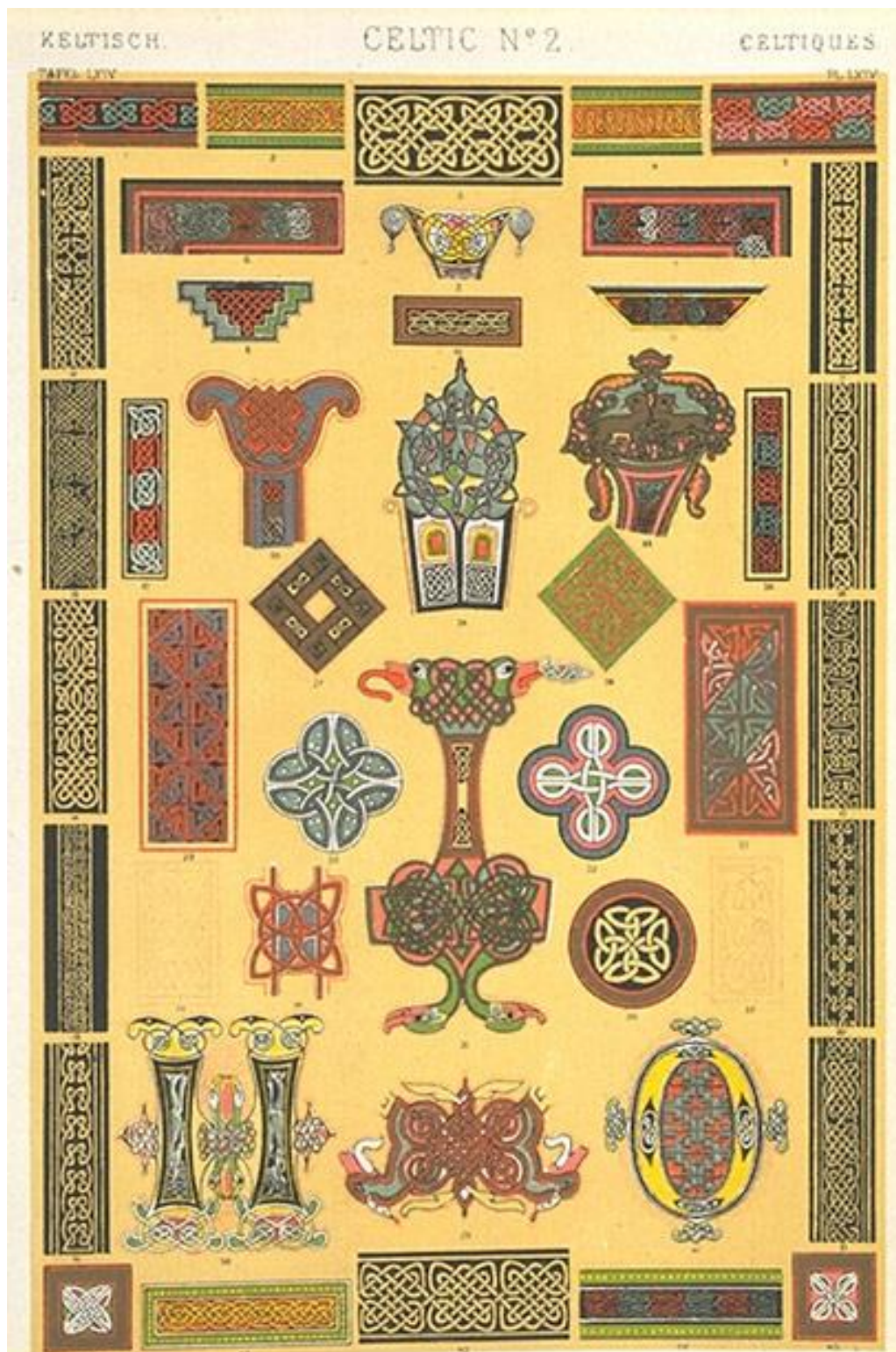


Figure 2.1: Plate from 'The Grammar of Ornament' - 'Plate LXIV - Celtic No.2' (© Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

Westwood wrote that this art was intimately connected to the introduction of Christianity to the British Isles, and muses on its potential geographical origins. The art has no Saxon origins, he writes, due to the lack of this type of art in north Germany. He discounts suggestions the style may be of Roman origin for several reasons, including the fact that Roman art has no knot work, a key feature of this art. Similarly, he writes that Scandinavian art originated from Britain and Ireland, not vice versa, being introduced with the introduction of Christianity by British missionaries. Westwood suggests the possibility that Early Christian art was perhaps influenced by Byzantine or other Eastern art, but finally rests on the conclusion that;

“even supposing the early artists of these islands might have obtained the germ of their peculiar styles of ornament from some other source than their own national genius, they had, between the period of the introduction of Christianity and the beginning of the eighth century, formed several very distinct systems of ornamentation, perfectly unlike in their developed state those of any other country [...]” (Westwood in Jones 1856, 200).

Westwood, therefore, saw Early Christian Celtic art in Britain as a very insular phenomenon. The fact that he sees it as part of the Christianisation of Britain and Ireland suggests he does not consider its origins to be prehistoric. He does mention, in a footnote, the presence of Danish Bronze Age objects decorated with S spirals and Iron Age objects with intertwined animals in Copenhagen Museum. His reason for mentioning these objects, however, is to highlight the differences between these patterns and those from Early Christian art, to prove that the British style did not originate from Scandinavia or the Continent.

2.2.4 A.W. Franks, John Kemble and Horae Ferales

One year after the publication of the Grammar of Ornament, in 1857, the characteristics of the Celtic art style were defined again in a lecture in Dublin by the Anglo-Saxon archaeologist John Kemble. Kemble defined a particular double spiral motif as characterising Celtic Art. While this motif is best represented in the same Early Medieval manuscripts and metalwork from Scotland and Ireland that Westwood discussed (in Jones 1856), Kemble also linked it to British Iron Age metalwork (Kemble et al 1863, 79-80, T. Champion n.d.). Like Westwood (in Jones 1856), Kemble took quite an insular view of Celtic Art, covering styles of objects he felt were best represented in Britain and Ireland and which, as a result, carried

patriotic meaning (Morse 2005, 134). He died shortly after the lecture, leaving his work unpublished. The work was, however published posthumously as *Horae Ferales; or, studies in the archaeology of northern nations* (1863), having been prepared by Augustus Woollaston Franks of The British Museum, along with linguistic ethnologist, Robert Gordon Latham.

Part of Franks' contribution to *Horae Ferales* was the organisation and annotation of plates illustrating famous British objects: The Battersea Shield, The Witham Shield and the Polden Hills Hoard for example. His approach to the British material was, however, different to that of his predecessors, placing these objects into their wider geographical and temporal contexts. He made use of the Three-Age system, which was now becoming accepted in Britain, in his organisation of the images in order to demonstrate to archaeologists the 'local peculiarities' (Franks in Kemble *et al.* 1863, description of the plates, 127) present within wider European traditions, and in doing so was also one of the first archaeologists to argue that there was a prehistoric British Iron Age before the Roman period (*ibid.*, Morse 2005, 139).

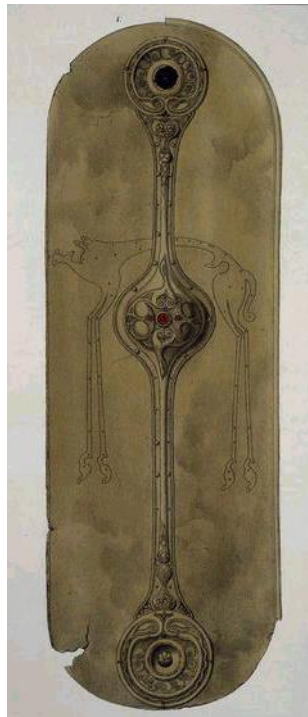


Figure 2.2: Illustration of the Witham Shield by Orlando Jewitt for *Horae Ferales*, Plate xiv (Kemble *et al.* 1863).

Franks referred to the objects illustrated in the plates as 'Late Keltic', which was not revolutionary in itself, but his approach was novel in that he took a purely archaeological approach to this definition. In his attribution of these objects to the Celts he did not make use of crania or Classical texts, but instead used the characteristics of the objects themselves, ruling out the possibilities that they were Roman, Danish or Saxon and concluding that they must be Celtic (Morse 2005, 139). In doing this, Franks demonstrated the utility of an artefact-based approach to archaeology, where objects could be attributed to races without the use of craniology (*ibid.*).

2.2.5 Celtic Art in the late 19th century

Franks took on a new role as Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities at the British Museum in 1866 and reorganised the collection according to the Three-Age system and his own regional styles (Morse 2005, 139). Finds from outside Britain continued to influence his work, further broadening his European perspective on Celtic Art. By the time *Horae Ferales* had been published in 1863, significant finds on the continent had further challenged Westwood and Kemble's assertions that Celtic art was an insular phenomenon. The mid-19th century saw the discovery of two sites whose material culture would become very important in European Iron Age chronologies; Hallstatt and La Tène. Johann Georg Ramsauer had begun the systematic excavation of a large cemetery at Hallstatt in Austria during the 1840s, uncovering a large number of Late Bronze and Early Iron Age graves, many containing grave goods. The discovery of the La Tène site at the northern end of Lac Nauchâtel in Switzerland in 1857 was more accidental, occurring during the lowering of the lake's water level. Neolithic and Bronze Age lake dwellings were also discovered, alongside many Iron Age objects deposited in the lake and adjacent rivers (Collis 2003, 75).

Hallstatt and La Tène had provided the first significant supporting evidence outside Denmark for the Three-Age system (Morse 2005, 140), and began to prompt the synthesis of large-scale chronological theories. The stylistic similarities between the objects from Hallstatt and La Tène and those across the rest of Europe incited the suggestion by Swedish scholar, Hans Hildebrand, that the finds represented a pan-European phenomenon and, following this, the proposal by Swiss prehistorian, Désor, that the Iron Age should be divided into an earlier Hallstatt period and later La Tène

period (Collis 2003, 75-78). While this observation was purely chronological, the discovery of La Tène had also prompted widespread debate among Continental archaeologists over which material; Hallstatt or La Tène, belonged to the ancient Celts. Upon the publication of *Horae Ferales* in 1863, however, the similarities between the artefacts from La Tène and Franks' 'Late Keltic' objects were very clear, and contributed towards the designation of La Tène art as 'Celtic' (Morse 2005, 140).

Despite this, the idea of a Celtic art style was not widely taken up by Continental archaeologists until several decades later, when the work of Joseph Déchelette (1908) tied together the threads of the historical Celts, the archaeological chronologies and the idea of a Celtic art style to produce a the basis for the grand narrative of Celtic expansion (Collis 2003, 88-91), which I'll discuss in section 2.3. La Tène became the name used to refer to the varied swirling decorative style, common to Middle-Late Iron Age Celtic Art objects across Europe, and I will refer to this specific type of decoration at many points in this thesis.

By the beginning of the 20th century, then, Celtic Art was recognised as a specific archaeological phenomenon and could be used to refer to Iron Age or Early Medieval art. Parallels drawn between British and continental Iron Age Celtic Art had begun to place Britain within the broader context and chronology of Iron Age Europe.

2.3 Celtic Art in the 20th Century

2.3.1 The Description and Interpretation of Early Celtic Art

In Britain, the first half of the 20th century saw the publication of several major volumes on Celtic Art, which began to bring together and discuss large groups of objects. Romilly Allen's *Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times* (1904) is the first example of this type of volume, and discusses Celtic Art in its wider temporal sense, including Early Medieval material as well as Iron Age, and also discussing Bronze Age art, which Romilly Allen writes, was brought to Britain by Goidelic Celts, and which influenced the art of the Iron Age (1904, 22). The next major volume on Celtic Art was not published for almost 30 years (Leeds 1933). Leeds' *Celtic Ornament in the British Isles down to A.D.700* (1933) is, as he writes, "smaller in compass" (1933, xv), excluding Early Medieval art and rejecting the idea that Iron Age art was derived from Bronze Age art.

Despite their difference in scope, these volumes both provide good examples of the way archaeologists were approaching Celtic Art during the early-mid 20th century. Both are focussed on the epistemological description of the objects and sites known to archaeologists, seeking to impose order on the diverse bodies of material they discuss through typologies and relative chronologies. Discussion in these volumes concerns mainly the comparison of motifs on different objects, which is used to make interpretations about the development of motif types over time and the overall origins of the style. The relationship between British and Continental art is an important theme; while Romilly Allen saw Celtic Art as being influenced by British Bronze Age style as well as Continental art (1904), Leeds saw Celtic Art as being ‘transmitted’ to Britain during the Iron Age, before Britons “broke free of the trammels of a borrowed style” (1933, 16) and pursued their own distinctive form of Celtic Art.

As the study of Celtic Art progressed during the mid-20th century, archaeologists continued to weave the now large body of Celtic Art objects available to them into increasingly elaborate and wide-ranging culture-historical narratives. The following paragraphs will summarise key works that marked the height of this type of study, looking first at large-scale European narratives and then at how theories of Iron Age Britain fitted into these.

Iron Age Europe

Early Celtic Art (1944) by German classical archaeologist Paul Jacobsthal is, perhaps, the first publication to refer specifically to ‘Early’ Celtic Art, separating Iron Age art from Early Medieval. The scope of the volume extends across the whole of 5th-2nd century BC Europe, excluding Britain due to the interruptions in Jacobsthal’s research caused by the 2nd World War (though see Jope 2000). In terms of the treatment of the objects themselves, Jacobsthal, like Romilly Allen (1904) and Leeds (1933), focussed on the art-historical analysis of motifs rather than their contexts as parts of objects, or more broadly as parts of the archaeological record. The way in which Jacobsthal advances the content of earlier volumes, however, is in the use of his interpretations of the way motifs developed to produce a Europe-wide grand-narrative, telling the story of how Early Celtic Art spread westwards across Europe.

Jacobsthal had been a scholar of Greek painted vases before becoming involved in the study of Celtic Art through an interest in the relationship between the

Mediterranean and Northern Europe (Jacobsthal 1944, vi). Following this interest, and Jacobsthal's aim to "link Early Celtic Art with the arts of Europe and Asia, which nourished it" (1944, v), the focus of discussion in the volume is on the geographical origins of Celtic Art. Jacobsthal saw the development of Early Celtic Art as an Orientalizing process, writing that its 'triple' route lay in Italy and the East as well as in Hallstatt culture, which was present in Northern Europe during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (1944, 155).

The work of Ruth and Vincent Megaw has, arguably, continued that of Jacobsthal in viewing Early Celtic Art in its wide, European context, discussing not only metalwork but objects of other materials from across Europe, also including Britain (e.g. Megaw 1970, Megaw and Megaw 1989). The Megaws make Jacobsthal's influence on their own work and on Celtic Art studies known (Megaw 1970, 7-8; Megaw and Megaw 1989, 15), and it is also evident their use of Classical sources and loyalty to the idea of the Celts, which I'll discuss further in section 2.3.6.

Iron Age Britain

The same interest in origins and chronology is also evident in accounts of Early Celtic Art in Britain during much of the 20th century. Scholars of the Iron Age have been "at times obsessively concerned with chronology" (Garrow *et al.* 2009, 81), and this is also reflected in Celtic Art studies, where much effort has been invested in establishing chronologies in order to impose order on a diverse body of material and understand its development. Throughout the 20th century, concepts of Iron Age chronology in Britain were also inextricably linked to ideas about the relationship between Britain and the Continent. In early-mid 20th century culture-historical narratives of the Iron Age, migrations or invasions from the continent were seen as the triggers for change in Britain and were used to explain the spread of new technologies, practices and, most importantly for this thesis, decorative styles (e.g. Hawkes 1931; 1959).

Christopher Hawkes' famous ABC scheme dominated British Iron Age studies for several decades. The scheme, in both its original incarnation (1931) and later update (1959), envisages development in the British Iron Age being prompted by a series of invasions or migrations from the Continent. Hawkes equated Continental object styles, Hallstatt and La Tène, with his own British groupings; A (Hallstatt), B (La Tène I and II) and C (La Tène III), which represented each of these styles arriving

and circulating in Britain through migration. The idea of waves of change is also strongly reflected in European Celtic Art chronology from this period of time. Jacobsthal (1944), for example, expresses his continental Celtic Art chronology as ‘stages’: Early, Waldalgesheim, Plastic and Sword style.

The second half of the 20th century gave way to more of a focus on continuous insular development in Britain, following criticism of the evidence behind Hawkes’ ABC scheme (Hodson 1960; 1964). Webley argues that this shifting focus was perhaps also influenced by the new theoretical perspectives in archaeology, which placed emphasis on the internal workings of social systems, encouraging inward-looking insular theories of the British Iron Age rather than those that attributed change to external influence from the continent (Webley 2015, 124).

The insular approach to Iron Age Britain is reflected in Jope’s volume on Early Celtic Art. Although published posthumously in 2000, it had been in the making for many decades, its origins having been traced to the early 1930s (Jope 2000, preface). Originally devised by Jacobsthal (he and Jope began collaborating in 1956), the volume was a follow-up to Jacobsthal’s Early Celtic Art (1944), looking specifically at insular British Celtic Art, rather than the entire pan-European phenomenon, from the same art-historical perspective as Jacobsthal (1944). Jope immediately separates Britain from the continent by stating that insular British Celtic Art was only beginning to develop as European Celtic Art was becoming increasingly influenced and diluted by Romanisation (2000, 1), describing British art as a “belated, almost reluctant, insular response to the European achievements” (2000, 1), also making reference to this delay elsewhere (2000, 10, 221). Despite the apparent delay in British artists’ interpretation of the European material, Jope is also keen to emphasise the way in which British artists “struck out far beyond the pulse of the initiating themes” (2000, 221), producing original and innovative designs. The degree to which British Iron Age art should be considered insular or derived from Continental influence is an issue still being discussed in more recent publications (e.g. Megaw and Megaw 2008, Garrow *et al.* 2009, Joy 2015a, Webley 2015) but, as I will explain later in this chapter, new methods of radiocarbon dating are beginning to provide answers to this question.

2.3.4 Fox's Pattern and Purpose

1958 saw a shifting focus in Celtic Art studies with the publication of *Pattern and Purpose: A survey of Early Celtic Art in Britain*, by Cyril Fox. The work of Fox represents a break from both the aims of the volumes mentioned above and the approaches they take to different types of objects.

The previous work of Romilly Allen, Leeds, Jacobsthal and Jope was about imposing order on groups of objects and asking questions about what objects existed, what styles or types of motifs existed and how the development of these motifs had occurred. Fox was also preoccupied by the origins and development of certain styles and motifs, and the relationship between Britain and the Continent. His '*Grammar of Celtic Ornament*' (1958, 147-148), presumably inspired by Owen Jones' 1856 design sourcebook (see section 2.2.3), also treated motifs in similar ways to earlier authors, peeling them away from objects, flattening them and looking at them in isolation. In addition to these aspects of his approach, however, Fox also began to consider the functions of decorated objects in *Pattern and Purpose* (1958). This work began to move from the art-historical analyses of the previous volumes and place decorated objects back into their contexts of use. In the foreword of the volume he considers the 'purposeful' nature of Celtic Art and writes that "there is nothing of 'Fine Art' about it" (1958, v), making it clear that Celtic Art objects were not made simply to be looked at but also had other uses. The chapters of the book continue this focus on the functions and contexts of objects. The chapter titles, 'Personal Display: Outdoors' and 'Personal Display: Indoors', for example, are quite a departure from those of the previous volumes.

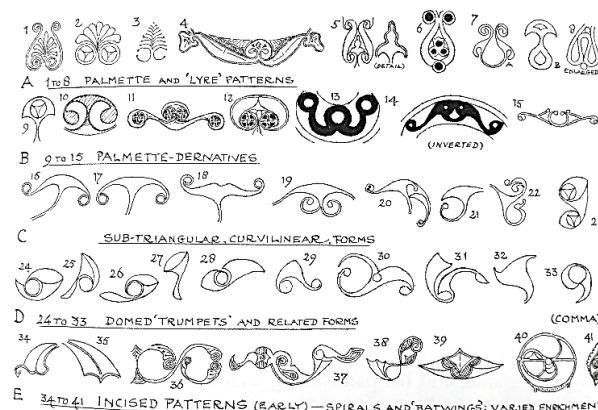


Figure 2.3: Fox's *Grammar of British Early Celtic Ornament* (1958, 147, ©Amgueddfa Cymru National Museum of Wales).

While Fox's approach to Early Celtic Art was, arguably, ahead of its time, it was not widely taken up by other scholars, who continued to work on defining chronologies of Celtic Art. Fox's original approach will be further discussed in the next chapter, but the following paragraphs will describe the continuation of work on chronology during the later 20th century.

2.3.5 Stead's Stages

This section of the chapter will briefly summarise the work of Ian Stead, a British archaeologist whose work on British Early Celtic Art arguably defined the field during the last decades of the 20th century. Stead's main contribution was in the chronology of Early Celtic Art, which continued to be an important aspect of research on the material as debates about the nature of contact between Britain and the Continent during the Iron Age continued.

Stead's time spent as Curator of the Iron Age at the British Museum led him to investigate many famous Early Celtic Art objects, but most notable was his reworking of the series of stages first proposed by Jacobsthal (1944). This was prompted by the work of de Navarro (1952), who presented a four-phased periodisation of Early Celtic Art in Britain, influenced by continental styles. In his two 1985 volumes, *Celtic Art in Britain before the Roman Conquest* (1985a) and *The Battersea Shield* (1985b) Stead takes up these four phases; I, II, III and IV. Jacobsthal's Early Style becomes Stead's Stage I; Waldalgesheim Style becomes Stage II; Plastic and Sword Styles become Stage III and Insular Style, which Jacobsthal himself was unsure about, becomes Stage IV. Stead also adds fifth and sixth stages, to encompass much of the best known British material. Stage V decoration is asymmetrical and curvilinear, often with raised, three dimensional elements and textures such as hatching. Objects of Stage V include torcs and some mirrors, for example. Stage VI objects have their roots in earlier insular styles, but also have a clear Roman influence, expressed by the use of newer materials such as brass and glass inlay, and the use of geometric motifs.

Although Stead's stages became well-used, he acknowledges that parts of his chronology are uncertain, relying on 'tenuous Continental parallels' (1985b, 27). The following section of the chapter will cover recent discussions about the limitations of 20th century approaches to Early Celtic Art, including Stead's stages.

2.3.6 The Limitations of Early Celtic Art

The end of the 20th century saw the growing realisation that the category of Early Celtic Art has its limitations, both as a temporally and geographically diverse group of objects; “that artistic multiplicity which is usually designated, in an inadmissible short-hand, as La Tène” (Echt 1999, 255), and as one labelled with two contentious words; ‘Celtic’ and ‘Art’.

Discussion arose during the 1908s and 90s over whether the Celts actually existed as a European people during the Iron Age (e.g. Megaw & Megaw 1996, Collis 1997, James 1998). A group of ‘Celtosceptic’ archaeologists began to question the idea of the Celts based on the reliance of the definition on evidence from Classical writers (Collis 2014, 19-20). The use of La Tène art style as a proxy for ethnicity is also cited by Collis as a problem with the idea of Celtic people; not all Celts used Celtic Art (Collis 2014, 26). The Megaws in particular have remained loyal to the idea of the Celts, and have criticised Celtosceptics of pushing nationalist agendas (1996) and even committing the academic equivalent of ‘genocide’ (Collis 2014, 19), demonstrating the continuing heat of the debate.

A body of literature specifically analysing the historiography of the Celts has grown up during recent decades (e.g. Collis 2003, Morse 2005), emphasising the historic origins of the label (see section 2.2.2). The recent *Celts: Art and Identity* exhibition at the British Museum (September 2015-January 2016) and National Museum of Scotland (March-September 2016) explored these origins alongside Iron Age and Medieval Celtic material culture and modern concepts of Celticness, perhaps indicating that archaeologists have reached new understandings over the word ‘Celts’.

The implications of the study of prehistoric ‘art’ have also been discussed by several archaeologists during recent years (e.g. Bradley 2009, Garrow and Gosden 2012, 38-56). Acknowledgements of different ways of seeing in prehistory (Wells 2012), the modern separation of art, science and religion (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 38) and the lack of named ‘artists’ in the Iron Age (Müller 2014) are among those that have led to the questioning of whether archaeologists should use the word ‘art’ to refer to prehistoric objects and what archaeologists mean when they do use it (e.g. Bradley 2009, 3-4). While some archaeologists have found ways of discussing visual culture without referring to art (Wells 2008; 2012), others are working on re-contextualising

prehistoric art with the rest of the archaeological record in order to find out what the material we call ‘art’ was actually for (Garrow and Gosden 2012, Bradley 2009). These discussions will be revisited in detail during sections 2.4.4 and 2.5

Specific criticisms of the chronological schemes used to study Early Celtic Art, such as Stead’s stages (1985a, 1985b), have also arisen during recent years. MacDonald (2007) points out that some objects are decorated in more than one decorative style, and suggests that differences in style could be geographical as well as chronological. Garrow *et al.* (2009) have supported this view, indicating that some of the most famous Celtic Art objects have decoration from more than one of Stead’s stages. The Kirkburn Sword, for example, has decoration characteristic of both stages IV and V (Garrow *et al.* 2009). They propose that Stead’s stages III to V are, in fact, not a successive sequence and co-existed at the same time (Garrow *et al.* 2009, 107), with support from new radiocarbon dates, which will be discussed in detail in section 2.5.2 of this chapter.

The recent realisation of the limitations of Early Celtic Art I’ve briefly outlined here, whilst a set of difficult challenges, have led to the reinvigoration of this field of study. I will explain in section 2.5 of this chapter the ‘rethinking’ of Early Celtic Art that has begun to reconcile some of the problems with the category.

2.3.7 Why Decorate?

Of all the volumes discussed in this section of the chapter, it seems that while the questions of which objects are decorated with La Tène art and how this style of decoration has evolved over time have been answered extensively, none have fully addressed the question of *why* these objects are decorated. Scholars have instead focussed firstly on imposing order on this diverse group of objects by producing chronologies, and secondly on using Early Celtic Art as a proxy for the movement of people and for social interactions, looking at large scale pictures of migration, contact and wider society. It seems that Fox (1958) came closest to discussing the question of why decorate with his consideration of the purposes and functions of Celtic Art objects. His approach will be expanded upon in the next chapter.

2.4 Peasant Art

2.4.1 Introduction

This section of the chapter will concentrate on the differential treatment of other decorated Iron Age objects, those that fall outside the category of Early Celtic Art and that have been studied separately, to highlight the origins of the material bias that Joy (2011) highlights and that I mentioned in the previous chapter. I will begin with the example of Glastonbury Ware; La Tène decorated pottery associated with Glastonbury Lake Village, a find from the very early 20th century, to illustrate this bias at its most extreme, but will then broaden my discussion to look at the treatment of decorated Iron Age objects of all types throughout the 20th century.

2.4.2 Glastonbury Lake Village

From the 1890s onwards, field archaeology focussed increasingly on settlement sites, adding texture to what Cunliffe refers to as “an archaeological world hitherto blinded by the quality of a few art objects” (2005, 4), by which he means the objects presented by Franks in *Horae Ferales*, for example; The Battersea Shield, Witham Shield and Polden Hills Hoard. Despite the emergence of new information on everyday life in the Iron Age, however, Early Celtic Art objects in Britain and Ireland continued to remain detached from this part of the archaeological record. This is largely due to the archaeological issue, mentioned earlier, of Early Celtic Art objects being found almost exclusively in wet contexts and dry-land hoards, separate from settlement contexts (Gosden and Hill 2008, 1).

In line with the shifting archaeological interests outlined above, the late 19th and early 20th centuries saw the excavation of several famous British Iron Age settlement sites (e.g. Hengistbury Head by Bushe-Fox (1915), All Cannings Cross by Cunnington (1923)). Among these famous sites was Glastonbury Lake Village, excavated by Harold St George Gray and his collaborator, Alex Bulleid between 1892 and 1907 (1911, 1917). This unique, well-preserved wetland site revealed buildings, and a huge number of well-preserved artefacts of many different materials (see Coles and Minnitt 1995 for more specific description).

Glastonbury Lake Village in The Illustrated London News

The rich material culture of the site was viewed as evidence that it was inhabited by a civilised people, and presented a new vision of Iron Age domestic life, seen in articles such as that published in December of 1911 in the Illustrated London

News, Britain's first illustrated weekly newspaper (Phillips 2005, 74). The article itself was written by Bulleid and entitled 'Not the Woad-Daubed Savage of the Old History Books: The Civilised Ancient Briton'. The accompanying reconstructions by the newspaper's special artist, Amédée Forestier, have become some of the most famous and most reproduced archaeological reconstructions of prehistoric Britain (Phillips 2005, 72). The article and pictures were produced with the express aim of challenging outdated impressions of Iron Age savages, using the rich evidence of everyday activities found at Glastonbury. Five photographic images of objects were included depicting a bronze bowl, a ladder, a jet ring alongside a sling stone, a decorated comb and a wooden table or anvil. The same objects are also incorporated into Forestier's reconstructions (Phillips 2005, 77).



Figure 2.4: One of Forestier's reconstructions of Glastonbury (Forestier in Bulleid 1911).

The evidence for the many forms of skilled craftsmanship available in the objects from Glastonbury was used by Bulleid in the article to support his argument that the people living at the site were sophisticated and civilized. He places particular emphasis on the 'artistic' skills of Glastonbury's Iron Age inhabitants, writing: "The relics discovered throw considerable light on the life and civilisation of the people, whose artistic qualities were truly wonderful." (1911, 930). It is clear from the article that Bulleid considers artistic skill and craftsmanship as the markers of a civilised people (Phillips 2005, 79), a sentiment that is also present in the description and illustration of objects in the original reports on the site (Bulleid and Gray 1911; 1917). Indeed, many of the artefacts from Glastonbury lake Village are highly decorated. Bone and antler 'weaving combs' are embellished with geometric and ring-and-dot

decoration, glass beads are marbled with 'eyes' or swirls and along with pottery, rare wooden artefacts, such as bowls and buckets display varied decoration (see figure 2.5 below).

Glastonbury Ware: Art or Craft?

Glastonbury Lake Village gives its name to a particular style of decorated pottery; Glastonbury Ware. This pottery is found in abundance at the sites of Glastonbury and Meare and has also been found at sites across Somerset, Wiltshire, Hampshire and Oxfordshire (see Peacock 1969 for production/distribution of Glastonbury Ware). The treatment of the decoration of Glastonbury ware by scholars of the Iron Age since the time of the first acknowledgement of the type represents a very specific set of judgements made by archaeologists. This is because one of the characteristics of Glastonbury Ware is that it was decorated in the same curvilinear, La Tène style using the same motifs as the metalwork labelled Early Celtic Art.

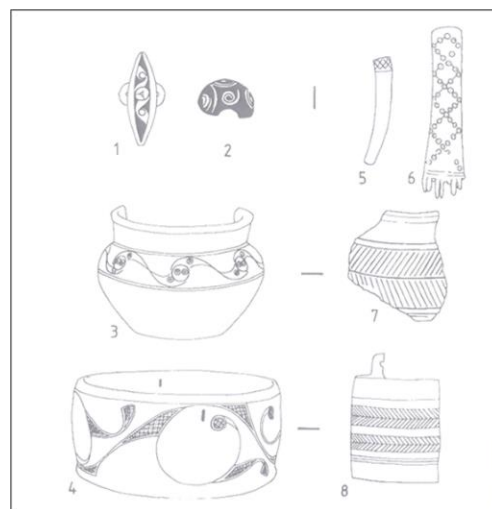


Figure 2.5: Decorated artefacts from Glastonbury Lake Village, (H. Chittock, after Evans 1989, with kind permission).

Although the presence of La Tène style decoration on Glastonbury Ware has been widely recognised by archaeologists since the early 20th century, and although the decorated objects of the site were presented as evidence for a civilised people with artistic talents, it has not led to the incorporation of these ceramics into the category of Early Celtic Art. Instead, pottery has occupied a lower status than metalwork in the eyes of archaeologists, both as a material and as a form of craftsmanship.

The extremes of the perceived hierarchy within which pottery and metalwork exist in the eyes of archaeologists became more disparate during the early-mid 20th century. While Bulleid and Gray, in their original reports on Glastonbury Lake Village, never label Glastonbury Ware as ‘Celtic Art’, they begin their discussion on the 780 ornamented vessels from the site with general comments on the development of La Tène art in the British Isles (1917, 505), referring to Romilly Allen’s volume on Celtic Art (1904). They also discuss the motifs on the Glastonbury Ware in similar ways as their contemporaries were discussing the motifs on metalwork, looking at their origins and development over time (1917, 506-511). During the decades following the publication of Glastonbury Lake Village, however, the levels of perceived artistic skill involved in producing Glastonbury Ware appear to drop¹. Grimes, in 1952, several decades after the publication of Glastonbury, published a paper entitled *The La Tène Art Style in British Early Iron Age Pottery*. He writes in the introduction:

“Pot-making [...] is a comparatively lowly, if an expressive craft. In a wealthy community, or in a community with varying levels of wealth, pottery takes second place to metal and (where it exists) glass: usually, therefore, pottery is the borrower both of form and of ornament” (Grimes 1952, 160).

Pottery was now seen as inferior to metalwork, both in terms of its intrinsic material value and in the levels of skill and craftsmanship involved in designing and producing it.

2.4.3 Models of Iron Age Craftsmanship

The model of craftsmanship exemplified by the treatment of Glastonbury Ware, where pottery was seen as a secondary craft to metalworking, was not new at the time of Grimes’ publication (1952), and appears in several of the volumes on Early Celtic Art discussed in the previous section of this chapter. Non-metal objects are generally not discussed in these volumes, but where they are, it is often in support of wider theories on metalwork. Leeds, in *Celtic Ornament* (1933), uses the assumption that the motifs on Glastonbury Ware were borrowed from metalwork to argue for the existence of a South-Western school of metalworking. The general confinement of La Tène decorated pottery to the South West of England leads him to suggest that the potters producing it must have been in contact with a local school of metalworkers,

¹ Could this be due to the increasing ubiquity of pottery on Iron Age sites, as excavations of settlement sites become more common?

taking inspiration from them (1933, 28). Fox shares the view that La Tène style motifs on Glastonbury Ware must have been based on those on metalwork (Fox 1958, 135). He also comments more generally on other forms of “peasant art” (1958, 132); decorated woodwork, iron work and bone work and, similarly, agrees with Grimes that these types of craftsmanship were dedicated to “serving the simple requirements of village households, made by the village craftsmen and craftswomen in their own homes or yards” (1958, 132).

Several decades later, Cunliffe presented an influential new model of Iron Age Britain, allowing for more flexibility than older models (e.g. Hawkes 1931; 1959) through considering belief systems, material culture styles and trade, for example, as multiple ‘overlapping systems’ rather than one fixed system (Cunliffe 1978). Cunliffe’s approach included a reworked approach to the aesthetics of objects from Iron Age Britain, discussing ‘style zones’; regional groupings based on the forms and decoration of pottery. Style zones encompassed the areas where particular types of pottery, constituting the style, were in use. They were then arranged into an approximate chronological sequence (1975, 29).

Despite this new approach, however, Cunliffe continues to view pots as skeuomorphic, borrowing from leather (1975, 42) and bronze (1975, 33) vessels. He also separates art from craft, largely on the basis of the complexity of the systems through which materials were procured. Weaving, leather working, carpentry and basketry are all referred to as home crafts, practised using locally available materials (1974, 265-267). The working of metals; iron, copper, tin, lead, silver and gold, on the other hand, involve more complex processes of procurement. Cunliffe describes specialist schools of metalworkers, producing luxury products, as opposed to those producing tools or trinkets (1974, 279), and it is clear that he considers the luxury products he describes as having roles in social stratification. He describes Thames daggers, for example, as being evidence for a skilled workshop “geared to the aristocratic market of the fifth and fourth centuries” (1974, 280; 2005, 512-531). Later, during the 1st centuries BC and AD many more production centres developed, making cheaper decorative metal objects available to a larger percentage of the population (1974, 283).

These ideas about hierarchy are reflected in a famous diagram of the hierarchical structure of Celtic society, produced by Simon James (1993, 53), see figure

2.5 below), who later went on to critique overarching ideas about the Celts (e.g. 1998). This model, although not generally accepted today (Hill 2011), views Iron Age society as a pyramid, with a single ruling king or chieftain at the top, a warrior nobility and a group of 'men of art' (craftsmen, druids and bards) in the middle, and a large number of ordinary farmers occupying the bottom of the pyramid. In Cunliffe's model of craftsmanship, ordinary people would make their own 'home crafts' (1974, 265-257) for personal use, but craftspeople producing luxury metalwork would perhaps serve the warrior nobility or the chieftain.

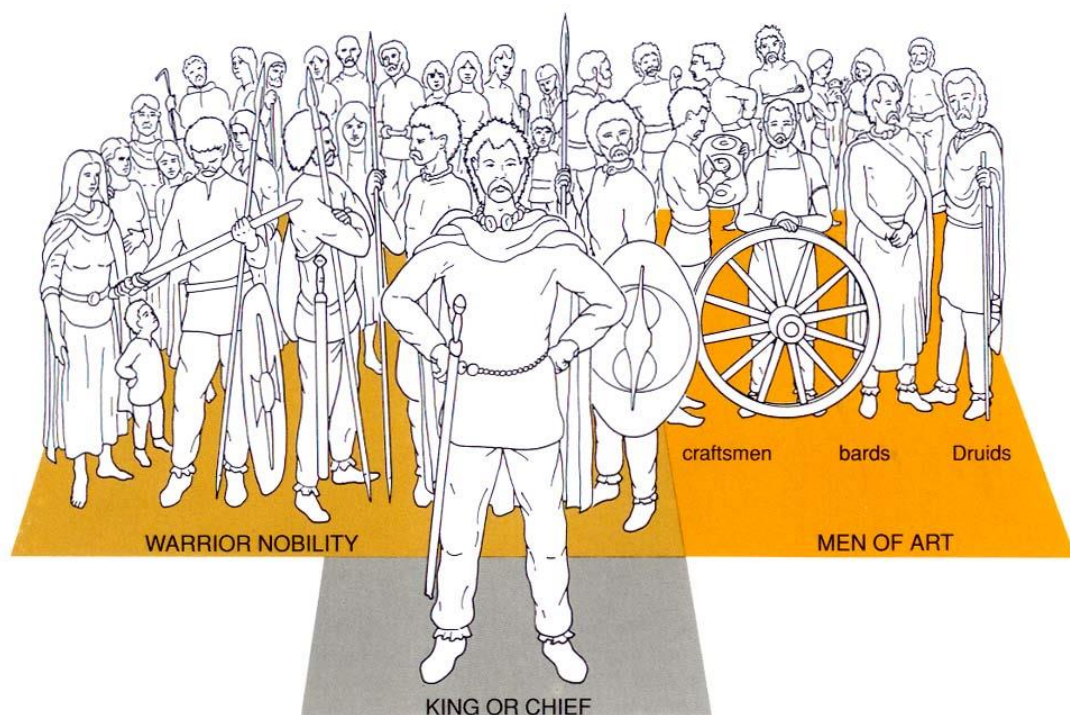


Figure 2.5: Model of Celtic Society (James 1993, 53, with kind permission).

This section of the chapter has briefly explored the models of Iron Age craftsmanship that have led to the separation of art and craft by archaeologists, based on ideas about material value, levels of skill and the way that certain goods fit into hierarchical societies. The following section will discuss the problems with this separation further.

2.4.4 Arts and Crafts

Fox (1958, 132) acknowledges his separation of the production of art and craft, noting that it will have been less marked during the Iron Age than it has been during more recent centuries when, until the 20th century, 'art' was quite well-defined. There is no questioning by Fox (1958), however, or the other archaeologists whose work I've discussed in section 2.4, that the divide existed. To date, no body of literature exists to investigate or explain the archaeological evidence for such a divide of labour.

Bradley has discussed the separation of art and craft in the broader context of prehistoric art, and attributes it to the 19th century distinction between contemporary Fine arts, produced by exceptional individuals, and decorative arts, produced by unnamed skilled craftspeople (2009, 6). This viewpoint will undoubtedly have influenced some of the archaeologists whose work I've discussed in this chapter, but it does not necessarily explain the increasing disparity between Iron Age 'art' and 'craft' during the 20th century. I argue that this is perhaps due to an inherent but unacknowledged material bias towards metalwork as a group of objects with more aesthetic and material value than pots, for example, which became ubiquitous in the archaeological record during the late-19th and early 20th centuries. Recent research on archaeological materials (e.g. Conneller 2011, Jones 2012) highlights the culturally contingent properties of materials and makes such modern views of archaeological artefacts problematic.

The bias towards metals may also relate to the perceived differences in the functions of art and craft objects. While the decoration of Early Celtic Art objects is seen as being associated with display and status (e.g. Fox 1958), the decorative patterns found on craft items are historically seen as idle 'art for art's sake', as tools in commercial trade to make professionally manufactured products more attractive to buyers (e.g. Tuohy 1999, 55), or for identification of goods as being owned by particular households (Evans 1989, 186).

More recent ethnographic and anthropological research has begun to raise questions that destabilise the models of Iron Age craftsmanship that allow the arts/crafts division to perpetuate. Ethnographic examples of the linkages between people who practice different crafts; for example relationships between potters and metalworkers (Gosselain 1999), and of persons participating in multiple crafts (Sofaer 2006) devalue the separation between the artist and craftsman, and may even mean

that artists and craftspeople were actually the same people, or at least that they shared ideas and techniques. Considering the seasonal practicalities of Iron Age subsistence; periods of intense agricultural activity and scarcity of light in winter, for example, it seems highly plausible that individuals were engaged in a range of different activities throughout the year.

The topic of this thesis covers the making and deployment of decoration, and I will need to consider the question of who made different decorated objects with care. The following section discusses the rethinking of Celtic Art studies during recent years, which has begun to level the arts/crafts distinction, but I will return in this chapter's conclusion to the question of whether the distinction still exists.

2.5 Rethinking Celtic Art

During section 2.3.6 of this chapter I outlined some of the limitations of the category of Early Celtic Art, which scholars began to discuss during the end of the 20th century, and which have led to the 'rethinking' of the field during recent decades. Part of this process has been gradual change in the way archaeologists look at Iron Age art and craft objects. This section will describe the reinvigoration of Celtic Art studies by new ideas and the influence on this body of work of some specific theoretical advances in archaeology, anthropology and the social sciences.

2.5.1 New approaches to Iron Age craft objects at the end of the 20th century

From the 1980s, the emergence of new ways of thinking about archaeological objects began to challenge the distinction between art and craft I described in section 2.4.4, and were arguably the beginnings of the rethinking of Early Celtic Art, which has gained momentum during recent years. Although archaeological theory at this time favoured the deconstruction of large-scale categories of objects, such as 'Celtic Art', it introduced new ways of thinking about the properties and meanings of objects and materials that, ultimately, have led to new perspectives on the category. These broad changes will be elaborated upon here.

The 1980s and 90s form what Hicks refers to as the 'high period' (2010, 64) of material culture studies in British archaeology and anthropology, led by scholars at University College London and Cambridge University such as Chris Tilley, Daniel Miller and Mike Rowlands (Hicks 2010, 26). This tradition of study introduced the idea that objects were active in social relationships and for British later prehistorians,

the idea that the structuring of life and beliefs in the past was represented in evidence for the production, use and deposition of objects became popular. Discussion of the significance of decoration across different types of objects and materials was included in these newly directed investigations and presented new perspectives on objects previously thought of as 'craft'. JD Hill's analysis of Iron Age pit deposits in Wessex (1995), for example, highlights the specific roles of decorated non-metal objects in the depositional practices he describes. The specific selections of plain antler combs to accompany human remains in a generally highly decorated assemblage (1995, 55), for instance, lead him to state that "decoration and surface treatment were not simply the reflection of technological achievement nor a casual afterthought in production, nor can they just be considered in gross terms of the manifestation of ethnicity/tribal affiliation" (1995, 68). This represents a move away from previous ideas, such as Cunliffe's style zones (1975), which tended to see the decoration of non-metal objects as incidental in production, use and deposition, and towards a deeper consideration of the meaning and reason behind decoration itself.

Fitzpatrick takes a similar approach in a reanalysis of objects from Glastonbury Lake Village, which were discussed earlier (1997). He discusses the structuring of everyday life during the Iron Age, and argues that the production of plain and decorated objects in 'appropriate' materials was part of this structuring, along with other daily activities, such as the deposition of objects (1997, 80). This approach to the decorated objects of Glastonbury represents a major departure from the previous approaches to the material I described earlier in this chapter, where La Tène decorated Glastonbury Ware pottery was dismissed as borrowing its decoration from metalwork (Grimes 1952). Fitzpatrick's newer approach looked at the full material assemblage, identifying the fact that only objects in plastic media are decorated with curvilinear decoration (in addition to wooden vessels) (1997, 80), suggesting these particular objects and materials were specifically selected for curvilinear pattern.

As demonstrated by the examples above (Hill 1995, Fitzpatrick 1997), new ideas about the subtle and contingent properties of materials themselves became important during the 1990s. Work by Hingley (1997) and Budd and Taylor (1995), for example, on the potential cosmological significance of working particular metals opened new avenues for the study of craftsmanship based not on modern ideas of

value but on the less tangible aspects of materials. Ethnography became important in work such as this (see Giles 2007c), providing the opportunity to make new assertions about materials based on evidence rather than assumptions.

2.5.1 The Material Turn

The new perspectives on archaeological material culture I described above have ultimately contributed to the ‘material turn’; a broad shift across the humanities and social sciences during the past decade towards a poststructuralist approach to material objects and their relationships with people, that privileges the objects themselves rather than the people interacting with them. This type of approach is exemplified by work such as Bruno LaTour’s Actor Network Theory (2005), which has become popular among archaeologists and has been subsequently augmented by theorists such as Ingold (who suggests the term ‘meshworks’, 2011).

In archaeology and social anthropology, the material turn has been heavily influenced by dissatisfaction with the term ‘material culture’, as Hicks (2010) explains during his historiographical ‘excavation’ of material culture studies. During recent decades, feminist postcolonialist and historical critiques have arisen from the ‘culture concept’ (*ibid.*), as well as from the idea that ‘culture’ describes something abstract and separate from material realities (material culture being a physical indicator of culture) (Hodder 1982). The impossibility of defining any part of past (especially prehistoric) culture that is *not* materially enacted has been at the centre of critiques of the term ‘material culture’ and discussions about the existence of the boundary between culture and material (Hicks 2010).

While I can only briefly summarise the ideas behind the material turn here, the effects of such a turn on Iron Age archaeology have been not only a renewed interest in materials and objects but their integration into studies of landscape to produce pictures of social relations at varied scales (e.g. Giles 2012), as called for by Haselgrove and Moore (2007, 7-8), advancing the material culture-focussed studies of the 1990s under new theoretical direction.

Recent years have seen the emergence of a new generation of Iron Age object specialists (e.g. Lewis 2015, Adams 2013, Foulds 2014), and a renewed focus on the study of artefacts has also been pursued by a number of established Iron Age researchers, returning to Early Celtic Art. *Rethinking Celtic Art* (Garrow, Gosden and

Hill 2008), *Technologies of Enchantment?* (Garrow and Gosden 2012), *Celtic Art in Europe* (Gosden *et al.* 2014), to name some major publications, have all focussed on the aesthetics of similar sets of objects that formed the basis for the work of Jacobsthal (1944) and Fox (1958), for example. The theoretical advances in the study of materials and objects, however, have informed these new studies. The new focus on objects is one that, rather than using objects in large scale models as supporting evidence for the existence of ‘culture’, attempts to assess the agentive effects of the objects themselves in a bottom-up manner, concentrating on the experience of the individual. Gosden and Hill, for example, call for the study of “the sensory appeal that objects have and through the senses the emotional impacts they are likely to create” (2008, 9). These new approaches to the experiential qualities of Early Celtic Art objects have benefitted from research on anthropological art during recent decades, specifically from the work of Alfred Gell, which I’ll discuss below.

2.5.2 Gellian Influence: Technologies of Enchantment

Alfred Gell’s *Art and Agency* (1998) and his concept of ‘technologies of enchantment’ (1992) have proven useful in developing the studies of sensory experience of art that Gosden and Hill call for (2008, 9), moving away from the art-historical study of motifs and considering individual experience.

In a paper entitled *The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology* (1992) Gell considers art to be a form of technology or skilled making, rather than simply something ‘beautiful’, and argues that the effects of this obvious skill upon the viewer are ‘enchanting’. He describes the impressively decorated canoe prows of the Trobriand islanders as dazzling and confusing enemies to a point where they have real physical and psychological effects, which are interpreted by enemies as the harnessing of magic by the maker of the prow board. The mediation of social relationships by art is further explored by Gell in the volume *Art and Agency* (1998) and his ideas about art have become popular in the interpretation of intricately designed and skilfully made Celtic Art objects (e.g. Garrow and Gosden 2012, Giles 2008).

Garrow and Gosden have made the direct influence of Alfred Gell clear in the title of their recent volume, *Technologies of Enchantment?: Exploring Celtic Art: 400BC-AD100* (2012) and their aims to follow an ‘object-centred’ approach. Their comments on the sensory effects of the complexity, decoration and colour of Celtic

Art objects (2012, 57) on themselves are also distinctly Gellian. Giles has also written on technologies of enchantment in reference to Celtic Art. She focusses on British and Irish Iron Age weaponry, suggesting that the appearances of weapons were central to their functions and had direct effects upon adversaries in battle (2008). Similarly, Gleirscher describes *carnyces* as ‘psychological weapons’ where the forms of the ears enhance both the terrifying aesthetics and the sounds of the instruments (2014). The newfound interest in materials and materiality in archaeology and anthropology (Ingold 2007, Jones 2012, Conneller 2011) has also contributed to this type of work, leading archaeologists to incorporate ideas about visual perceptions of contingent material properties into their work (e.g. Giles 2012).

2.5.3 Object Biographies

The focus on object agency brought by the material turn described above has led to an important body of work considering the ‘biographies’ of Early Celtic Art objects. Archaeologists have, at several points during recent decades, used the analogy of ‘life’ to refer to objects, a concept first put forward by the anthropologist Igor Kopytoff in 1986, who suggested we could follow objects through birth, life and death to produce ‘object biographies’. The approach has been taken up by many archaeologists in a range of sub disciplines (e.g. Gosden and Marshall 1999; Joy 2008; 2009, Holtorf 1998) and the terminology augmented to include ‘use-lives’ (e.g. York 2002: 79), ‘reincarnation’ (Pollard and Gillings 1999), ‘life-histories’ (see Joy 2009, 542) and the ‘killing’ of objects (e.g. Hamilakis 1998).

Biographies have been used in different ways to explore in detail the temporal dimensions of Early Celtic Art objects. Jody Joy’s work on the biographies of Iron Age mirrors (2009) uses the patterns on mirror backs to consider the processes of designing complex patterns. More recently, Joy has considered the life cycles of Iron Age grain pits from a biographical perspective (2015b), showing this approach is not only useful where objects are concerned. Melanie Giles has also incorporated object biographies into her work (2012, 120-174), considering the passage of objects from use in life to use in inhumation burials, with a focus on the experience of the funerary rite itself. Considering objects biographically fits well with the relational-ontological approaches of Giles, and other archaeologists (e.g. Ingold 2011, Fowler 2004) to past identities. Giles sees personhood as composed of relations with other people, animals or things, and as constantly ‘unfolding’ (2012, 34). Objects play important roles in this

process of unfolding, not merely as symbols of identity but as extensions of personhood and agency (Giles 2012, 36), constituting important parts of people. The biographies of both objects and people, therefore, are seen as being intertwined or enmeshed.

Several classes of Iron Age artefact have been the foci for studies of biography, in addition to Joy's mirrors (2009). The scabbard of the Kirkburn Sword is often used as an example of an artefact with a very long life history, lasting several generations (e.g. Gosden and Hill 2008, 11, Giles 2008, 61), and a wider study of the life-histories of swords and scabbards from Britain by Garrow and Gosden (2012, 128-34) suggests that most swords had been used prior to deposition and had life histories ranging from a few years to several generations. Use-wear on the fittings of certain chariots, similarly, indicates that they were well used before burial. The wheels of the Ferrybridge chariot, for example, were not an original pair and a terret from the Wetwang Village chariot burial had been repaired (Giles 2008, 61).

While the metaphor of life has been useful in considering the agentic nature of objects and their abilities to maintain relationships with humans, recent criticisms of the use of object biographies in archaeological contexts have hinged on the artificial arrangement of biographies into birth, life and death (e.g., Joy 2015b, 127). Archaeological objects do not 'die', but may lie dormant for long periods of time, before continuing to circulate in museum collections, stores and exhibitions (Joyce and Gillespie 2015, 1-5). They may be fragmented, repurposed or recycled. Arising from these criticisms, the concept of 'object itineraries' has recently been presented as a complementary way of seeing objects in time and space. Object itineraries focus on the motion of objects, linking them to sites and locations (*ibid.*).

As Joy (2015b, 128) explains, however, the concept of object itineraries is not without its own issues. Although itineraries in this context are intended to be seen as non-linear, the very idea of the stages of such an itinerary is inherently linear, even if not delimited by birth and death (Knappett, 2013, 37). Joy argues that to advance this concept, archaeologists can combine the ideas of objects as things and objects as itineraries in an approach that draws on relational object biographies, viewing objects as process, but retaining the structure of a loose itinerary to make the resulting ideas comprehensible (2015b, 132). I will be pursuing these ideas in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

2.5.2 New Chronologies and Dating

As I've touched upon several times during this chapter, recent Early Celtic Art studies have benefitted from research directed at the absolute dating of Early Celtic Art objects, driven by advances in the field of dating technologies. Garrow *et al.* (2009) have obtained 40 new radiocarbon dates for many of the most famous British Celtic Art objects, the first substantial group of determinations for these objects. These were obtained through the dating of organic material found in direct association with the metalwork and have been used to re-examine the schemes and 'stages' (e.g. Jacobsthal 1944, Stead 1985a, 1985b) that have been used to explain stylistic change in Iron Age Britain. The combination of improvements in the accuracy of AMS measurements (Hamilton *et al.* 2015) and Bayesian modelling techniques is helping to generate dates of greater accuracy and precision that can be linked to one another, not only for Early Celtic Art objects but for objects from a number of Iron Age settlement sites in Britain (Hamilton *et al.* 2015).

While the new dates for Early Celtic Art objects supported the existing dates for some objects, many were dated earlier than previously thought, which has changed ideas about the influence of Continental art on British design (Garrow *et al.* 2009). Looking at the results in the contexts of Stead's stages, which I discussed in section 2.3.5 of this chapter, reveals the stages to be overlapping, not successive, as Stead thought (1985a, 1985b). While Stage II appeared at an earlier date than Stage III, and Stage IV appeared before Stage V, they did not replace each other but represent a "gradual accumulation of motifs" (Garrow *et al.* 2009, 107). In particular, Stages III to V coexisted with one another.

More recently, Jay *et al.* (2012) have obtained 21 new dates for inhumation burials at Wetwang, East Yorkshire, and have used these to reassess the existing brooch chronology for the region. The Wetwang graves also contain a number of famous Early Celtic Art objects; chariot fittings, swords and an enigmatic 'canister'. The results show that burials at the site spanned a much shorter period than previously thought during the third and earlier second centuries BC, with chariot burials occupying a very short time during the decades around 200BC, which changes the way the tradition of chariot burial in the region is thought of. Rather than representing a long-standing tradition, the practice is almost an event, representing

the successes of recent radiocarbon dating in allowing us to look in more detail at the temporal scales over which things occurred (Hamilton *et al* 2015).

Arguably, it is this recent radiocarbon dating work that allows for recent explorations of Early Celtic Art that are not heavily involved with discussions of chronology, such as this thesis. Until this time, questions of chronology have always occupied a key place in discussions of Early Celtic Art, even when the discussions are focussed elsewhere. Now archaeologists have begun to produce absolute dates for Early Celtic Art objects, chronology no longer needs to occupy such a prominent place in studies of this material, and new questions can be pursued.

2.6 Chapter Conclusion: A Mission Statement

Section 2.5 of this chapter described the recent rethinking of Early Celtic Art, stemming from shifts in archaeological thinking at the end of the 20th century and incorporating ideas from anthropology and the social sciences. This recent work on Early Celtic Art has made great leaps forward in reviving and updating the field of study, but I argue that there is always scope for further reconsideration and redefinition.

The arts/crafts dichotomy I described in section 2.4 of this chapter has been acknowledged and discussed (e.g. Joy 2011, Chittock 2014, Bradley 2009, 6-7), and new approaches to Early Celtic Art aim to reintegrate the material with the rest of the archaeological record, which, by default, includes craft objects. I argue, however, that ways of fully dissolving the arts/crafts dichotomy entirely have yet to be explored. Although multiple aspects of Early Celtic Art have been reconsidered during recent years, it still tends to be studied as the same category of objects as it always has been. The Celtic Art Database², which has fed into *Rethinking Celtic Art* (Garrow, Gosden and Hill 2008) and *Technologies of Enchantment: Exploring Celtic Art: 400BC to AD 100* (Garrow and Gosden 2012), among other work, includes only objects from the traditional category of metal objects. The exclusion of decorated objects not traditionally considered Celtic Art, such as pottery, from the Celtic Art Database is due to the practicalities of creating a very large database rather than the wish to support the category (J. Joy, pers. comm.), but may be telling about the continued priorities of researchers in the study of the traditional collection of decorated metals.

²http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_projects/complete_projects/technologies_of_enchantment/the_celtic_art_database.aspx

Gosden and Hill (2008) begin the introduction of *Rethinking Celtic Art* with the acknowledgement that the category of Celtic Art “owes as much to archaeologists’ categories as it does to any mode of grouping or using the material in the Iron Age” (2008, 1). What are the implications, then, of continuing to analyse Early Celtic Art objects alongside one another as a category? And is this obstructing the dissolution of the arts/crafts dichotomy?

To move forward in the reintegration of Iron Age art and craft requires a novel new approach and I argue the idea behind this approach has been provided by Jody Joy. As described, Joy’s recent work (2011) has begun to address the issues that remain with the newly revived study of Early Celtic Art by arguing for the equal treatment of decorated objects of all types and materials and by asking the question ‘why decorate?’ of all decorated objects, not only metalwork. Joy’s paper includes discussion of many artefact types from across the whole of Britain, with slightly more in depth consideration of weaving combs and sword scabbards. Going into any more specific detail in a short paper such as this one would have been impossible, but to take Joy’s approach further, considerations of how to turn the question ‘why decorate?’ into a manageable research question are necessary.

I aim, during the course of this project, to test Joy’s (2011) approach to Iron Age decoration on a large dataset containing many objects of all types from a specific region, as opposed to a particular object type or category of objects at a national scale. This holistic approach has never been applied to a regional study of Iron Age decoration before, and provides a way of overcoming the issue of scale that prevented the inclusion of non-metal objects in the Celtic Art database. The following chapter will describe the formulation of my research question for this project, which has been influenced by the work of Cyril Fox I summarised in section 2.3.4, *Pattern and Purpose: A Survey of Early Celtic Art in Britain*.

Chapter 3: A Return to Pattern and Purpose: What did pattern do?

3.1 Introduction

The work of Cyril Fox on Early Celtic Art; *Pattern and Purpose: A Survey of Early Celtic Art in Britain* (1958) was mentioned briefly in section 2.3.4 of the previous chapter. This chapter will revisit Fox's approach from a contemporary perspective, and will define the key research question at the heart of this thesis;

What did pattern do?

3.2 Formulating my research question

During the conclusion of Chapter 2, I stated my aim to carry out a holistic study of Iron Age decoration, looking at a range of different types of objects and materials, following suggestions by Jody Joy (2011) that the decision to decorate an object, regardless of what that object is, can dictate that object's life course. I argue this approach to material culture provides a way of further levelling the Iron Age arts/crafts dichotomy by categorising objects as decorated or undecorated, rather than art or craft.

In order to form my own research question, I've altered Joy's question; 'why decorate?', changing it to 'what did pattern do?'. Firstly, I've shifted the focus of the question from the intentions of Iron Age craftspeople to the effects of the objects they made, making it more accessible archaeologically. Secondly, I've replaced the word 'decoration' with the word 'pattern', a more specific word for the particular type of decoration I will be investigating, as I will describe in section 3.4.

In addition to my borrowing from Fox of the word 'pattern', I've also borrowed aspects of his wider approach to decorated Iron Age objects. As my research aims to look at what pattern 'did', I am, like Fox, investigating the relationship between pattern and purpose. As I highlighted in section 2.3.4 of this thesis, Fox's approach differed from that of previous and, arguably, subsequent scholars of Early Celtic Art in that he considered not only the patterns themselves but the ways the objects they adorned were used in different spheres of daily life. This consideration will be key in my own investigation of the relationship between pattern and purpose. I will elaborate on Fox's approach and its relevance to my work below.

3.2 Pattern and Purpose: A Survey of Early Celtic Art in Britain

The previous chapter touched upon Fox's contribution to the study of Early Celtic Art and described how aspects of his work represent a break from earlier art-historical approaches by bringing a new focus to the contexts of use of objects. Although elements of Fox's work continued to engage in the analysis of motifs as previous scholars had, his consideration of 'purpose' was new. This section of the chapter will expand on Fox's approach, with a particular focus on his exploration of the relationship of pattern and purpose. This will inform my own exploration of the same relationship in answering my research question.

At the time of the publication of *Pattern and Purpose* (1958), Fox had been interested in Early Celtic Art for many years, although he did not publish on the subject until late in his career. Similarly, his interest in archaeology had begun as a hobby and he worked in several different vocations before pursuing it professionally. Fox embarked on a PhD at the age of 38, and 1923 saw the publication of his PhD Thesis, *The Archaeology of The Cambridge Region*, which earned him high praise from several of the great archaeologists of the time (e.g. OGS Crawford). In the same year, he was appointed curator of archaeology at the National Museum of Wales and in 1926 became its director (Scott-Fox 2002). The range of subjects on which Fox carried out and published research is remarkable. Among his famous publications are *The Personality of Britain* (1932), *Monmouthshire Houses* (Fox and Raglan 1951), *Life and Death in the Bronze Age* (1959) and *Offas' Dyke* (1955); a group of volumes that demonstrate the breadth of his work. His research on Early Celtic Art began upon the chance discovery of the site of Llyn Cerrig Bach in 1942 during peat digging ahead of the extension of an RAF runway on Anglesey. Over 150 objects of bronze and iron were recovered from the site, largely what Fox refers to as 'masculine' objects, 'carried by the warrior in his chariot' (1946, 59); numerous swords, spears and chariot fittings. The site, being in a wet location, has been interpreted as a site for votive deposition. Fox published the finds and his interpretation of the site in 1946 after several years of research. He went on to produce more work on Celtic Art, publishing work such as *Celtic Mirror Handles in Britain* (1948) and *Triskeles, Palmettes and Horse Brooches* (1952) alongside his other wide-ranging research.

Following his retirement in 1948, Fox was invited by the Council of The National Museum of Wales to produce a complete survey of Celtic Art in Britain. This

survey was *Pattern and Purpose* (1958) and received international acclaim. In a review for *Antiquity*, Stuart Piggott wrote:

“In a literature which increasingly presents itself as an ill-ordered string of clichés and passages of technical jargon linked in flat, inexpert prose, we should give rather more than three cheers that Sir Cyril, in a characteristic phrase of his own once used to the reviewer in another context, can ‘use the English language as an instrument of power and compass’.”

(Piggott 1959, 155).

Although it was well respected, the work was not universally supported; E.M. Jope criticised Fox’s focus on locating workshop areas, commenting that the potential mobility of craftspeople made this impossible, and challenged Fox’s ideas about imported items; while Hodson raised concerns about his dating (Scott-Fox 2002, 199). Generally, though, the book was praised, with archaeologists showing appreciation for the attention Fox paid to the identification and descriptions of the motifs and patterns used in Early Celtic Art.

Pattern and Purpose emerged into a world of Celtic Art scholarship that was dominated by the art-historical study of motifs and a focus on the migration of Celtic groups, as I described in the previous chapter (Romilly Allen 1904, Leeds 1933, Jacobsthal 1944). Fox’s treatment of objects in his introduction to *Pattern and Purpose* makes it instantly clear that this volume signals a break from its earlier counterparts. He makes clear the challenges of defining Celtic Art as a form of artistic practice in the foreword of the volume, writing that “there is nothing of “Fine Art” about it” (1958, v), highlighting the problems with defining these objects as ‘art’ in a modern, Western sense. He goes on to describe the specific places of Iron Age ornament on ‘purposeful things’; torcs, weapons, drinking vessels etc, and describes the ‘sense of style’ exercised by craftspeople in objects that were not only beautiful but ‘well-shaped’ and ‘well-balanced’ (1958, v), making them not only beautiful but *useful*.

The arrangement of Fox’s volume continues its departure from traditional views of Celtic Art. Part I of *Pattern and Purpose* follows a traditional format, with a focus on pattern and the ways this might relate to various metalworking schools and invading groups. Part II, however, follows a different format. This section is entitled

Aspects of Celtic and Belgic Art in Britain c. 20BC-AD 80 and is where Fox's consideration of the purposes of decorated objects can be found. Chapters VIII and IX are entitled *Personal Display: Indoors* and *Personal Display: Outdoors*, respectively. Within these chapters, while Fox's prose continues to be focussed on pattern, glimpses of the ways he envisages these objects' functions also appear. He considers the contexts of tankards in feasting, and demonstrates that the designs of their decorative handles will have meant they would be used in a certain way: "Lift and tilt: it will have been found easy to drink in this way, and the risk of spilling the liquor – an important point when men drank deep – is reduced by the hold-fast of those locked right fingers" (1958, 109). He touches upon Belgic Iron Age houses in South East England, and the "handsomely decorated" pottery that would have been found within their "smoky squalor" (1958, 111). Fox's discussion of outdoor ornament is largely focussed on horse and chariot gear, which he describes not only in terms of aesthetics, but also in terms of the engineering of chariots and harnesses. His sketch of 'A theory of the Purpose and Use of Two types of Horse Brooch' shows how objects from the Polden Hills hoard will have functioned as parts of a full suite of horse gear; the yoke, rump piece and horse cloth (1958, 124).

It is, perhaps, Fox's many areas of archaeological expertise and broad perspective on Britain's archaeology that set *Pattern and Purpose* apart from other volumes on Early Celtic Art published during the early-mid 20th century. His explicit reference to the 'purposeful' nature of Early Celtic Art objects removes them from the isolated pedestals on which they had been placed by other scholars and allows for the consideration of their contexts in the wider world.

I borrow from Fox, therefore, not only his terminology, '*Pattern and Purpose*', but also his approach to a group of important objects that were simultaneously beautiful and useful. I'll be taking his approach further by examining the points at which beauty and usefulness overlap, and considering the relationship between pattern and purpose.

3.3 Defining Pattern

Fox never explicitly defines his use of the word 'pattern' in his book, but it seems that, for him, it can be roughly equated with the word 'motif'. Part of the use of pattern and purpose in this project is the borrowing and redefinition of the word

‘pattern’ to refer to a specific kind of decoration in an attempt to avoid the ambiguity brought by the use of certain other terms.

The terminology used to refer to the aesthetics of prehistoric objects in archaeology is problematic, as archaeologists freely acknowledge (e.g. Garrow and Gosden 2012, 46-47) and successive archaeologists have tentatively explored the meaning of ‘art’ in the context of prehistory (e.g. Bahn 1998, Renfrew 2003, Bradley 2009). The word itself; a word which can bring to mind a multitude of differing ideas depending on personal, cultural or historical context, is a source of unease for scholars. Bradley writes, however, that “no alternative is available” (2009, 4) for the word ‘art’ and it continues to be used by archaeologists of all periods. The implication is that, as long as we all understand the problems with using the word ‘art’, we can continue to use it. Writing specifically on the use of the term ‘Celtic Art’, Garrow and Gosden write that possible alternatives such as ‘decorated metalwork’ or ‘prestigious objects’ are just as problematic in different ways (2012, 47). I also discussed the contrasting use of the word ‘craft’ in the context of Iron Age objects in chapter 2, which carries its own connotations relating to the idea of an assumed hierarchy whereby artists perform more skilled work than craftspeople. Similarly, the changing meaning of the word ‘style’ in archaeology has seen much debate among archaeologists (e.g. Conkey and Hastorf 1990, Wiessner 1983).

I argue that, while certain words, such as ‘art’ will always be problematic when used in the context of the past, possibilities still exist for the introduction of new terminology. One of the main issues with the terminology mentioned above is the use of ambiguous terms to describe specific elements of objects dating to discrete archaeological periods. ‘Art’ and ‘style’ are very general words often used to describe carefully demarked categories or aspects of objects. Even the word ‘decoration’, although seemingly more straightforward than ‘art’, has the potential to cover a huge range of different types of aesthetic, the classification of an object as decorative being an entirely subjective process.

Essentially, this project is about a small subcategory of decoration: *the addition of arrangements of motifs to the surfaces of Iron Age objects, both during and after the production of their forms*, which I argue can also function decoratively, but in a different way. The decoration I wish to study encompasses the swirling cast, chased or repousse decoration that characterises La Tène style, but also, for example, the

incised geometric decoration often seen on bone combs and the scratched motifs or finger impressions found on ceramic vessels. I propose these types of decoration be called *pattern*, a word I borrow from Fox.

The use of the word ‘pattern’ in this way instantly highlights a tension with form and its own decorative capacities. I suggest the two can be defined as separate, but that the boundary between them is extremely fluid and context-dependant. An example of an object type discussed in this thesis where pattern and form are difficult to separate is the lipped terret (fig. 3.1). Its ring-like form allows it to perform its function as a terret, but its additional lipped mouldings, arguably also parts of its form, perform a decorative function (see section 5.2.4 for further discussion of pattern and form). In order to maintain a distinction between pattern and form, this thesis is committed to both continually discussing this boundary, and allowing it to retain its fluidity. As all Iron Age pattern is, to some degree, three-dimensional, the point at which it becomes form will remain under scrutiny and will be discussed on a case-by-case basis during later chapters. Pattern is also, to an extent, dictated by the forms of objects, which, in turn are dictated, to an extent, by purpose. Of course, purpose may also influence pattern directly.



Figure 3.1: A lipped terret from Kirkburn, East Yorkshire (©Trustees of the British Museum).

Definition of pattern and form will require consideration of the different points in an object's production at which pattern arises, which are often shaped by materiality and production technique. Producing pattern in different materials requires different processes of planning, design and execution. It may also have been carried out by different individuals, depending upon the degree of specialism considered necessary in different types of production. Consideration of how and why certain patterns occur on certain forms is also needed. Garrow and Gosden write that "decoration followed form on Celtic art" (2012, 87), referring to the dictation, to a certain extent, of patterns by the shapes of the surfaces on which they're found. These considerations will be taken forward in Chapter 5, when I will define pattern in the specific context of my own dataset.

3.4 Defining Purpose

This section of the chapter will define what is meant by purpose in the context of my project, and Early Celtic Art studies more widely. Fox, in *Pattern and Purpose*, considers the 'threefold' purpose of Early Celtic Art in Britain (Fox 1958 xxvii):

"... first to decorate functional things needed in the household, for the persons and the toilet of women: the brooch, the pin, the necklace, and the mirror. The men also used brooches, and fine ones too, no doubt for their cloaks, but their particular interest was elaborately garnished war panoply: decoration on the helmet and the shield, the scabbards of sword and dagger, the chariot and the pony harness.

The third purpose will, surely, have been the elaboration of the interiors of the chieftain's guest-houses or halls, for reasons of prestige and hospitality. Of this – since it should be mainly wood carving – we have very little evidence; what there is will be brought out as the survey proceeds" (Fox 1958, xxvii).

Fox's view is that Early Celtic Art objects have two-tiered purposes. The idea that patterns "decorate functional things" (Fox 1958, xxvi) suggests that the physical functioning of an overall object constitutes one purpose, while decoration serves a separate purpose; beautification or the conveyance of status and prestige. This is highlighted by Fox's comments about these objects being not only beautiful, but 'purposeful', unlike 'Fine Art' (1958, v). For Fox, these art objects were purposeful in that they had functions in day-to-day life and were not created purely to look at, while the patterns that adorn them do so for reasons of display. In this sense the

patterns on objects perhaps serve secondary purposes to the primary purposes of the objects themselves.

As discussed in section 2.5.2 of this thesis, research on the agency of art and art objects in the social sciences during recent decades has changed perspectives on their functions. Decoration can not only contribute to an object's secondary function, as Fox sees it, but can define the overall function of the object. Many ethnographic examples exist of decorated objects where the decoration constitutes a significant element of the object's function. I described, in Chapter 2, Alfred Gell's study of the canoe prows of the Trobriand Islands, where the dazzling of enemies by the patterned prows constitutes 'psychological warfare' (1992, 44), provides a good example of this. Other anthropological examples provide further insights into the functional possibilities of art. The wooden malanggan figures of New Ireland, Papua New Guinea, are used as effigies in funerary rites, and they serve their purpose only at the moment they are revealed at the ceremony. After this they are placed in the forest to decay or sold to Western collectors, by whom they're sought after as objects of art (Küchler 2002). Arrow making in the Awa community of Brazil demonstrates the significance of the decoration of useful or 'everyday' objects. Certain arrows, used for hunting, are decorated in unique patterns with peccary blood or smoked resin, and this decoration allows arrows to be individualised and their owners to be identified. Although arrows are functional items, vital to the hunter-gather lifestyles of the Awa, the time spent making and decorating excessive numbers of arrows has led to the assertion that the process is also vital to the ontologies of Awa men (Gonzalez-Ruibal *et al.* 2011). Applying ideas such as these to Early Celtic Art objects introduces the idea that pattern was purposeful in its own right, a notion that archaeologists have already begun to explore (e.g. Gosden and Hill 2008, Giles 2008). Chapter 6 will further explore different facets of 'purpose', and the ways in which patterns fit into them.

3.5 Reintegrating Pattern and Purpose

Having briefly explained how the definitions of pattern and purpose can be updated using ideas from recent research, it is vital to highlight the fact that this project will need to be about reintegrating pattern and purpose, as well as about exploring the relationship between the two.

'Pattern' was used by Fox to describe motifs in a way that allowed him to lift them away from objects and place them on a page, as in his *Grammar of Celtic*

Ornament, which forms a reference collection of motifs at the back of *Pattern and Purpose*. Although Fox then re-contextualises his patterns through discussion of the purposes of objects, he continues to see pattern as performing a secondary purpose to the overall function of the object. I must consider the possibility that pattern was part of an object's primary function, and must, therefore, try to look at the purposes of patterned objects holistically.

A slightly updated version of Fox's approach to pattern will, therefore, be required, where context is key to all stages of analysis. This is in keeping with the broad aims of scholars of Early Celtic Art, who see the re-contextualisation of Early Celtic Art at multiple scales as a priority (e.g. Gosden and Hill 2008, Garrow and Gosden 2012). Bradley (2009 22-25) illustrates the need to contextualise pattern in a discussion of the study of the Gundestrup Cauldron, one of the most celebrated and discussed pieces of Iron Age metalwork in Europe. He summarises the exhaustive discussion that has surrounded the dating and origins of the cauldron's imagery, based around the styles of the images and the scenes they depict. These discussions, however, have frequently ignored the archaeological context of the cauldron, inhibiting our understanding of those who made, used and deposited it. The problem, Bradley writes, is that the cauldron has been treated as a work of art and analysed in the manner of something that was created to be a work of art (2009, 25). It is this type of analysis I intend to avoid.

This project, therefore, will not consider pattern in quite the same way as Fox. Context will remain integral to analyses and discussion throughout. I will need to consider the materials in which patterns are made, the objects they form and the ways people have used and deposited them.

3.6 Chapter Conclusion

During this chapter I have explained the usefulness of Cyril Fox's approach to Early Celtic Art for this thesis. I'll be borrowing the word 'pattern' to refer to specific types of decoration, and will be investigating the relationship between pattern and purpose in light of recent theoretical advances in the study of prehistoric art objects through answering my research question; what did pattern do?

The next chapter will explain my regional focus during this project on East Yorkshire. Given this regional focus, the research question I will be answering during the course of this project is:

What did pattern do in Iron Age East Yorkshire?

Chapter 4: Beyond the Arras Culture: Characterising the Iron Age of East Yorkshire

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have discussed the study of Early Celtic Art and other decorated Iron Age objects at British and European scales, providing context for my research. This thesis is about the pursuit of a holistic approach to decorated Iron Age objects and views all decoration as significant, not just that of Early Celtic Art objects. In that interest, the remainder of the thesis will involve a holistic study of all types of objects from a single region of Britain, as opposed to the national-scale surveys of particular decorated object types that have been common in the past.

The remainder of this thesis will focus on activity centring on a small region of the British Isles; East Yorkshire, during the Middle-Late Iron Age (400BC-AD100) (see fig. 4.1). The study region is defined by the modern borders of the county, but my study will include sites outside the region that are parts of Iron Age traditions based mainly within East Yorkshire. The following chapter will concentrate on the history of Iron Age research in the region, and the characterisation of its Iron Age archaeology with aims to highlight the strengths and weaknesses of previous research, explain why this region is ideal for a holistic study of decorated objects and provide background for the detailed analysis of the following chapters.

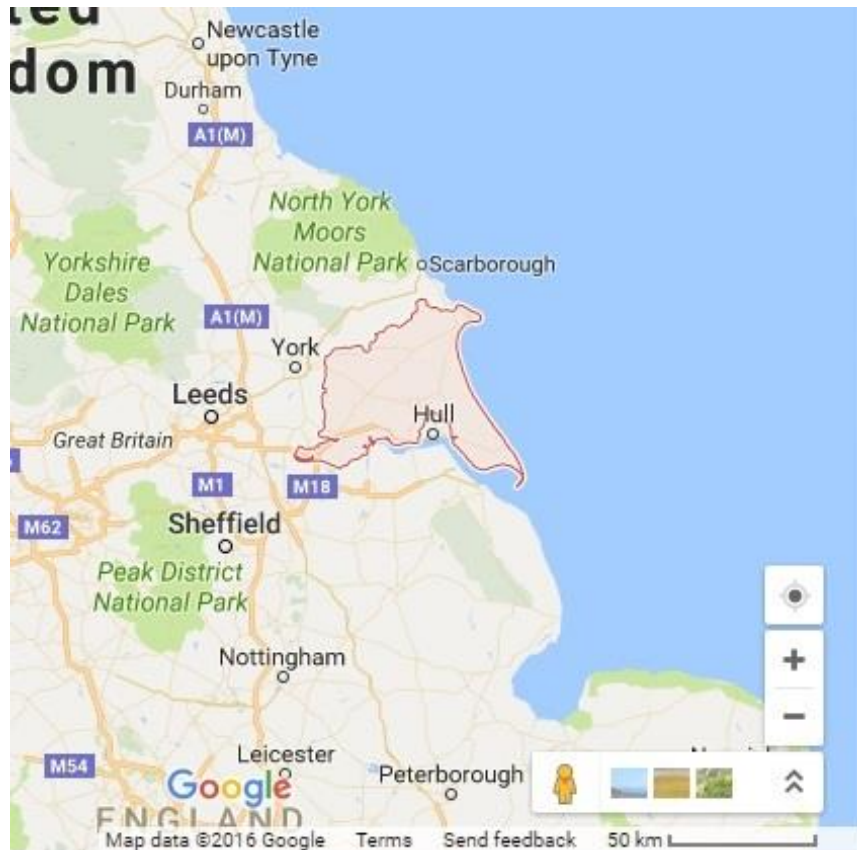


Figure 4.1: A map showing the location of the modern county of East Yorkshire (Map data ©2016 Google).

4.1.1 Why East Yorkshire?

Before this chapter describes the Iron Age archaeology of East Yorkshire and the history of archaeological research in the region, it is necessary to first explain why East Yorkshire has been chosen as a case study in answering the question this project is focussed on, as specified in previous chapter: *What did pattern do?*

As this chapter will describe, the Iron Age archaeological record in East Yorkshire is rich and detailed. The characteristic of the record that makes it particularly appropriate for use in this study is that it includes a large number of inhumation burials, which exist within large barrow cemeteries. These burials contain a wealth of Early Celtic Art objects and other decorated objects, presenting a rare opportunity to study decorated British Iron Age objects in closed, datable contexts in

association with one another, and with the people who made and used them. In addition, evidence for the Iron Age in East Yorkshire comes from excavated settlements and stray finds.

Burials are very rare altogether in Iron Age Britain, with other practices such as the fragmentation or cremation of human remains without burial seemingly having been the norm. Localised burial traditions include Late Iron Age cremation burials in south east England, inhumations in parts of south west England and a group of male inhumation burials in Southern Britain with swords, shields and other martial accoutrements, examples being the Owslebury Warrior (Hants), Kelvedon Warrior (Essex) and Deal Warrior (Kent). The inhumation burials of East Yorkshire are unusual not only in their frequency, but in the inclusion of a wide range of different burial goods within them.

As part of its unusual tradition of inhumation burial, East Yorkshire is home to 15 chariot or cart burials (inhumation burials in or with a wheeled vehicle), which exist as parts of the cemeteries. Like inhumation burials in general, burial with wheeled vehicles is extremely rare in the British Isles and is almost completely confined to East Yorkshire and its neighbouring counties. In addition to the 15 East Yorkshire chariot burials, examples have been found close to the borders of the county at Ferrybridge/Ferry Fryston (West Yorkshire), Seamer, Cawthorn Camps, Pexton Moor and Hunmanby (North Yorkshire), and belong to the same tradition. The geographical outlier of the group is an example at Newbridge (near Edinburgh, Scotland) (see fig. 4.3), although it is less certain that this example was part of the same tradition as the Yorkshire examples.

The grave goods of the cemeteries include diverse types of objects. As well as metal fittings from the chariots I mentioned above they encompass brooches, blacksmith's tools, pots and swords, to name just a few object types. These objects will be discussed in later parts of this chapter, but here I will elaborate on the reasons why they represent such a significant resource for the study of Early Celtic Art and other decorated objects.

The fact that the Early Celtic Art objects from the East Yorkshire burials have been recovered from archaeological contexts other than bogs, lakes, rivers or dry-land hoards makes them extremely rare in Britain. As discussed in Chapter 2, the

‘detachment’ of Celtic Art objects from the rest of the archaeological record in this way has often been cited as a major problem for archaeologists seeking to interpret and understand them (e.g. Gosden and Hill 2008). The occurrence of Early Celtic Art objects in graves as part of large cemeteries provides a unique opportunity to study the use of these objects as part of the burial rite and their multi-faceted relationships with people. Importantly their associations with other plain and patterned objects in these contexts also allows for study of the assemblages to which they belong. The presence of Iron Age settlement archaeology in the record also provides further context to the Early Celtic Art objects in the burials, although as this chapter will describe, linking these settlements to the same communities who used the cemeteries has proven challenging for archaeologists in many instances.

The Iron Age cemeteries of East Yorkshire have seen much study (e.g. Stead 1965, 1979, 1991), and several archaeologists have carried out research on the grave goods specifically (e.g. Giles 2012). I argue that while this research has been hugely valuable in understanding the burial rite and the role of Early Celtic Art objects within it, archaeological understanding would benefit hugely from the more serious consideration of all other objects, both within and outside graves and the asking of the question ‘what did pattern do?’. By extending studies of decorated grave goods to encompass objects found on settlements and plain grave goods, archaeologists may be able to better understand the full repertoire of plain and patterned objects and what they did in life, as well as in death.

It is for these reasons that I will be using the region of East Yorkshire as my case study for this project. Not only is the Iron Age archaeological record in this region unique and well suited to the study of pattern; the application of a holistic approach to pattern will benefit understandings of its material culture. Above all, the presence of decorated objects from both funerary and non-funerary contexts will allow me to investigate what role pattern played in the eventual contexts in which objects were deposited, and vice versa.

4.2 Researching the Iron Age in East Yorkshire

This section of the chapter will describe the history of Iron Age research in the region, resting on several key points; the results of antiquarian activity, the formulation of ideas about the so-called Arras culture, the search for settlement

evidence and the impact of recent radiocarbon dating on understandings of the region.

4.2.1 Antiquarianism

As I explained in Chapter 2, the upstanding remains of later prehistoric activity; earthworks and barrows, attracted interest in Britain as antiquarianism became a popular pastime during the 18th and early 19th centuries (e.g. Marsden 1999). The Middle Iron Age barrows of East Yorkshire were no exception. The chalk uplands of the region, known as the Wolds, are a palimpsest of later prehistoric activity on a monumental scale (e.g. Stoertz 1997), criss-crossed by an extensive series of linear earthworks dating from the Bronze Age to the Romano-British period (Giles 2012 44-45) and interspersed with many barrows of Bronze and Middle Iron Age date. These visible remains of the past attracted much antiquarian activity. Initially, the pastime of 'barrow opening' was pursued with the aim of acquiring relics for private collections, but by the mid-19th century in East Yorkshire the pursuit of knowledge was also a priority (Giles 2012, 10-11).

The unusual burial rite I described in section 4.1.1 arguably dominates understandings of East Yorkshire's Middle Iron Age, and it was from the barrow digging of the 18th and early 19th centuries that knowledge of this burial rite first emerged. Perhaps the most influential of these early investigations was the excavation of a cemetery at Arras between 1815 and 1817, which was carried out by a group of local gentry and which became the type site for the 'Arras culture', which I will discuss in the next section of the chapter. Although the full details of this excavation were either not recorded, or have been lost over time, it is written that a number of barrows were opened and were found generally to contain crouched inhumations with their heads facing north, some buried with rich objects (Stillingfleet 1846, 27-31). These objects included jewellery and the remains of two-wheeled vehicles. Reference to the grave goods as "still worn by uncivilised tribes" (Stillingfleet 1846, 27) suggests the excavators were aware of the prehistoric date of the cemetery, but it seems little is written about the dating and chronology of this cemetery, and others on the Wolds, until the early 20th century, when they were associated with La Tène culture through their grave goods (e.g. Hawkes 1931).

The mid-late 19th century saw further excavations of the cemeteries on the Wolds. The Rev. Edward William Stillingfleet was among the excavators of the

cemetery at Arras, and in 1849, he joined with Dr John Thurnham to form the Yorkshire Antiquarian Club, which carried out excavations at Danes Graves and Arras during the mid-19th century. Thurnham was interested in ethnology and, working with the ethnologist Joseph Barnard Davis, he used the skulls from these cemeteries to suggest that the people buried at Arras and Danes Graves belonged to a distinct maritime tribe with links to the Parisii of the Continent (Davis and Thurnham 1865, I, 146, Giles 2012, 13). This work prompted the involvement of other local archaeologists. Brothers John and Robert Mortimer and their rival Canon Greenwell, whose poor excavation techniques they complained about on multiple occasions (Marsden 1999, 133-135, Giles 2012, 13-14), excavated further barrows at Danes Graves at various points during the latter part of the 19th century. The results prompted further craniological investigations and suggestions by John Mortimer that the people of the cemeteries were invaders, while Greenwell believed they were a settled people due to the numbers of graves and the inclusion of women and children within them (Giles 2012, 15-16).

During the late 19th and early 20th century Mortimer went on to excavate a cemetery at Scarborough and a warrior burial at Grimthorpe, and was able to compare these finds to others, such as the North Grimston warrior burial and chariot burials at Cawthorn Camps and Pexton Moor, both in North Yorkshire (Mortimer 1905; 1911). Debate about the origins of the people buried in the cemeteries continued during this time, with Mortimer reasserting his ideas that, although they were settled in East Yorkshire, they were originally immigrants from the continent.

4.2.2 The Arras Culture

The cemeteries I named above were just the first in a whole series of Iron Age cemeteries excavated on the Wolds of East Yorkshire. Archaeologists of the 19th century had already begun to view the people who buried their dead in these cemeteries as a distinct tribe, but during the early-mid 20th century the idea that they represented a 'culture' became popular under culture-historical archaeology, which saw recurring material remains as the representation of cultural groups.

Stead, who spent many decades excavating and studying these cemeteries during the mid-late 20th century (Stead 1965; 1979; 1991), suggests in the conclusion of his book, *The La Tène Cultures of Eastern Yorkshire*, that the culture they represent be called the Arras Culture (1965, 84), after its type site. He later identified the markers

of this culture as “(i) large cemeteries of small barrows, (ii) some barrows defined by square-plan ditches³ and (iii) some barrows covering vehicle burials” (Stead 1979, 11).

Preceding Stead’s work on the Arras culture was the work of Hawkes, which I described in Chapter 2, but which I will mention here for Hawkes’ specific reference to East Yorkshire. In Hawkes’ first version of his ABC scheme (1931) he saw the distinctive Middle Iron Age culture of East Yorkshire as the result of a period of invasion in the early 4th century BC. Hawkes saw invaders from Gaul entering Yorkshire, while others from Atlantic Spain and France entered Devon and Cornwall. These invasions result in Hawkes’ Iron Age B, which equates to La Tène I and II. In his later version of the ABC scheme, Hawkes refers directly to the ‘Arras culture’, potentially the first published example of the term, placing the culture in his Eastern Second B group and dating it 300-50BC. This time, he refers to it as an ‘amalgamated culture’ (1959, 179-80), citing both continental influence and insular development in its emergence.

Discussion about the Arras culture has continued to centre on its relationship with continental culture of the same time period. While the practice of inhumation burial within square-ditched barrow cemeteries is unique to the Wolds in Britain, evidence for comparable practices on the continent was used to continue discussions about cross-channel contact between East Yorkshire and the Continent (Stead 1965; 1979). The Champagne region of France is home to the largest concentration of Iron Age cart or chariot burials in Europe. Other more isolated examples also exist in Germany and Switzerland (Stead 1965, 9-17). Stead wrote in 1965 that “the presence of cart burials on the continent implies that this aspect of the Yorkshire cultures was due to immigration from abroad” (1965, 9).

I mentioned in section 4.2.1 the reference by early archaeologists to links between Iron Age East Yorkshire and the Parisii tribe of northern France (Davis and Thurnham 1865, I, 146, Giles 2012, 13). During the latter half of the 20th century, archaeologists continued to use this idea and the Classical sources it is derived from to support the theory of a cultural connection between the two regions. One reference to the Late Iron Age Parisi of East Yorkshire has been found in Ptolemy’s Geography, a text that has been dated to between AD 30 and 170 through his

³ These were first formally identified during geophysical investigations at Arras in 1959 (Stead 1979, 10).

reference to other towns and locations in Britain (Stead 1965, 78). Ptolemy names Petuaria, a town of the Parisi thought to be modern Brough, a theory supported by a Roman inscription found there in 1937, which refers to Petuaria (Stead 1965, 79). Reference by Caesar to the Gallic Parisii, who occupied a similar region to where many of the French cart burials were discovered, has been used to suggest that the Parisi and the people carrying out the Arras culture burial rite are the same group (Stead 1979, Halkon 2013, 15).

Despite Stead's initial subscription to the idea of the Continental affinities of the Arras culture, his continued study of burial rites in East Yorkshire and the Champagne region led him to identify evidence that contact has been less direct than previously thought. Chariot burials in East Yorkshire generally contained dismantled vehicles, while Continental examples were intact. Burials on the Continent were flexed, not crouched. The ceramics found in East Yorkshire graves were distinctively local and unlike those from Champagne, and the metalwork was also of local manufacture. While an important exchange of ideas had taken place, this was likely to have occurred via a few influential visitors to East Yorkshire, not a mass invasion (Stead 1991, 184; 1979, 93). Cunliffe suggests, alternatively (1995, 48), that the East Yorkshire elite deliberately took up Continental fashions to increase their statuses through the practicing of exotic customs (Giles 2012, 30).

Writing on the recent discovery of a new chariot burial at Wetwang in 2001, and the overriding interest among archaeologists concerning the origins of the woman buried in the grave, Giles criticises the continued preoccupation of East Yorkshire archaeologists with the origins of the Arras culture (2007a). She writes that this question is "now a non-question; [...] its time has passed" (2007a, 105). Indeed, as this chapter has shown, the antiquarian origins of the question mean it had already been under discussion for 150 years. Recent perspectives on northwest Europe during the Iron Age tend away from viewing 'Britain' and 'the Continent' as opposing entities and suggest that small-scale cross-Channel interactions were happening on a constant basis (Webley 2015). The findings that some British Celtic Art styles developed in parallel with continental styles, rather than as a direct result of them (Garrow *et al.* 2009), support this idea.

Subsequent research on Iron Age East Yorkshire, however, has continued to consider the modes through which the tradition of the very particular burial practice

of Iron Age East Yorkshire arrived in the region. A recent PhD thesis entitled *Migration and elite networks as modes of cultural exchange in Iron Age Europe: a case study of contacts between the Continent and the Arras Culture* by Greta Anthoons (2011) demonstrates that the topic is still of interest in archaeological discussions. Peter Halkon's recent volume, *The Parisi: Britons and Romans in Eastern Yorkshire*, similarly, continues to discuss continental contacts. Recent work by Jay *et al.* (2013) has involved the isotopic analysis of the remains of individuals from the cemetery at Wetwang and from seven chariot burials, providing new information on the origins of the people buried in these locations. The results showed that most of the individuals tested lived and died on the chalk Wolds of East Yorkshire, not the chalk of the Paris basin. Some outlying results show that certain individuals may have moved back and forth between the Wolds and other locations off the chalk or lived most of their lives at another location, but it appears that the majority of people never moved far from the cemetery location (Jay *et al.* 2013). Only the individual from the Kirkburn chariot burial may have moved onto the Wolds as an adult, but is unlikely to have come from outside Britain (Jay *et al.* 2013).

To conclude this section of the chapter, questions about the nature of the Arras culture have provided archaeologists with many decades of debate. Advances in dating and isotopic analysis during recent years, however, have begun to provide answers to some of the long-standing questions of chronology and origins that have occupied archaeological research, meaning that there is now room to ask new questions (such as 'what did pattern do?'). Section 4.3.2 will discuss in more detail these advances in dating, but the following section will briefly discuss the search for settlement evidence to balance the many cemeteries of Iron Age East Yorkshire.

4.2.3 Searching for Settlements

This chapter has, so far, focussed very much on the Middle Iron Age burial rite of East Yorkshire. It has, in many senses, defined archaeological research in the region. This section will describe the search for the elusive sites where the people who were buried in the cemeteries led their day-to-day lives.

While Early Iron Age fortified sites are known in the region (e.g. Stead 1965, 72), only one example exists of a settlement contemporary to the Middle Iron Age burial rite; Wetwang and Garton Slack, situated in a 'slack' or large, shallow valley, between the villages of Wetwang and Garton. The site was first discovered during the

construction of a railway line between 1849 and 52, when workers uncovered 'British weapons and burials' (Brewster 1980, 1), and the first formal excavation was carried out by John Mortimer, who excavated a number of barrows during the late 19th century, one of which lay inside the area that would later be excavated fully (Dent 1984, 17). Rescue excavations led by TCM Brewster on behalf of the East Riding Archaeological Research Committee and the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments took place at the site between 1965 and 1975 ahead of major gravel extraction. In 1975, the Humberside Archaeological committee took over the excavation, which continued until 1981, with John Dent as field director (see Appendix I for further details).

The site, or series of sites, uncovered by these excavations was occupied between Neolithic and Roman periods. Importantly for this chapter, this occupation included a large open settlement dating to the Middle-Late Iron Age and a huge adjoining square barrow cemetery, which included four chariot burials (Brewster 1980, Dent 1985). Further details are given in section 4.3.

Since the discovery of Wetwang/Garton Slack, attempts have been made to find further evidence of Middle Iron Age settlement on the Wolds. The British Museum Yorkshire Settlements Project, led by Val Rigby of the British Museum between 1988 and 1992, aimed to locate and study settlements on the Wolds contemporary with the cemeteries, driven by what she describes as the 'neglect' of this type of archaeological evidence during the preceding decades (Rigby 2004, xiii). Rigby targeted pits on settlements located by aerial photography and geophysical survey (2004, xiii), specifically aiming to establish an Iron Age chronological sequence for the pots she hoped to find within them. The pots she recovered were extremely numerous, but somewhat resistant to the chronological sequencing she had hoped for. The majority of pots were distinctive Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age forms, with some Late Iron Age and Early Roman contexts. The only pots attributable to the Middle Iron Age were indistinct and could easily have been earlier or later. Several other objects found within the pits might place their contexts within similar date ranges to the cemeteries: a ring-headed pin and a three bone combs, for example, but did not provide conclusive dating evidence.

Although Rigby's project did not necessarily produce the ceramic sequence she was looking for, it does provide evidence of at least intermittent activity on the

Wolds throughout the Iron Age and into the Romano-British period. The lack of pits definitely contemporary with the burial rite and the high frequency of Early Iron Age material culture within them prompt Rigby to suggest that the second half of the 1st millennium saw major changes in land use, as the so-called Arras culture developed (Rigby 2004). Further major changes are visible in the Late Iron Age record of East Yorkshire, when a type of settlement known as a 'ladder settlement' became common. I will describe these settlements in detail in section 4.3.2.

Research on the lowlands of East Yorkshire emphasises differing land-use in space, as well as in time, and provides possible links to the cemeteries on the Wolds. Halkon's work on the lowlands to the south and west of the Wolds and the Foulness valley has revealed a proto-industrial landscape during the Later Iron Age and Romano-British periods. Although Early-Middle Iron Age evidence in these regions is sparse and ephemeral, the Late Iron Age sees extensive metalworking, potting, settlement and agriculture (e.g. Halkon 1998; 2008; 1999, Halkon and Millet 1999). It is possible some of these sites were occupied at the same time as the burial rite was taking place, but a general lack of diagnostic objects prevents confirmation of this.

The Humber Wetlands Project (1994-2001), commissioned by English Heritage, similarly focussed on the lowlands of East Yorkshire and its neighbouring regions. Six sub-regions were investigated: The Vale of York, Holderness, Ancholme and Lower Trent Valleys, Hull Valley, Lincolnshire Marsh and Humber Head levels. 18 sites of probable later prehistoric date were identified in the Hull Valley area and importantly these include metalworking sites that may have produced the metal objects that would eventually be buried in inhumation burials (Van der Noort and Ellis 2000, 130-131). Kelk-6, a large metalworking site located and partially excavated during the Humber Wetlands Project, is thought to have had a relationship with the cemeteries similar than that of Gussage All Saints and Bury Hill, two sites in Dorset. Gussage All Saints is thought to have supplied Bury Hill with metalwork, and the same is suggested for Kelk-6 and the cemeteries (*ibid.*). This research gives some potential clues about the non-funerary activities occurring during the Middle Iron Age in East Yorkshire, suggesting possible links between locations or communities on and off the Wolds. It does not, however, provide the type of conclusive evidence for daily life found at Wetwang/Garton Slack.

To conclude this section of the chapter, the securely dated Middle Iron Age settlements hoped for by archaeologists in East Yorkshire remain elusive. I have discussed, however, research on rich archaeological resources in both the uplands and lowlands of the region, which have helped to balance knowledge of the Iron Age funerary rite with information about other activities.

4.3.2 Chronological Discussions of Iron Age East Yorkshire

As highlighted in Chapter 2, chronology has been central to discussions of the British Iron Age since the 19th century. This section of the chapter will describe the evolution of chronological debates centring on East Yorkshire, up to the present day, when new absolute dates for objects from across Britain have answered many lingering chronological questions about the Iron Age (Garrow *et al.* 2009, Jay *et al.* 2012).

I have already explained the use of the idea of an Arras culture in the construction of Hawkes' large-scale ABC scheme, which presents a relative chronology for Iron Age Britain (1931; 1959). More detailed discussions of the chronologies of sites and objects within East Yorkshire have also been important in the production of chronologies here. Stead has devoted much effort to establishing and refining a solid relative chronology for the cemeteries of East Yorkshire (Stead 1965, 81-2), which he believes is necessary before they can be related to other regions of Britain and the continent. Stead raises an important point where Hawkes' scheme disagrees with the material evidence. Hawkes classifies all Arras culture material as 'Eastern second B', but a particular brooch from a burial at Cowlam is thought by Stead to belong to an earlier La Tène I phase (Stead 1965, 81-2). Similarly, Dent finds La Tène I, II and III brooches in graves at Wetwang Slack (1984, 48). This perhaps, simply demonstrates the problems with producing rigid chronologies on a large scale, like that of Hawkes.

Stead sees the tradition of inhumation burial as stretching over a long period of time. He places Cowlam in the 4th century BC (La Tène I), Arras in the 2nd century (La Tène II), Danes Graves in the 1st century BC and Eastburn in the 1st century AD (both La Tène III) (1965). John Dent later constructed a complex relative chronology for the burials he excavated at Wetwang Slack, based on stratigraphic relationships, artefact typologies and the characteristics of features (1982; 1984). The 43 brooches found by Dent in graves at Wetwang fall into a wide range of types and provide a way

of fitting the cemetery into existing chronologies (Dent 1984). The earliest brooches are comparable to late 4th-early 3rd century BC brooches from the Continent, while the latest is a La Tène D variant, seemingly suggesting a span of the 4th-1st centuries BC for the cemetery (Jay *et al.* 2012, 166-167) and agreeing with Stead's long lifespan, although Stead himself emphasises issues with the relative dating of cemeteries (1991, 180). The 4th -1st century BC dates suggested for the grave goods were broadly confirmed by radiocarbon dates during the 1970s and 80s (Dent 1982, 437-9; Stead 1991, 169-70), but many other dates were erratic and the technology of the time could not refine the dates any further (Jay *et al.* 2012, 162).

Recent advances in absolute dating; the development of AMS and Bayesian modelling have solved these problems and provided new insights into the chronologies of the burials. I wrote in Chapter 2 about the impact that new radiocarbon dates, used in conjunction with Bayesian analysis, have had on chronologies of Early Celtic Art in Britain. Of the new dates obtained, many have been for objects from East Yorkshire and I will further elaborate on the specific effects of this new research on ideas about East Yorkshire in the following paragraphs.

The new dates I will mention have come firstly from a programme of dating Early Celtic Art objects, which has dated organic material in direct association with Early Celtic Art objects from across Britain (Garrow *et al.* 2009). In terms of East Yorkshire objects, this project presented new radiocarbon determinations for a cart burial and a mirror from Garton Slack, a cart burial from Garton Station, the Kirkburn warrior and Kirkburn cart burial and the Grimthorpe Warrior. These dates were analysed alongside the results of various previous dating projects, which included dates for the Kirkburn chariot burial and Kirkburn Warrior and the Wetwang Slack and Wetwang Village cart burials. The Ferrybridge (West Yorkshire) and Newbridge (Midlothian) chariot burials were also included. The second group of dates I will mention has been obtained from a study on human skeletal material from Wetwang cemetery. This study involved the dating of 14 burials, three chariot burials, a bone fragment from the ditch of barrow 255 and two fragments from settlement contexts (Jay *et al.* 2012).

The overall results of the dating programme carried out by Garrow *et al.* (2009) show that some classes of artefact were present in Britain earlier than previously thought: mirrors, torcs, horse and chariot gear and spoons. The mirror

from Garton Slack was of an early date (380-190BC) with no earlier examples known from Britain (Garrow *et al* 2009, 106), reinforcing Joy's (2008) impression that East Yorkshire mirrors were early. The new chariot burial determinations were also earlier than the stylistic Stage V dates previously suggested. Garrow *et al.* (2009, 105) write that by combining all the new and existing dates for chariots and horse gear, it can be suggested that chariots were common in both the south and north of Britain by 200BC. The Kirkburn Warrior from East Yorkshire fell into the date range of 360-100BC, along with the other warrior burials from Owslebury and Deal mentioned previously. The Grimthorpe warrior from East Yorkshire was given a similar date of 360-160BC (Garrow *et al.* 2009 104-105). As explained in Chapter 2, these new dates cause great disturbance to the traditional sequence of Celtic Art stages proposed by Stead (1985a; 1985b) and also to ideas of Britain receiving these styles from the Continent, as the new dates suggest that some of the earlier artefacts are contemporary with the high point of Continental Celtic Art. The early dates of East Yorkshire material, in particular, are significant in reimagining the modes via which styles arose and developed in Britain.

The more concentrated work of Jay *et al.* (2012) shows that burials at Wetwang cemetery spanned a shorter period than previously thought. Above I described the relative dating of East Yorkshire cemeteries to the 4th-1st centuries BC. The new dates place the burials at Wetwang within the 3rd and earlier 2nd centuries BC, a much shorter time span than previously imagined. Even more surprising is the dating of the three Wetwang chariot burials, which have been found to occupy a very short time during the decades around 200BC, greatly altering traditional ideas of a long-standing cultural tradition. These results prompted Jay *et al.* (2012) to reassess the brooch chronology used to produce the relative chronology for Wetwang by Dent, and it was found that La Tène D forms appeared at Wetwang during the later 2nd century BC, at the same time as their Continental counterparts. This supports the finding of Garrow *et al.* (2009) and the early dates of some of the key material they dated.

This section of the chapter has considered the history of research on Iron Age East Yorkshire; from antiquarian discoveries, through debates surrounding the Arras culture, to new absolute dates, which, ultimately, have answered many of the questions these debates discussed. The early dates of many British Early Celtic Art

objects suggest that British style developed in parallel to continental styles, discounting the idea that the material culture of Arras culture simply received its traits directly from the continent. In addition, the Wetwang dates suggest that the use of cemeteries, particularly the practice of chariot burial, was not the long-standing cultural tradition previously thought, and that these practices existed almost as drawn out events. This revelation changes the idea of the Arras culture, suggesting the presence of perhaps more dynamic practices and intermittent ideas than previously thought.

4.3 Characterising the Middle-Late Iron Age in East Yorkshire

This chapter has already introduced some key aspects of the Middle-Late Iron Age archaeological record in East Yorkshire. The next section of the chapter will describe in more detail the key characteristics of Middle and Late Iron Age archaeology of the region, and the social change that occurred between the two periods.

4.3.1 The Middle Iron Age: 400-100BC

The Middle Iron Age in East Yorkshire can be broadly defined as the period 400-100BC, when activity was focussed on the chalk uplands of the Wolds. The paragraphs below will revisit and briefly summarise the key themes and relevant sites of this period.

Cemeteries

As defined by Stead (1979, 11), the characteristics of the cemeteries of the Arras culture are; “(i) large cemeteries of small barrows, (ii) some barrows defined by square-plan ditches and (iii) some barrows covering vehicle burials”. I described in section 4.2.1 of this chapter the excavation of cemeteries at Arras, Danes Graves, Cowlam and Scarborough during the 19th century. Another was found at Eastburn in the 1930s during the construction of Driffild aerodrome, and, as I described, another was excavated at Wetwang/Garton Slack in the 1960s and 70s during gravel extraction (Brewster 1980, Dent 1984). A further seven (Rudston Makeshift, Rudston Argam Lane, Burton Fleming Opposite Argam Lane, Burton Fleming Bell Slack, Garton Station, Kirkburn) were excavated during the 1960s and 1980s by Ian Stead (1991). Most recently, a cemetery of 75 burials has been excavated at Pocklington ahead of a

housing development, though this is yet to be published. In 1991, Stead writes that over 700 burials have been excavated in East Yorkshire from the Wetwang, Rudston and Burton Fleming cemeteries alone, meaning that the total number is likely to be far more, taking into account the older excavations. It is also likely that there are many more unexcavated graves still present in the region, particularly given the flattening of barrows by modern agriculture, rendering them much less visible than they would have been during the 19th century.

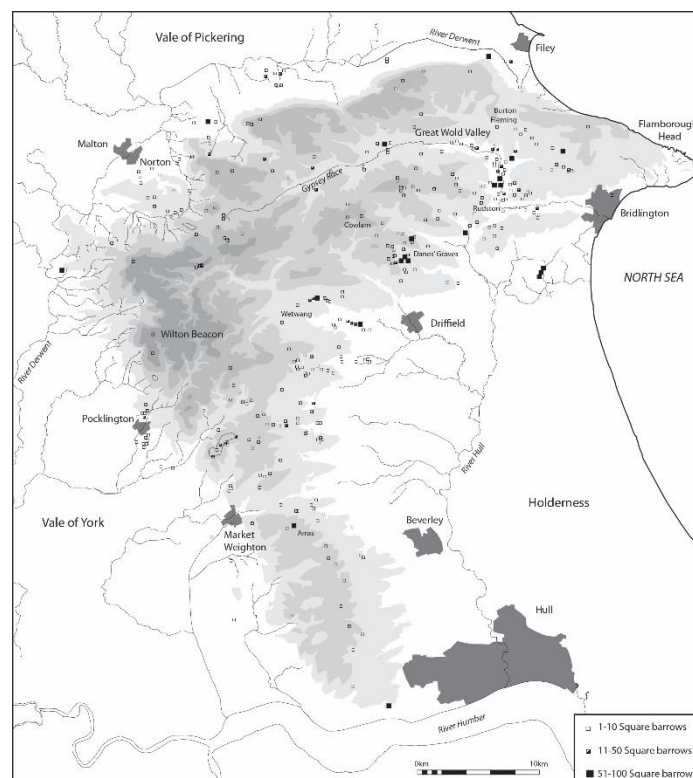


Figure 4.2: A map of East Yorkshire showing square barrow cemetery distributions (Giles 2012, 8, Fig 1.3, with kind permission).

As explained in section 4.3.2 of the chapter, recent radiocarbon dating programmes have shed light on the timescales over which some of these cemeteries were in use. Wetwang cemetery spanned just the 3rd and early 2nd centuries BC, rather than the 4th-1st centuries as previously thought (Jay *et al.* 2012). They may not be the case for all the cemeteries though, as they do differ in character, with different types

of grave goods present in different localities, which may be down to local preference or differences in date. As I will explain in section 4.3.2, several cemeteries (Bell Slack, Kirkburn and Makeshift) have distinctive late burials within them, dating to the 1st century BC, showing that the practice of burial did not cease suddenly at the beginning of the Late Iron Age, but diminished gradually.

Chariot Burials

I have also previously mentioned the 20 chariot or cart burials included within the Middle Iron Age cemeteries of East Yorkshire and in its neighbouring counties (Brewster 1971, Dent 1985, Stead 1991, Hill 2002, Brown *et al.* 2007, see fig. 4.3 below). These burials consist of a two-wheeled vehicle, usually dismantled, and placed into a grave with a body and other varied grave goods. In the cases of the Pexton Moor-type burials at Ferrybridge, Pexton Moor, Cawthorn Camps and Hunmanby, the vehicles are left intact.

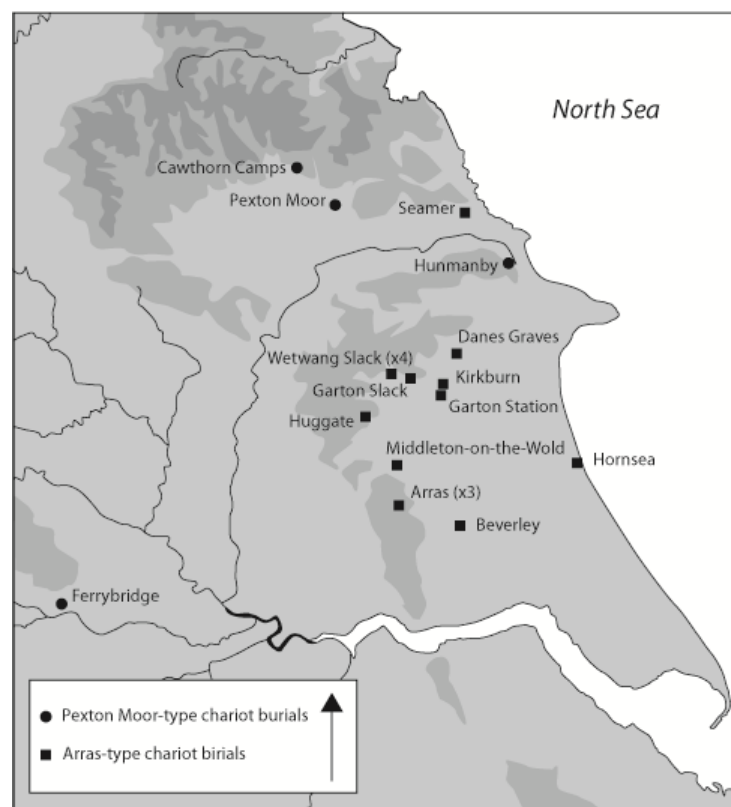


Figure 4.3: A map of chariot burials in East Yorkshire and its neighbouring counties (Giles 2012, 190, Fig. 6.3, with kind permission).

Interpretations of the functions of the vehicles prior to burial are varied. Stead was reluctant to see them as martial objects due the lack of weapons within, describing them as ‘carts’ (1965, 259), but two of three vehicles discovered by John Dent in 1984 did contain weaponry (Dent 1985), leading Giles to suggest they were used in multiple ways (2012, 211), including spheres of martial activity (2008). Hill agrees with Stead, naming the Wetwang Village example a ‘carriage’ (Hill 2002, 410) to reflect the idea that these vehicles were probably used for everyday transport, and that there is no archaeological evidence to suggest they were used in warfare. Sharples suggests they were primarily funerary vehicles made for “short ceremonial journeys” (2008, 211). This is certainly supported by ‘sham’ terrets from the Ferrybridge chariot burial in West Yorkshire, which are made from copper alloy sheaths covering clay or silt cores (Giles 2012, 203). Other terrets, however, show signs of wear and seem to have been well used (Giles 2012, 196). For the remainder of this thesis I will refer to two wheeled vehicles as ‘chariots’, but must emphasise that I view them as multipurpose vehicles that were well-used in a range of circumstances including all those specified above.

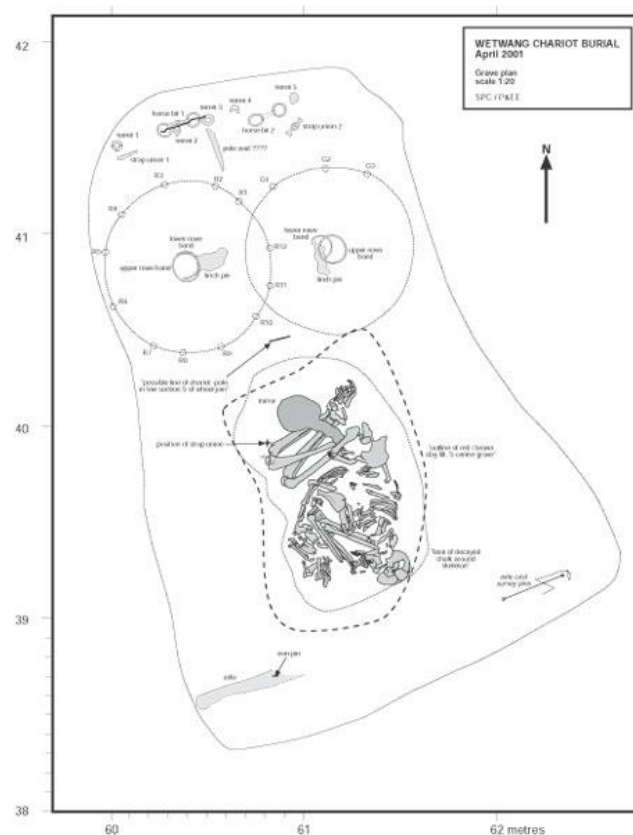


Figure 4.4 A Plan of the Wetwang Village Chariot Burial (Hill 2001 ©Trustees of the British Museum).

The unusual objects placed within chariot burials further set them apart from other burials in many instances. Chariot burials 1 and 3 at Wetwang (Dent 1985) both contain extremely similar and elaborate swords, which greatly resemble the example from Kirkburn. The chariot burial at Kirkburn contained a very rare iron mail shirt (Stead 1991). The female chariot burials at Wetwang Village, Wetwang 2 and Arras all contained mirrors (Hill 2002) and the Wetwang 2 example contained a unique decorated canister, known as 'The Bean Tin' (Dent 1985). These objects occur alongside objects found more frequently in graves, such as spear heads, glass beads and brooches.

There has been a tendency among archaeologists to associate the chariot burials within East Yorkshire, and other burials containing elaborate burials goods, with the existence of an elite social class in the region (e.g. Sharples 2010, 243, footnote 3). The relationships between unusual burials and cemeteries, however, are varied. Some examples, such as the chariot burials at Wetwang, are set apart from the main cemetery, suggesting there was something different about the individuals buried there from the rest of the population. Other chariot burials at Kirkburn, Garton Station and probably also Arras, however, are located within cemeteries. Giles suggests that chariot burials belonged to a wider group of 'odd' burials; burials marked out from others through the inclusion of unusual objects, or unusual funerary practices. This may not be an expression of status, but could be, as Mel Giles suggests, a way of dealing with 'bad' deaths (2012, 92-3) or a way of marking out another particular social group not related to status. She uses the example of Kirkburn, a small cemetery containing a chariot burial, speared warrior burial, and the burial of a woman who dies in childbirth (2012, 92). The recent radiocarbon dating of chariot burials to a short period of a few decades around 200BC (Jay *et al.* 2012, Garrow *et al.* 2009), which I mentioned in section 4.3.2, certainly disrupts the idea of a tradition based on exerting status. I will return to these ideas later.

'Warrior' Burials

As well as the chariot burials that characterise Iron Age East Yorkshire, several other burials stand out from the burials of the cemeteries. These fit into a group of Late Iron Age burials found in several regions of Britain, known as warrior burials. These burials are typically located away from cemeteries and contain young men interred with martial equipment such as sword, shield and spears. Examples outside East Yorkshire have been found at Owslebury (Hants), Kelvedon (Essex) and Deal

(Kent), for example, representing a south-eastern distribution in Britain. The Grimthorpe Warrior and Bugthorpe Warrior in East Yorkshire and the North Grimston Warrior in North Yorkshire are northern examples. The Kirkburn Warrior is unusual in that the grave is part of a cemetery.

In terms of dating, the warrior burials in East Yorkshire tend to fall within the Middle Iron Age; the Grimthorpe and Kirkburn warriors have been radiocarbon dated to the 4th-2nd centuries BC⁴ and the Bugthorpe warrior burial is dated by the Celtic art database to pre-100BC. The Celtic Art Database also dates one of the swords from the North Grimston warrior burial (North Yorkshire) to 150BC-AD50, suggesting this example is a Late Iron Age inhumation.

Settlements

I explained in section 4.2.3 of this chapter the difficulties archaeologists have faced in linking the Middle Iron Age cemetery evidence of East Yorkshire to evidence for everyday life. Wetwang/Garton Slack remains the only site with settlement evidence that can be said to relate directly to the burial rite (see fig. 4.5 below). As described, it is a large open settlement with an adjoining barrow cemetery, located in a large shallow valley known locally as a 'slack' (Brewster 1980, Dent 1984). It has yielded evidence for 80 roundhouses, many of which had been through episodes of rebuilding, dating from the Early Iron Age to the Later Roman period (Giles 2012, 81). Other structures, such as those interpreted by Brewster as 'mortuary houses' (1980), associated with the funerary process of the burial rite, and possible stock shelters or granaries (Giles 2012, 82-83) were also found, along with many pits.

⁴ Dates at 95.4%. Kirkburn: 360-270 cal.BC (42.4%), 260-110 cal.BC (53%). Grimthorpe: 360-160 cal.BC (94.4%), 130-120 cal. BC (1%) (Garrow et al. 2009, 86-87).

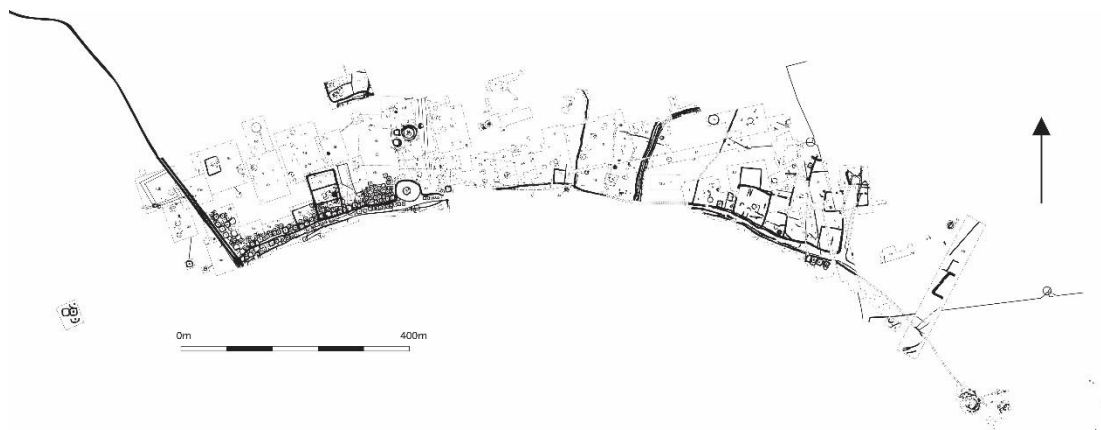


Figure 4.5: Plan of the cemetery and settlement at Wetwang/Garton Slack (Giles 2012, 66, Fig 3.1, with kind permission).

The settlement in general is considered rather ephemeral, particularly when compared to the contemporary funerary record in the region and to Iron Age settlements elsewhere in Britain, lacking any large boundary ditch features (Giles 2012, 81-82). This has led to particular interpretations about the structuring of the community here, and the ownership of land and property for example (Cunliffe 1995, 56). Sharples attributes the modest nature of settlement from the period of the cemeteries to a lack of requirement for showing-off, this being achieved through the inclusion of elaborate metalwork in graves (Sharples 2010, 243, footnote 3), an idea that will be discussed later in the chapter. Giles argues, however, that the subtler demarcation of ‘otherwise unremarkable’ roundhouses using small enclosures, may have formed a way of marking them out amongst others (2012, 81).

Material Culture

I’ve already mentioned aspects of the Middle Iron Age material culture of East Yorkshire in the context of dating certain cemeteries and defining certain types of burial. Section 4.4 of this chapter is dedicated to the discussion of material culture, but I will briefly summarise the types of objects generally found in Middle Iron Age contexts in East Yorkshire here.

The domination of this period by funerary contexts means that the objects interred as grave goods feature heavily in the archaeological record. Not every grave

contained surviving objects; in a recent study of grave goods, Giles writes that 34% of the graves she looked at contained grave goods, while the remainder sometimes contained a plain coffin, or perhaps objects that have since decayed (Giles 2012, 131). Of the objects that survived in graves, items of personal ornament are most common. These include brooches, glass beads, pins, rings, toggles and bracelets. Other than the glass beads, these objects were commonly made from iron or bronze, though not exclusively, and were sometimes decorated with fittings of coral or red glass. It is thought that the fasteners among these objects probably had roles in pinning a shroud or wrap around the deceased, given their positioning on the body.

Other objects found in graves include weaponry; swords, spear heads, 'bone-points' and knives. The sword scabbards are often decorated with La Tène pattern. Shields also feature, as well as one example of mail armour at Kirkburn. The durable fittings from chariots also survive in chariot burials, and include terrets, bridle bits, linch pins, strap unions and miniature terrets. These are made from bronze or iron (linch pins are sometimes made from antler), and like the personal ornament they are sometimes decorated with coral or red glass. The cast bronze objects often carry decorative patterns. Miscellaneous objects include mirrors and various tools. In addition to these objects, the most common object from graves is a plain, small ceramic jar, which often contained the bones of sheep or pigs, which Giles interprets as a portion of the funeral stew, provided for the deceased (2012, 134).

The comparatively few non-funerary Middle Iron Age contexts at Wetwang/Garton Slack contain a diverse range of objects. Again, pots and ceramic sherds are the most common items. Tools made from bone, antler and iron, and whorls and weights made from chalk are also present, as are a small number of personal ornaments.

The following chapter will discuss these objects in much greater detail, and will also make use of the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) database, which records objects found in Britain through metal detecting or other non-archaeological means. Interestingly, while there are many Late Iron Age objects recorded in East Yorkshire, those from the Middle Iron Age numbered just ten when I exported data from the database in July 2015. Chapter 5 will discuss this data and what it means in more detail.

4.3.2 The Late Iron Age: 100BC-AD100

The 1st millennium BC saw continual change in the use of the landscape of East Yorkshire. The Wolds were increasingly divided by linear earthworks, some of which date to the Late Bronze Age, but many of which were constructed throughout the Iron Age and Roman periods (Giles 2007b, 237; Stoertz 1997). Rigby highlights particularly noticeable change in land use at the beginning of the Middle Iron Age, indicated by the abandonment of many Early Iron Age pit sites on the Wolds and the emergence of the Middle Iron Age burial rite (2004, 106), and Giles elaborates upon this by describing these changes as a move towards an increased sense of permanence, through the monumentalism of the cemeteries and the rebuilding of the houses at Wetwang/Garton Slack (2012, 81).

The beginning of the Late Iron Age also signals major change in land use, with the replacement of open settlements during the 1st century BC with 'ladder settlements'; series of small enclosed units, which I'll describe further below. Although these changes are by no means sudden, perhaps even originating in the 3rd - 2nd century BC (Giles 2007b, 236), the date of 100BC provides a good point at which to divide the Middle and Late Iron Ages. By this time, the use of cemeteries had both declined and changed in nature and new types of settlements became apparent in the archaeological record during the century following this date. The societal change represented by changing land use from 100BC is seen by Giles as the contraction of communities into small family groups and perhaps an increase in hostility between these groups, which I will explain further below (Giles 2007b, 240).

The end of the Late Iron Age in East Yorkshire is also difficult to define, despite the fact that the Roman conquest in this region has an official date: 71-2AD (Halkon and Millett 1999, 225). Although the people of East Yorkshire adopted aspects of Roman life, 'Romanisation' here was a slow and incomplete process. East Yorkshire lacked the Late Iron Age 'oppida' of southern Britain and many Roman settlements; Brough, Malton and Hayton for example, grew from forts during the 2nd century AD (Halkon 2013, 130-139). Roman-style villas, often overlying Late Iron Age settlement, were present on the Wolds by the late 3rd and 4 centuries AD, Rudston Villa (Stead 1980) and Wharram Grange (Rahtz *et al.* 1986) being examples. Iron Age forms of settlement and housing, however, also continued to be popular at some sites after the arrival of Roman settlement forms in East Yorkshire. At the settlement of

Easington, for example, the occupants continued to live in roundhouses until the abandonment of the settlement in the 3rd century AD (Richardson 2011; unpublished).

Similar trends are present in the uptake of Roman-style material culture. Although the banks of the Humber saw the trade of Roman ceramics from the 1st century BC, the ladder settlements of the northern Wolds didn't seem to take up this new material culture until later (Giles 2007b, 239). Indeed, the use of Iron Age-style ceramics continues at many sites in the region throughout the whole of the Roman period, and even the centrally produced Knapton ware of the early Roman period is very similar to the earlier jars of the Arras culture (Halkon 2013, 186).

This slow take-up of Roman culture prompts Giles to suggest that East Yorkshire did not see the Romanisation of its elites, as other regions of Britain did, slowing down the consolidation of Roman power in the region (2007b, 239, after Whyman 2001, 198). It is for this reason that my cut-off for the Late Iron Age in this project will be AD100, rather than 43AD or 71-72AD.

Cemeteries

Although the practice of inhumation burial in East Yorkshire had largely declined by 100BC, Stead identifies a distinct group of later burials at several of the cemeteries he investigated (54 at Makeshift, 2 at Bell Slack and 1 at Kirkburn) (1991, 35-36), dated through stratigraphic relationships and typical La Tène III grave goods. These later burials, which I will discuss in detail in chapter 5, are east-west orientated, rather than north-south, as is the norm in the cemeteries. They also contain grave goods of a different character; spears, knives, shield fittings, tools and spindle whorls, as opposed to the personal ornaments common in the earlier graves (*ibid.*). Giles links the martial nature of these grave goods, along with increased incidences of violence in the burials themselves, to the possibility of increased violence and hostility in the Late Iron Age of East Yorkshire (2007b, 240).

Settlements

Although the open settlement of Wetwang/Garton Slack continues to be occupied several centuries into the Roman period, Late Iron Age settlement in East Yorkshire is characterised by ladder settlements, so called because of their appearances from the air and also sometimes known as 'droveway settlements'. They consist of strings of rectilinear enclosures arranged in linear patterns often around a trackway. Derych writes in 2012 that 125 examples are currently known on the Wolds

of East Yorkshire (Derych 2012). Many of these sites have been investigated archaeologically, although the scale of the evidence is much smaller than that of Wetwang/Garton Slack.

Although ladder settlements are seen to represent social change during the Late Iron Age (Giles 2007b), examples exist of continuity from earlier activity. A ladder settlement at Bell Slack, for example, was found by Stead to overlie parts of a barrow cemetery (1991). Similarly, many of the sites excavated by Rigby during the Yorkshire Settlements Project (2004) were seemingly abandoned during the Middle Iron Age and reoccupied during the Late Iron Age and Romano- British periods with new enclosures being constructed at Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age pit sites, examples being The Enclosure (Rudston) and East Field. A similar process of reoccupation occurs at Melton (Fenton-Thomas 2011). Other examples of probable Later Iron Age settlements have been excavated at North Cave (Dent 2010, 60), Creyke Beck (Evans and Steedman 2001, 67) and Caythorpe (Abramson 1996, 18), to name just a few (see Giles 2012, 84-85). Significantly, these sites are spread over a wide area of East Yorkshire, not restricted to the Wolds, as the cemeteries were.

The settlements of this period and the types of evidence they yield are diverse. Many show evidence for activities such as iron working, salt drying and varied agricultural activities (Giles 2012, 84; Fenton-Thomas 2009). While some are datable by diagnostic artefacts, others are not and could easily date to earlier periods, providing tantalising potential links to the Middle Iron Age burial rite (Giles 2012, 85).

Material Culture

The material culture of the Late Iron Age presents, in some respects, a contrast with that of the Middle Iron Age in East Yorkshire. This relates in part to the types of contexts available to archaeologists and the way these relate to different spheres of Iron Age activity. The personal ornament, weaponry and chariot fittings of the Middle Iron Age are generally deposited as part of the funerary rite and the lesser numbers of these types of object in later contexts may not mean they declined in frequency, merely that they were deposited differently (see the discussion of PAS material below). The material culture found in the non-funerary contexts of the Late Iron Age is dominated by pottery, which is generally plain and handmade but which is interspersed with decorated wheel-made pottery as this technology becomes available. Tools made from bone and antler are common at some sites, particularly

those excavated by Rigby (2004). Iron tools and fittings also feature heavily at some sites, such as the later phases of Wetwang/Garton Slack settlement (Brewster 1980), where many chalk weights and carved chalk block are also found. Occasional brooches, toggles and beads have been found at Rudston East Villa East Site (Stead 1980), Easington (Richardson 2011; unpublished) and Shepherd lane (Giles 2012, 84), for example.

The question of what happens to objects such as personal ornaments and horse gear during the Late Iron Age is partially answered by looking at the PAS record for East Yorkshire. Whereas I found only ten Middle Iron Age objects in the PAS database when I exported data in July 2015, I found 134 brooches, 182 coins and 111 other objects which included toggles, strap fittings, fasteners, terrets and even a sword scabbard mouth. Almost all of these objects were made from bronze. The huge increase of objects recorded in the PAS for the Late Iron Age will be discussed further in the next chapter in the context of specific biases associated with PAS data, but it does seem to indicate both changes in the design and production of objects and in depositional practice, perhaps fitting into what has been termed the ‘fibula event horizon’ (e.g. Jundi and Hill 1998).

4.4 Pattern, Colour and Society in Iron Age East Yorkshire

I’ve outlined above the types of material culture found in Iron Age East Yorkshire, and the next chapter will be discussing and analysing this material in detail. The final section of this chapter will move back towards decorated objects to summarise the previous study of pattern in Iron Age East Yorkshire, and the way that interpretations about its function have influenced ideas about society.

4.4.1 Early Celtic Art (and other art) in East Yorkshire

East Yorkshire is rich in Early Celtic Art objects. Sword scabbards are decorated with sinuous incised and embossed La Tène style pattern, as is the enigmatic canister from Wetwang Chariot Burial 2. Chariot fittings are decorated with a whole range of patterns, ranging from lipped designs on terrets, to ‘triskele birds head motifs’ on linchpins (see Kirkburn chariot, Stead 1991). Even several bronze brooches have subtle traces of La Tène-like swirls on their bows.

Since the antiquarian investigations of the early 19th century, the Early Celtic Art from the graves of East Yorkshire has received much attention from archaeologists, due both to its quality and its inclusion in inhumation burials. The decorated sword and shield from the Grimthorpe Warrior burial became a beautiful watercolour frontispiece for John Mortimer's 1905 book, summarising his research in the region over the past 40 years. The Kirkburn Sword is, today, undoubtedly the most discussed Iron Age sword from Britain, mentioned in countless publications that discuss British Early Celtic Art (e.g. Stead 1991, Stead 2006, Gosden and Hill 2008, 11, Joy 2011, Garrow and Gosden 2012, etc). The chariot fittings have appeared in both physical and pictorial reconstructions of Iron Age chariots, conjuring up powerful images of the way the vehicles may have been used.

For each item of La Tène decorated metalwork from East Yorkshire, however, there are many more objects patterned in different ways that have seen far less study; brooches with cast ribs on their bows, ceramic sherds with finger impressions, carved chalk plaques with scratched decoration and bone objects incised with geometric patterns, for example. In addition, there are many more plain objects. The next chapter aims to place the Early Celtic Art objects of East Yorkshire into the contexts of the material worlds within which they once existed, by giving equal consideration to all other types of plain and patterned objects.

4.4.2 Significant Materials

Aside from the materials I mentioned above, a number of other significant materials are also present in the archaeological record of Iron Age East Yorkshire, and have seen recent attention in light of the current concerns of archaeologists with materials and materiality (e.g. Conneller 2011, Jones 2012). Beads of shale, glass, jet, coral and amber are used both as embellishments on metal objects, such as brooches, shields and mirrors, and as personal adornments in the form of necklaces for example. They are found generally in funerary contexts, as composite parts of objects, in situ around the parts of the body where they were worn or loose in graves as singular beads (Giles 2012, 150-151). The glass beads are often patterned with swirls or 'eyes' in contrasting coloured glass.

Any study of visual culture in Iron Age East Yorkshire must include considerations of what these potentially significant materials did visually. Giles suggests that these small personal objects, made from unusual materials were

powerful in their materiality, and that this power, while potentially stemming from an association with long distance trade, may also have been derived from their colour, luminosity or lustre (Giles 2012, 152). Elsewhere, she has discussed the use of the colour red specifically on martial objects from East Yorkshire, suggesting it may have held particular power and meaning relating to blood, both as substance of violence and as a life force (2008, 72-73). My consideration of pattern and purpose in Iron Age East Yorkshire must also discuss the effects that specific colours and materials had in specific contexts.

4.4.3 The Functions of Patterned Objects

The following paragraphs will outline the ways in which the functions of patterned objects from Iron Age East Yorkshire have previously been interpreted, how these have contributed to understandings of society in the region, and how they contribute to my own approach to this material.

Niall Sharples compares the impressive metalwork of the burials with the comparatively sparse settlement record and the plain appearance of other types of object, suggesting that perhaps this juxtaposition was significant in the way objects functioned (2008, 209). He highlights the differing spheres of influence or ‘cultural milieus’ of pottery and metalwork, arguing that the role of patterned metalwork was in ‘very specific religious contexts’, being used to dazzle the onlooker at an intimate scale, while pottery was used to establish and maintain social relationships through the cooking and consumption of food. As Sharples himself writes, “none of these objects should be regarded as having a straightforward function” (2008, 210), and it must be considered here that both these object types may have had a whole range of functions.

Mansel Spratling has commented on the scale at which East Yorkshire metalwork may have functioned aesthetically. He argues that the small scales of many of the patterns on metalwork objects will have made them ill-suited to public display and ceremony as they will have been difficult to see unless very close-up, and that they will have been intended instead for quiet contemplation (2008, 194):

“You could not have seen much of the harness of a horse without proffering it an apple, nor much of a chariot’s fittings as it sped past at a maximum speed of about 20mph” (Spratling 2008, 192).

Evidence of use-wear on all types of grave goods, however, demonstrates that none of them, including the elaborate metalwork, were made solely to be looked at, or simply to be placed into graves. Brooches, pots, terrets and swords in graves all show signs of wear or repair (Stead 1991, Giles 2012). In addition to this, the frequency of grave goods increases as the age of the deceased increases, leading Giles to suggest that the acquisition of these goods may be related to movement through life stages and gaining of skills or memories (2012, 132). This suggests that perhaps people had active relationships with the grave goods they were buried with, which had developed during their lifetimes.

To use Sharples' phrasing, surely we must consider all object types as having the potential to have been used in multiple, overlapping 'cultural milieus'. For example, pottery and metalwork, as Sharples points out, are likely to have been used in differing contexts, but were brought together in the context of the funerary rite. To emphasise the role of metalwork in asserting status and to use this interpretation to juxtapose it against 'lowly' plain pottery seems flawed, when both metalwork and pottery have roles as grave goods.

The richness of some of the graves in East Yorkshire has been used to make wider assertions about how some objects were used to assert elite status. Sharples writes that:

"The Yorkshire Elite does not appear to require elaborately bounded settlements of particularly substantial houses to define a status which is so well represented by the elaborate metalwork one finds in these graves" (Sharples 2010, 243 footnote 3).

The idea of metalwork as a representation of elite status during the funerary event is, therefore, magnified by the relative lack of contemporary settlement evidence known in the region.

I argue that the unusual archaeological record of Iron Age East Yorkshire, while providing unique opportunity, has also at times provided the ability to make statements about the structuring of Iron Age society in the region with more certainty than is usually afforded for Iron Age Britain. Comments on the existence on an elite class in the region based on elaborate metalwork in graves must, therefore, be thoroughly interrogated.

Although the hierarchical ‘chieftain model’ of Iron Age society was widely accepted during the 20th century, recent decades have seen the reassessment of this model. JD Hill, for example, has written on the possibility that Iron Age societies were not ‘triangle’ or ‘pyramid’ - shaped’, as has often traditionally been supposed, but may have assumed a number of different ‘shapes’ (2011). The presence of elaborate metalwork in the graves of East Yorkshire and the apparent differentiation of selected individuals this might be seen to represent means that a hierarchical social model, with an elite ruling class, can easily be imposed. Recent research on the complex biographies of grave goods, however, (Giles 2012) suggests that Early Celtic Art objects may have had multiple meanings, stretching beyond simply ‘status’, as described during this chapter. They may have been involved in many different forms of social interaction and may enter the grave for a whole range of reasons. It cannot be assumed, therefore, that these objects fulfilled purposes in exerting and maintaining elite power and I suggest that research on the relationship between pattern and purpose will allow for further discussion of the subject.

4.5 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has summarised the history of archaeological research on Iron Age East Yorkshire and key trends in the data this has uncovered. I argue that the newly answered questions about chronology and the older assumptions about the nature of society I’ve described provide both the opportunity and the need for a better understanding of decorated material culture in the region. Giles’ work (2012) has investigated the entangled lives of people and objects, showing that metalwork had meaning beyond status. I wish to build on this work, enquiring more specifically about the relationship between pattern and purpose across all object types to eventually interrogate ideas of status and of the structure of wider society. The fact that long-standing questions concerning chronology and the Arras culture have been answered means that now is an opportune time to make these new enquiries.

Chapter 5: Pattern and Context

5.1 Introduction

As stated in Chapter 1, this thesis aims to contribute to the re-integration of Celtic Art objects with the rest of the archaeological record (e.g. Gosden and Hill 2008, 1; Garrow and Gosden 2012), and Joy (2011) has suggested that a way of levelling the distinction between Celtic Art objects and other objects is to consider *all* decoration special. By viewing objects within the categories of ‘plain’ or ‘patterned’, perhaps we can look beyond the labels of ‘art’ and ‘craft’ that have traditionally set Early Celtic Art objects apart from other decorated items; pots, weaving combs, toggles etc.

I stated in Chapter 3 that, with these interests in mind, I would be asking the question *‘what did pattern do?’* in the context of material culture from Iron Age East Yorkshire. To begin answering the question, this chapter examines full Middle-Late Iron Age assemblages from a sample of 30 sites in East Yorkshire, recording how many objects are plain and patterned, what types of objects are patterned, the different styles of pattern present and the contexts in which patterned objects are found. This analysis provides a broad picture of trends in the production and treatment of decorated objects in the region. Crucially, it also allows me to explore the rareness of different types of patterned objects across a range of sites, and better define what ‘rare’ means; the rareness of decorated objects being used as a key element of Joy’s argument about all decoration being special (2011). My selection of sites will be detailed in section 5.2.1, and data from the Portable Antiquities Scheme will also be used (although the biases specific to this material will be considered throughout and discussed in section 5.2.2). Dating parameters of 400-100BC and 100BC-AD100 will be put in place, representing the broad changes in land-use, social organisation, treatment of the dead and material culture that occurred in East Yorkshire between the Middle and Late Iron Ages, which were described in section 4.3 of the previous chapter.

5.2 The Dataset

5.2.1 My sample of sites

The 30 sites investigated in this chapter have been selected based partly on the detail afforded in their documentation, with finds described individually where possible, as my database has been constructed through reference to literature and

museum records. I have also deliberately selected sites with small finds present to ensure my database contains a varied range of artefact types and allow me to assess the decoration of a wide range of different objects. It must be noted that my search for appropriate sites included many with only pottery sherds present (e.g. Halkon and Millett, 1999, Van Der Noort and Ellis 2000), and while the finds from these sites will be considered in the conclusions I draw, they were not selected to appear in my database. Similarly, some of the sites excavated during the 19th century by antiquarians will be considered but not fully discussed, due to the lack of detailed documentation on some of these early excavations. As there are relatively few excavated settlements in the study area, and many of these excavations have been of a small scale, a larger number of cemetery sites are present in my database.

During Chapter 4 I also mentioned sites in neighbouring counties of East Yorkshire that are part of distinct traditions centring on East Yorkshire, namely ‘warrior’ burials and chariot burials, acknowledging that modern county boundaries do not always serve as appropriate boundaries for archaeological studies. I will be including objects from these sites in my analysis. Of the sites in my selection located outside East Yorkshire, North Grimston, Pexton Moor and Cawthorn Camps are located in North Yorkshire and Ferrybridge in West Yorkshire. Chapters 7 and 8 of this thesis will also mention finds from further afield in Lincolnshire and East Anglia.

My list of 30 sites is detailed below and full descriptions of each site can be found in Appendix I.

Site	Occupation Type			Occupied mainly during	
	Funerary/cemetery?	Settlement?	Other?	400-100BC	100BC-AD100
Acklam	X (1 chariot burial)			X	
Argam lane, Rudston	X (19 burials)			X	
Arras	X (3 chariot burials, others not recorded)			X	
Bell Slack, Burton Fleming	X (42 burials)			X	
Bell Slack Settlement, Burton Fleming		X			X
Beverley Chariot Burial	X (1 chariot burial)			X	
Bugthorpe	X (1 sword burial)			X	
Cawthorn Camps	X (1 chariot burial)			X	
Cowlam Cemetery	X (personal ornaments from 4 graves included)			X	
Danes Graves	X (113 burials, 1 chariot burial)			X	
Easington		X			X
East Field Enclosure A, Burton Agnes		X			X
Eastburn	X (50 burials)			X	
Ferrybridge	X (1 chariot burial)			X	
Garton Station	X (10 burials, 1 chariot burial)			X	
Grimthorpe	X (1 sword burial)			X	
Hunmanby	X (1 chariot burial)			X	
Kirkburn	X (7 burials, 1 chariot burial)			X	
Makeshift, Rudston	X (189 burials)			X	X
Melton		X			X
Middleton-On-The-Wold	X (1 chariot burial)			X	
North Grimston	X (1 sword burial)				X
Opposite Argam Lane, Burton Fleming	X (22 burials)			X	
Pexton Moor	X (1 chariot burial)			X	
Rudston Villa East Site, Rudston		X			X
Sewerby Cottage Farm	X (1 burial)		X		X
South Cave			X		X
The Enclosure, Rudston		X			X
Wetwang/Garton Slack	X (4 chariot burials, 446 burials)	X		X	X
Wetwang Village	X (1 chariot burial)			X	

Figure 5.1: A table detailing the sites investigated during this chapter.

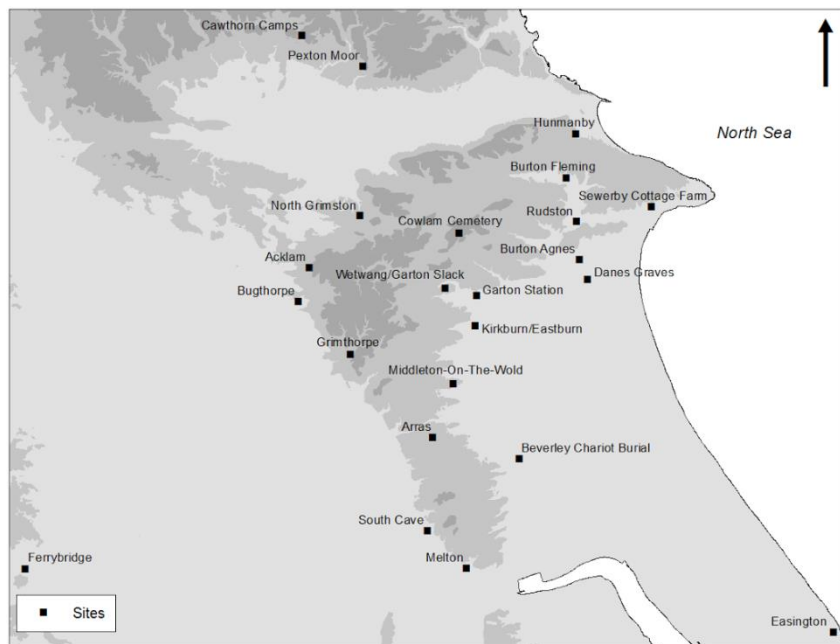


Figure 5.2: A map showing the locations of sites discussed in this chapter (©H Chittock and K Wong.

5.2.2 Data from the PAS

In addition to data from excavated sites, information from the PAS has been used to expand my dataset. The objects recorded in the PAS database have not been discovered through archaeological excavation, but through other circumstances, mainly metal detecting, and for this reason, PAS data carries specific biases. This is not to say that biases are not inherent in excavated data, but those of PAS data are different and must be acknowledged.

Some of these biases stem from the process of collecting objects through metal detecting. They include the choice of site, sampling methods, techniques, the individual interests of detectorists and the 'visual apparency' of objects (how easy they are to spot) (Robbins 2014, 31). The reporting and recording of finds is also inherently biased, being based on human perceptions and judgements of what should be recorded and reported (Robbins 2014, 36). Other biases affecting PAS data include the differing degrees to which different objects survive in ploughsoil, and the biased deposition or loss of objects in particular locations by past people (Robbins 2014, 25); similar issues of site formation and taphonomy to those affecting archaeological excavations.

As this chapter will demonstrate and discuss, the PAS data from Middle-Late Iron Age East Yorkshire contains some very significant trends, which can be said to support the dataset in general, and wider ideas about the treatment of Iron Age material culture.

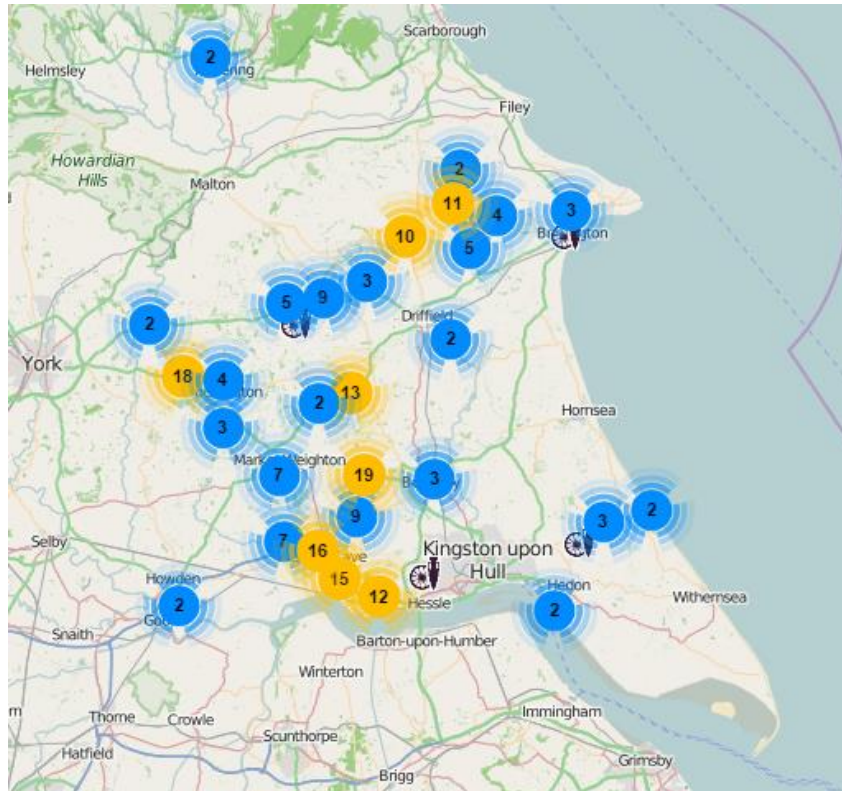


Figure 5.3: A map showing the locations of PAS finds from East Yorkshire (Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme).

5.2.2 Dating

As specified above, this chapter looks at objects dating to between 400BC and AD100, a timeframe that essentially encompasses the Middle and Late Iron Ages in East Yorkshire. In terms of British Iron Age visual culture, it covers the ‘arrival’ of La Tène art in Britain, the apparent metalwork hiatus between 20BC and AD40 (e.g. Garrow and Gosden 2012, 31) and the return of Celtic Art in a different form. On a more local level, it covers the rise and fall of the inhumation burial tradition in East Yorkshire and the introduction of new settlement types, before the region became very gradually ‘Romanised’. The division of this period into two parts for this project, 400-100BC and 100BC-AD100, follows the split between Middle and Late Iron Age in Britain and the timing of major changes in social organisation, land-use and treatment of the dead in East Yorkshire, which I discussed in Chapter 4.

Due to the nature and timing of changing practices in East Yorkshire, the Iron Age occupation of many of my 30 sites falls cleanly into one of these periods, the

periods of occupation generally having been dated by the archaeologists who authored the reports I've used, although the dating resolution of different objects from different sites varies greatly. In some cases I've been able to refine particular dates by cross-referencing with other better dated sites and objects. As discussed in the previous chapter, recent programmes of radiocarbon dating have provided reliable dates for several sites in the region (Garrow *et al.* 2009, Jay *et al.* 2012), meaning that the burial rite, in particular, is well dated.

Seventeen of my 30 sites date to 400-100BC, all of which are funerary sites. Attributed to the later period are six settlement sites, one funerary site, one site of mixed use and one weapons cache. Three funerary sites and one mixed use site straddle both periods. The first of these is Makeshift cemetery in Rudston, a large cemetery which contains some graves with unusual characteristics. Fifty four burials at the site (of 189 investigated) were orientated east-west, as opposed to north-south, which is the norm in the cemeteries. There were also 2 of these anomalies at Bell Slack (BF62 and 63) and one at Kirkburn (K2). Taking into account stratigraphic relationships between graves and the grave goods present in some of the east-west burials at Makeshift; a La Tène III brooch and 4 swords with straight hilt ends, characteristic of La Tène III, Stead suggests that the east-west burials represent a group that is later than the majority of those of the East Yorkshire cemeteries. Stead also comments on more general trends in the types of objects found in the east-west graves; spears, knives, tools, shield and spindle whorls, a different set of objects to the personal ornaments which are popular in the majority of the graves (Stead 1991, 35-6). A single later square barrow at Sewerby Cottage Farm also follows this trend, containing a spear head and dagger (Fenton-Thomas 2011). Due to the evidence for a later phase at Makeshift, and possibly also at Bell Slack and Kirkburn, any objects from east-west graves will be separated from those belonging to north-south graves and analysed separately with other objects from the later of my two time periods. While it is possible that the use of the other cemeteries continued beyond 100BC, evidence suggests that they were occupied largely during the earlier period of 400-100BC, and they will be treated as belonging to this period.

The second site spanning the whole period 400BC-AD100 is Wetwang/Garton Slack, a large open settlement and adjoining cemetery, described in the previous chapter. Its key feature is that it contains both cemetery and settlement evidence of

contemporary date, making it of great importance for this project. Due to the varying nature Iron Age occupation, the sheer size and complexity of the site and perhaps also to the involvement of different individuals in the excavation and interpretation of the site, the dating resolution varies considerably from object to object. It appears that the graves from the site date to between 400 and 100BC, and there is no later group as at Makeshift cemetery (there are several later infant burials on the site. These contain no grave goods, but some ceramics sherds are associated with the burials). In terms of non-funerary features, the lack of diagnostic artefacts in some makes it extremely difficult to date them. As discussed in the previous chapter, Middle Iron Age styles of pot continue to be used throughout the 1st century AD and beyond in East Yorkshire, so cannot be reliably used to date features without other artefactual or stratigraphic evidence. TCM Brewster has dated some features, such as pits and roundhouses, to within well-defined time periods, while others are labelled simply as Iron Age or Roman due to the lack of diagnostic dating evidence. For the purposes of this project, I have sorted objects into either 400-100BC or 100BC-AD100 based on Brewster's dates and comparisons with artefacts from other sites. There are some objects, however, for which this has not been possible. These have been placed within a third, ambiguous category, which could be described generically as 'Iron Age', and the data for this category of objects will be described separately during the chapter.

It must be noted that the occupation of some of my sites dating to 100BC-AD100 is very likely to have continued beyond AD100. I have deliberately excluded any artefacts dated explicitly to beyond AD150 or the 2nd century AD, but have tried generally to be inclusive of any objects labelled as 'Late Iron Age/Early Roman' or '1st-2nd century AD', for example⁵.

Dividing objects from the PAS database into the two time periods I'm using has been a slightly different process. Each object has given a date by PAS staff, though these vary in specificity. I obtained all objects from East Yorkshire dating to between 400BC and AD100 (on July 28th 2015). Coins were filtered out as it was decided they would skew the numbers of patterned objects in my dataset, all of them being marked or patterned in some way. I divided the remaining objects manually into the two time periods I'm using, partly through the dates given in the database and partly through

⁵ The Roman conquest of East Yorkshire occurred in 71-2AD (Halkon and Millett 1999, 225).

comparison to other objects from the excavated sites in my data spread sheet. Where the dates for objects given were broad, I've placed them into either period based on comparisons with similar, more confidently dated objects from within the region, or elsewhere in Britain. Significantly, while 245 of the objects I identified through PAS search (excluding coins) date to 100BC-AD100, only 10 objects date to the earlier period. This is likely to reflect the societal changes in the region discussed in the previous chapter and will be further discussed later in the chapter.

5.2.3 Methodology

This part of the project has involved the collection and analysis of data on 4611 objects (3064 ceramic sherds, 1557 other objects). In some cases, data has been taken straight from written reports and information on individual objects written into Excel spreadsheets. In the cases of objects from the PAS and from the collections of the BM data has been exported directly from the PAS and BM databases into Excel spreadsheets. Details of how this was achieved are available in Appendix II.

These objects have been analysed to consider pattern, material and context. As discussed later in the chapter, ceramic sherds and other types of objects have been analysed separately, due to issues of quantification.

5.2.4 Pattern in my Dataset

Having obtained data on a large number of objects through the means specified above, the next part of my methodology has been to place each one into one of four categories: Iron, Unknown, Plain or Patterned. Here, I will define each category.

'Iron' refers to objects made mainly or wholly of iron, meaning that their surfaces are either corroded or covered by corrosion products, making it impossible to discern plainness or pattern. It is unlikely that iron objects would ever have been adorned with sinuous La Tène decoration, due to the nature of the material itself. Any patterns produced in iron would have had to be hammered, making the production of curvilinear patterns difficult. Impressed geometric patterns lend themselves to the material more. A single example of potential pattern on an iron object in my dataset has been found in the chariot burial assemblage at Ferrybridge. The object is thought to have been a shield fitting and x-ray has revealed it to be decorated in an openwork style (Brown *et al.* 2007, 146). X-rays of other iron objects, the Wetwang

Village mirror for example, have, however, revealed no pattern. The possibility that some iron objects were patterned cannot be disregarded, but the uncertainty caused by corrosion means I cannot confidently classify them as plain or patterned, therefore they must occupy their own category.

‘Unknown’ refers to a limited number of objects where it has not been possible to access an image of the object, and where the description of the object obtained is too vague to confidently classify it as plain or patterned.

Although iron and unknown objects represent uncertainty in my dataset, they only make up 11% and 2% of my total dataset respectively, as shown in the table in figure 5.17.

‘Patterned’ or ‘Plain’: All the objects in my dataset that are not iron or unknown fall into one of two categories; patterned or plain, with ‘plain’ simply denoting a lack of pattern. I discussed the meaning of the word pattern in Chapter 3, but will define it here in the specific context of my dataset.

In Chapter 3 I highlighted problems with the vagueness of the word ‘decoration’ for a project such as mine, which seeks to study the practice of ‘decoration’ in detail. The ‘decorative’ features of an object could range from its colour to its texture to its pattern to its form and the object’s ‘decorative’ status could almost be seen to reflect the combination of these characteristics and the overall visual effects of an object. The idea of something being ‘decorative’ is also as highly culturally and even personally contingent as the definition of ‘art’. This vagueness has led me to tease out the different strands of what constitutes decoration in an attempt to reach a more stable and defined definition of the decorative elements of Iron Age objects that I wish to study, identifying pattern as just one particular strand. As I stated in chapter three, this is why the word ‘pattern’ is valuable to this project.

As I also emphasised during chapter three, I see pattern and form as being separate from one another, but I acknowledge that the boundary between the two is highly blurry, fluid and context dependant. It is also an important part of defining what pattern is in this dataset.

Dictionary definitions of ‘pattern’ tend to focus on the repetition, recurrence or even tessellation of motifs, which are, in themselves, decorative designs or

images. This definition does not work for Iron Age pattern due to the inherently asymmetrical nature of most British La Tène art, where the same combinations of motif are almost never repeated. Fox's idea of pattern (though he never actually defines it explicitly) was also motif-based, and could perhaps be summarised simply as the motifs that adorn the Celtic Art objects described in *Pattern and Purpose* (1958), as can be seen in his 'Grammar of Celtic Ornament' (1958, 147-8). The lack of recurrence in Early Celtic Art is illustrated here by the fact that Fox breaks its patterns down to their essential shapes in places; three-sided voids and domed trumpets for example. These shapes can be combined in many different ways to recreate the designs of the objects described and illustrated in the volume.

While it is a comprehensive guide to the types of shape or motif found in Early Celtic Art, there are problems with Fox's Grammar of Celtic Ornament when trying to use it to define pattern in the context of this project. It lifts motifs away from the objects they adorn and looks at them in isolation, a popular strategy at the time of Fox. More recent approaches to prehistoric art have stressed the importance of considering motifs in the contexts of the objects they are found upon (e.g. Bradley 2009, 22-25) and the materials in which they are made (e.g. Conneller 2011). These newer approaches are essential to me, as investigating different patterns found on different objects made from different types of materials is the core aim of this project. My definition of pattern must, therefore, include the consideration of the object types and materials it is found on.

Taking these points into account, I would like to suggest that, rather than being purely motif-based, my definition of pattern will also be process-based. Considering the processes involved in creating the patterns in my dataset will allow me to look at how they were made, which will be helpful in determining why they were made.

This is where the relationship between pattern and form, which I mentioned earlier, becomes important. It differs according to the way an object is made, which is often dictated, to an extent, by the material the object is made from. Many patterned objects in my dataset are made from cast bronze using the lost-wax process, where motifs on the surfaces of objects are created during

the same process as the production of the overall form. The same is true for the wavy lines and ‘eyes’ found on glass objects in my dataset. In fact, there are very few materials present in my dataset where pattern is added only after the form of the object is completely ‘finished’. Pots must be patterned before firing. Bone and antler must be soaked to make them workable enough to produce the patterns found on bone objects in my dataset. Only stone objects, chalk in particular, can be returned to and worked at any point (See Jones *et al.* 2015). Discussion of the *chaînes opératoires* of the production of pattern and form will constitute an important part of section 5.4.1.

In some respects, all the pattern in my dataset could also be defined as form, in that it is all 3-dimensional. While the recording of La Tène patterns using ink and paper has been popular over the past century, one could argue that it has served to ‘flatten’ the patterns illustrated, when in fact they are all inscribed, impressed, moulded or raised. Hatching or stippling also adds texture to these patterns. On some objects in my dataset it is quite simple to visually and mentally separate the form of an object from its 3D patterns. While looking at a pot with an inscribed linear band running around its shoulder, for example, the overall form of the pot can easily be separated from the decorative band, a pattern added to the pot’s design after its form had been built. As patterns become more three dimensional, however, this becomes more difficult. The lips on a lipped terret are considered ‘decorative’ and are included in Fox’s Grammar of Celtic Ornament, but as patterns they are so overtly three dimensional that they are also part of the object’s form. The same applies to the wings of parallel-winged terrets and the baluster forms of some toggles. I suggest that the decorative forms of these objects are simply extremely 3-dimensional patterns. Similarly, for several objects in my dataset decorated in an openwork style, the form is pattern. This works the opposite way from the moulded forms; pattern is formed by reductions from the object’s form, rather than additions to it. But what is it that makes these design features patterns, rather than form? It could be argued, looking at these examples from a process-based perspective, that these patterns are additions to the designs of these objects, just as the linear band on the shoulder of a pot is an addition. For example, it is plausible to suggest that a craftsperson designing a terret will have first envisaged its general ring form,

before adding lips or wings to his or her mental picture of the finished object. This is not to say that pattern is an afterthought. Indeed, perhaps some objects are even vehicles for pattern, but pattern cannot exist without a form to reside on.

My rule for defining pattern in difficult circumstances, such as the examples given above, requires one to imagine what the object would be like without the decorative features I am considering as pattern. Would it still be the same type of object? Would it fulfil the same physical purpose as it does with the pattern? If the answers to these questions are yes, I consider the object to be patterned.

While not everyone will agree with this definition, and while it would be unlikely to work within some other artistic contexts, the limited range of object types in my dataset mean that I've been able to consider all the pattern types present and make a judgement about what can be called pattern with a knowledge of the full range of patterns and forms present in the dataset. The most form-like patterns in my dataset are those mentioned above; lipped and parallel-winged terrets.

This definition of pattern has allowed me to be generous with what I consider patterned. Design features that fall into the fringe area between pattern and form tend to have been classified as pattern, according to the rule stated above. This has allowed me to truly test Jody Joy's assertion (2011) that pattern is rare.

Some examples of objects on the fringes of what I've classified as patterned are:

A finger ring from Garton Station (burial GS7), with two bordering grooves running round its circumference:



Figure 5.4: Finger ring, Garton Station, 1985,0305.29 (©Trustees of the British Museum).

This bronze involuted brooch from Makeshift, which has twisting curvilinear decoration and a lipped knob on its catchplate:



Figure 5.5: Brooch from Makeshift, 1975,0401.36 (©Trustees of the British Museum).

This dumbbell shaped toggle, which has a groove or stripe round each terminal:



Figure 5.6: Toggle, YORYM-825327 (Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme).

This parallel-winged terret, which has protruding, lipped motifs:



Figure 5.7: Parallel-winged terret, YORYM-9DEoA7 (Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme).

As well as discerning whether some objects are patterned or not, defining different styles of pattern has also been a key feature and a key challenge of this analysis, which will be discussed in section 5.3.3.

5.2.5 Context in my Dataset

Part of the aim of this chapter is to compare instance and style of pattern on different objects to the contexts in which they were deposited. As is now widely acknowledged by scholars of the Iron Age, the practice of deposition was laden with subtle meaning. I will discuss this subtle meaning in Chapter 7, but for the purposes of this chapter I will be splitting depositional contexts into two broad types:

Funerary deposition: Funerary deposition in my dataset can be defined as the deposition of any type of object within a grave as part of the funerary event. This category will allow me to investigate the specific pairing of patterned and plain objects with deceased members of East Yorkshire communities.

Non-funerary deposition: Non-funerary deposition is far more complex a category, simply encompassing all other types of deposition. Due to the scope and methods of this project, detailed consideration of the deliberateness and meaningfulness of all the deposits I'm investigating has not been possible due to the differing levels of detail in the documentation on context I've used. Some of the non-funerary deposits I'm looking at are clearly extremely deliberate and meaningful. Examples are the South Cave Weapons Cache, a Late Iron Age hoard containing five swords, many spearheads and a layer of ceramic sherds (Powell in prep.). The Comb Pit, a pit at Wetwang/Garton Slack containing three decorated weaving combs and two bone sliders or toggles, is another such deposit (Brewster 1980). The deposition of ceramic sherds in pits excavated by Rigby (2004) is also discussed as being meaningful, with some sherds carefully placed into pits. Many of the objects in my dataset, however, may have been chance losses or deliberately discarded rubbish.

5.3 Data Analysis

This section of the chapter will present an analysis of the data collected through the means described above. My entire dataset contains 4611 objects, 3064 of

which are ceramic sherds. The sherds will be analysed as a group, followed by all other object types, which will be analysed as a separate group.

5.3.1 Ceramic Sherds

An important element of this project is that it has taken into consideration the patterns of all object types and compared them against one another. Originally, all object types were analysed together in the same graphs, but it was found that the huge numbers of ceramic sherds present at some sites caused the graphs to be wildly skewed and difficult to read. It was decided that the fragmented nature of almost all the pots in my dataset made it unfair to compare them quantitatively with whole objects, as sherds are sometimes counted individually in the databases I've used to construct my own, and one pot can be represented by many sherds. A single object, for example, can be a sherd, a whole pot or a number of sherds that may refit to form part of a pot. This inconsistency means I cannot treat these entries in the same ways as I would treat whole objects, like bridle bits or brooches. Pots, therefore, will be discussed separately from the rest of the objects.

In section 4.4.3, I touched on the distinctive plainness of ceramic vessels from Middle Iron Age East Yorkshire. Stead coined the term 'shapeless jars' (1991, 100-101) to refer to the vessels he recovered from funerary contexts during his investigation of many of the Middle Iron Age cemeteries discussed in this thesis. This name has stuck and was used by Rigby to refer to a particular type of vessel, which she dates to 400-100BC, in her publication on non-funerary sites in East Yorkshire (2004). She describes the vessels as; "typically minimum input vessels, proportionally thick-walled for their size, where little effort was made to finish surfaces and mask the inclusions. Firing was uncontrolled in an open fire." (Rigby 2004, 47). The plain pots of Middle Iron Age East Yorkshire have, at times, been juxtaposed against the rich metalwork found in graves, emphasising the aesthetic differences between these two groups of material (Sharples 2008, 209)



*Figure 5.8: A typical shapeless jar from Makeshift cemetery, 1975,0401.4
(©Trustees of the British Museum).*

I have argued elsewhere that the critical assessment of the aesthetic properties of so-called ‘shapeless jars’ is not overly helpful in understanding the ways that the contrasting decorative practices of Iron Age East Yorkshire described above have come about. In fact, descriptions of the lack of technical skill or design flare used in the production of these vessels mask a long standing tradition of making this type of pot dating back at least to the Early Iron Age (Chittock 2016). The continued production of similar vessels over almost a millennium could be seen to represent a long-standing cultural tradition rather than a lack of skilled potters in the region.

This part of the chapter is a good opportunity to look at whether my dataset reflects the idea that pots from Middle Iron Age East Yorkshire are typically plain. It will also allow me to look at pots during the Late Iron Age, which are not part of the comparisons made by Sharples (2008, 209). While the Late Iron Age sees the introduction of new forms, fabrics and patterns on pots in the region, the same ‘shapeless jars’ continue to be produced in the region throughout the Romano-British period (e.g. Halkon 2013, 186).

The table in figure 5.9 gives an overview of the frequencies of plain and patterned ceramic sherds, or vessels, in my dataset. Each object is counted as it appears in the present in the museum databases I've used, meaning an entry in my database could include:

- A whole pot.
- Multiple sherds refitted to form part of a pot.
- A collection of sherds that may have been part of the same pot.
- A single sherd.

The varied and fragmented nature of the ceramic record makes it difficult to quantify the proportions of plain and patterned pots that were in circulation at any point during the Iron Age, and the way in which I've collected data for this chapter means that I've relied on museum records and published information, where the level of fragmentation of vessels is not always specified. The data presented in this chapter, therefore, is very much a picture of ceramic assemblages in the present, but provides a summary of what can be gleaned from these assemblages regarding the frequency and style of pattern, and the places that ceramics were deposited.

The table below shows the frequencies of plain and patterned sherds from funerary and non-funerary contexts. Significantly, none of these sherds come from the PAS, as the prevalence of metal detectorists in generating these finds mean that non-metal objects tend not to enter the PAS record. There are 255 sherds from 400-100BC, 6.6% of which are patterned. 2809 sherds are attributed to the later period, 5% of which are patterned. 27 sherds were also recorded from un-datable non-funerary features at Wetwang/Garton Slack. 26 were plain while 1 was patterned with a cabled rim.

	400-100BC			100BC-AD100		
	Plain	Patterned	Unknown	Plain	Patterned	Unknown
Funerary Contexts	117	11	25	6	6	1
Non-funerary Contexts	96	6	0	2648	142	6

Figure 5.9: A table showing frequencies of plain and patterned ceramic entries from different contexts and time periods.

Although the percentages of patterned sherds are similar for both time periods, the vast differences in numbers and in the distribution of sherds at different site types reflect the changes in land-use that occur in East Yorkshire between the Middle and Late Iron Ages. During 400-100BC the numbers of sherds from different context types are relatively similar. During 100BC-AD100, however, the number of sherds from non-funerary contexts increases sharply. Conversely, sherds from funerary contexts become fewer, indicating the tailing-off of the inhumation burial rite.

The huge increase in pots in non-funerary contexts over time could be partially explained by the fact that only one substantial site with non-funerary features dating to 400-100BC, Wetwang/Garton Slack, has seen excavation in the region, due to the fact that archaeologists have been unable to locate other settlement sites from this period. Indeed, Wetwang/Garton Slack settlement is scattered and open; perhaps the other elusive settlements are similarly laid out and therefore difficult to identify archaeologically. The move to enclosed ladder settlements during the Late Iron Age resulted in settlements that are easy for archaeologists to locate and excavate, which should mean that finds are recovered in greater numbers from these sites. This certainly seems true of pots, though less so of other small finds. Another factor that could explain the increase in pots is that the number of pots in circulation may have increased over time. Halkon and Millet (1999) have identified a number of pottery kilns of Roman date in the Holme-on-Spalding-Moor area to the west of the Wolds. The kilns are by no means industrial, simply serving settlements on a modest scale, but could be seen to represent a move during the Late Iron Age towards more formalised production than the 'open bonfires' of the Middle Iron Age that Rigby describes (2004, 47). Similarly, the production of more durable ceramics is perhaps a factor in the survival of greater numbers of sherds in the archaeological record. It is also possible that the increase in pot sherds represents change in the treatment and deposition of material culture. Perhaps the increase in ceramic sherds during the latter period is indicative of an increased focus on the deposition of pots or sherds. These are all plausible explanations and it seems likely that multiple factors are in play.

It could reasonably be said, for both periods, that pattern is 'rare', affecting 6.6% and 5% of vessels or sherds respectively. The styles of the patterns found on sherds, however, change over time, as shown in the graph and table below.

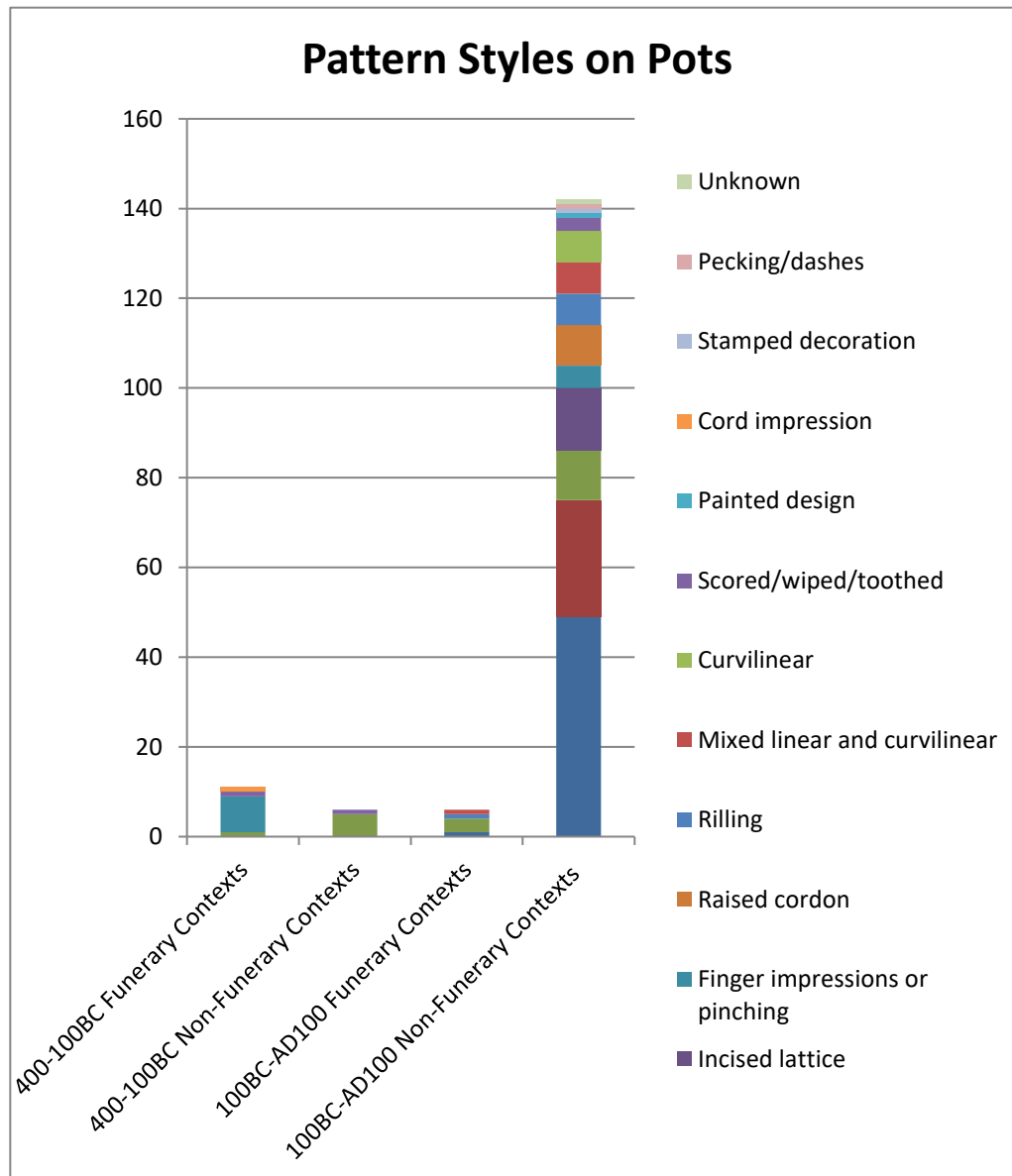


Figure 5.10: A graph showing frequencies of different styles of pattern on pot sherds from different context types.

Style	400-100BC Funerary	400-100BC Non-Funerary	100BC-AD100 Funerary	100BC-AD100 Non-Funerary
Linear incisions/grooves	0	0	1	49
Samian	0	0	0	26
Cabled/ impressed rim	1	5	3	11
Incised lattice	0	0	0	14
Finger impressions or pinching	8	0	0	5
Raised cordon	0	0	0	9
Rilling	0	0	1	7
Mixed linear and curvilinear	0	0	1	7
Curvilinear	0	0	0	7
Scored/wiped/toothed	1	1	0	3
Painted design	0	0	0	1
Cord impression	1	0	0	
Stamped decoration	0	0	0	1
Pecking/dashes	0	0	0	1
Unknown	0	0	0	1

Figure 5.11: A table showing frequencies of different style patterns on pots.

Figures 5.10 and 5.11 illustrate the changing styles of pattern found on pots in East Yorkshire. In the funerary contexts dating to 400-100BC shown on the graph, eight of the nine patterned sherds were decorated with fingertip impressions or pinching. The ninth sherd was patterned with cord impressions and is the only sherd from my whole dataset patterned in this way, making it very unusual. Significantly, sherds from contemporary non-funerary contexts at Wetwang/Garton Slack were decorated in slightly different ways. Six of eight had cabled rims, while the remaining two had scored, wiped or toothed surfaces. While there is a marked split in the patterns on sherds from funerary and non-funerary contexts dating from 400-100BC, it is worth noting that the two categories ‘fingertip impressions or pinching’ and ‘cabled/impressed rims’ are actually closely related. Both are made by the shaping or pressing of the clay with the fingers. In some cases the difference between them may simply be down to slightly different classification by archaeologists. The scored/wiped/toothed surfaces will have been created with the help of tools.

100BC-AD100 sees the diversification of the techniques used and the introduction of a range of tools. Linear, curvilinear and lattice patterns were all made by dragging a pointed object through the surface of the clay. Patterned Samian ware becomes common; this variety of pot being made using moulds, and one sherd of wheel-thrown, stamped Parisian ware, probably imported from Lincolnshire or South Yorkshire (Halkon 2013, 186), is also present. These styles, and sherds of mortaria and amphora, represent the introduction of 'Romanised' styles of pot into East Yorkshire during the late Iron Age, although 'native', Iron Age-style jars also continue to be used well into the Romano-British period (e.g. Halkon 2013, 186).

To summarise this section of the chapter, I have noted both similarities and differences between the data on ceramic sherds between the Middle and late Iron Age. The proportions of patterned sherds remain very similar, at a level that can reasonably be considered 'rare'. The frequency of sherds, however, increases dramatically over time and I've suggested a number of factors that may have governed this. Significantly for this project, the range of decoration techniques also increases and the production of patterns by a diverse array of tools makes the ceramics from the later period far more varied than those from the earlier period. The next section of the chapter will consider the data for all other types of objects from my dataset, and I'll be able to contextualise my findings on ceramic sherds within this wider group of objects.

5.3.2 Patterned and plain objects

The following section will look at all the other types of object. This section of the chapter is focussed on the frequencies of plain, patterned, iron and unknown objects in different context types and the way these change over time.

Figure 5.12, below, shows data for the 863 non-ceramic objects in my dataset dated to 400-100BC. Patterned objects are far less rare than might have been expected, making up 29% of non-ceramic objects from this period, while plain objects make up 33%.

The fact that the percentage of patterned objects in non-funerary contexts (38%) is higher than in funerary contexts (27%) is surprising, as graves are typically seen as foci for the deposition of decorated metalwork in the region, such as

weaponry, horse and chariot gear and personal ornament⁶. Several patterned metal objects in my dataset have come from non-funerary contexts, but a diverse range of other patterned objects; bone combs, chalk whorls and a jet disc, for example, make up most of the patterned objects from these contexts.

The lower percentage of patterned objects in graves is influenced by the high percentage of iron objects, which make up 38% of objects from funerary contexts dating to 400-100BC. Many of these are brooches and some have a red glass or coral attachment, a common feature for East Yorkshire involuted brooches during this time period. 28% of the 107 iron brooches from graves dating to 400-100BC have an attachment or evidence that they once had an attachment. Just five iron brooches in my dataset have come from non-funerary contexts, and one from a later grave, and none had an attachment. While these attachments can be classified confidently as being 'decorative', providing a flash of colour, they do not constitute pattern in the sense that I have defined it during this project (see section 5.2.5), as they do not involve the inscription or moulding of any kind of motifs.

Another key feature of the graph below is the PAS column, which contains just 10 objects (2 plain, 8 patterned). This small figure becomes significant when compared to PAS statistics from the later period, which show a much higher frequency of PAS finds.

⁶ The sample size for non-funerary contexts from this period is, however, comparatively small (42 objects), which must be taken into account when comparing these figures.

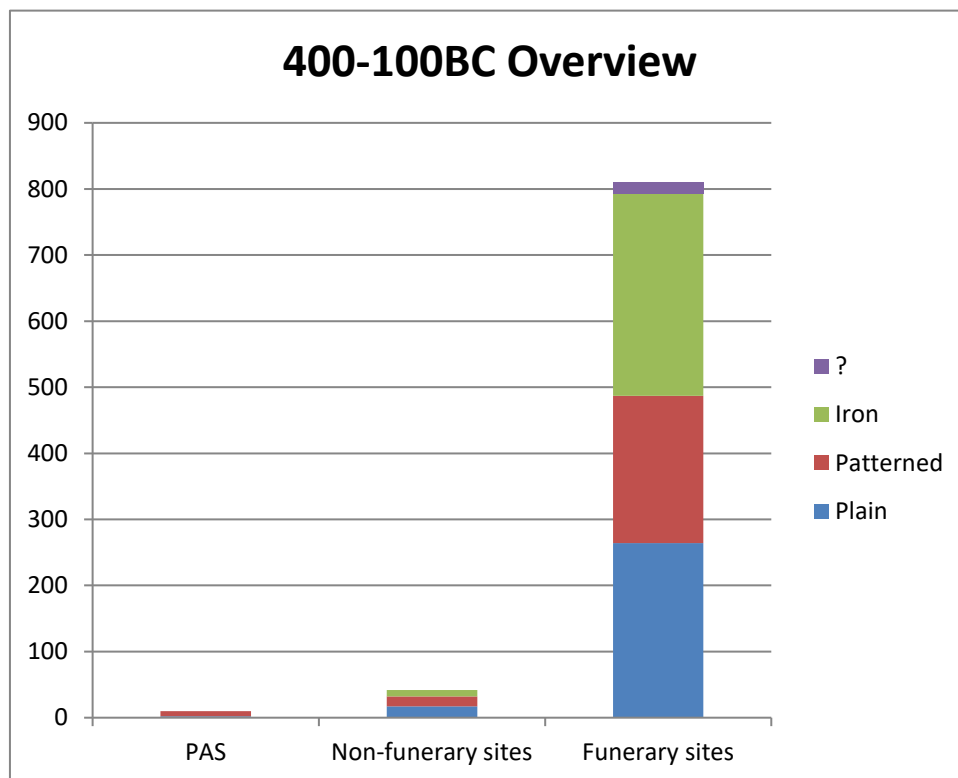


Figure 5.12 A graph showing the frequencies of plain, patterned, unknown and iron objects during the period 400-100BC.

Context Type	Plain	Patterned	Iron	?	TOTAL
PAS	2	8	0	0	10
Non-funerary contexts	17	15	10	0	42
Funerary contexts	264	223	306	18	811
TOTAL	283	246	316	18	863

Figure 5.13: A table showing the frequencies of plain, patterned, unknown and iron objects during the period 400-100BC.

The following graph and table, figures 5.14 and 5.15, show the frequencies of plain, patterned, iron and unknown non-ceramic objects from the period 100BC-AD100. The total number of objects shown here is 610. The changes in the occupation of different types of site between the Middle and Late Iron Ages are evident, just as they were in the analysis of ceramic sherds above. These changes are indicated by a sharp fall in the number objects from funerary contexts and an increase in the number of objects from non-funerary contexts. 245 of the objects from this phase come from the PAS, a huge increase on the 10 objects from the earlier period. Similarly to the earlier period, though, a high percentage of the PAS objects are patterned; 71%.

During this period, patterned objects are, again, less rare than might have been expected, making up 37% of the total, while plain objects make up 30% (though the 2654 plain ceramic sherds from 100BC-AD100 analysed in the previous section must be taken into account here).

Though the overall proportions of plain and patterned objects remain fairly similar to those of the earlier period, the distributions of these objects across different types of context change dramatically, illustrating changing practices relating to material culture as well as to the occupation of different types of site. In funerary contexts, the percentage of patterned objects drops from 27% to just 5%, representing just 3 patterned objects. This reflects the tailing off of the practice in inhumation burial and the change in the types of objects used as grave goods post-100BC, described by Stead (1991, 35-6), with iron objects becoming popular at 42%.

In non-funerary contexts, patterned non-ceramic objects have dropped from 36% to 17% during the latter period. As the graph below shows, PAS objects make up the majority of patterned objects. The huge increase on the 10 PAS objects of the earlier period is significant and seems likely to reflect the changing treatment of material culture in the Late Iron Age described by Jundi and Hill (1998), who describe the huge increase in new types of brooches in the archaeological record during the 1st century AD as the ‘fibula event horizon’, linking this to increased concern for personal appearance. 134 of the 245 PAS objects from this period are brooches, and many of the remainder are other fasteners and personal ornaments.

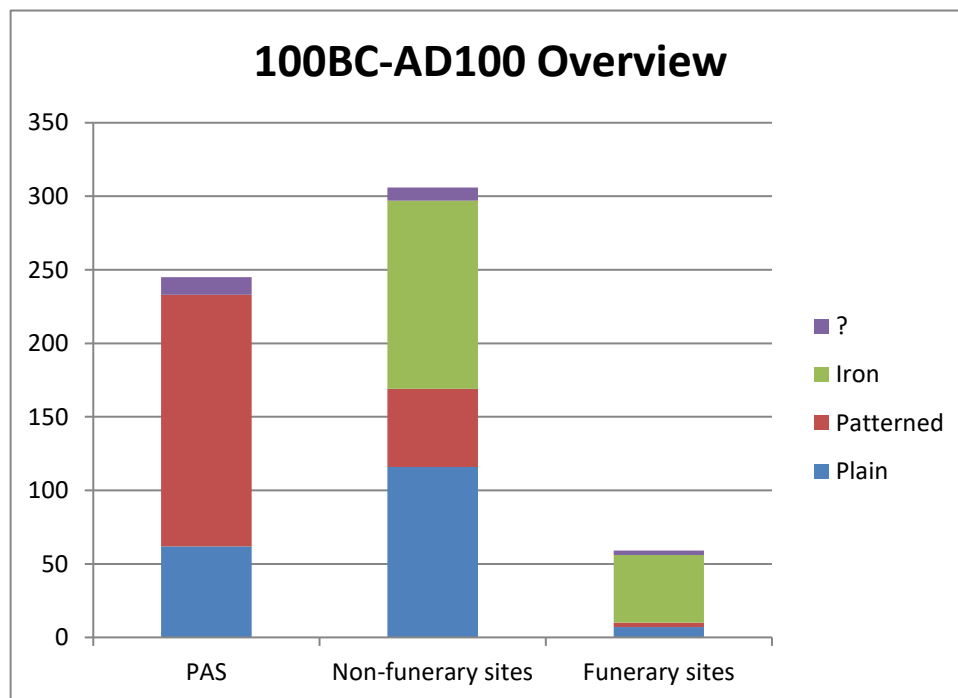


Figure 5.14: A graph showing the frequencies of plain, patterned, iron and unknown objects dating to the period 100BC-AD100.

Context Type	Plain	Patterned	Iron	?	TOTAL
PAS	62	171	0	12	245
Non-funerary sites	116	53	128	9	306
Funerary sites	7	3	46	3	59
TOTAL	185	227	174	24	610

Figure 5.15: A table showing the frequencies of plain, patterned, iron and unknown objects dating to the period 100BC-AD100.

The graph below (fig. 5.16) contains the data on non-ceramic objects of ambiguous date from Wetwang and Garton Slack, which all come from non-funerary contexts. Although this data is not useful for looking at changing material culture over time, it does reflect the general proportions of plain and patterned objects shown in non-funerary contexts in the two previous graphs.

	Number of Objects
Plain	12
Patterned	7
Iron	13
Unknown	6

Figure 5.16: A graph showing the frequency of plain, patterned, iron and unknown objects of ambiguous date from Wetwang and Garton Slack.

The graphs and tables above have established how many objects are plain and how many are patterned at different types of site in Iron Age East Yorkshire. Pattern is, as has been suggested previously for the Iron Age generally (e.g. Joy 2011), fairly rare overall when ceramic sherds are considered, making up just 14% of this sample of 4611 objects, whereas plain objects constitute 73%, as shown in figure 5.17. As I have argued, however, counting ceramic sherds as whole objects may skew these figures unfairly. Once ceramics are separated from the rest of the data the picture changes

dramatically, with almost equal proportions of plain, patterned and iron objects. Pattern is, perhaps, not as rare during the Iron Age as was previously thought.

	Total objects	Plain	Patterned	Iron	?
400-100BC (non-ceramics only)	863	33%	29%	37%	2%
100BC-AD100 (non-ceramics only)	610	30%	37%	29%	4%
Ambiguous Wetwang Data (non-ceramics only)	47	63%	11%	18%	8%
Total dataset with ceramics	4611	73%	14%	11%	2%
Total dataset without ceramics	1520	32%	32%	33%	3%

Figure 5.17: A table showing a summary of the percentages of plain and patterned objects in each time period.

I have rested on some specific temporal changes regarding contexts of deposition that are visible in my dataset. As I highlighted above, the percentage of objects from funerary contexts that are patterned drops from 27% to just 5% between the Middle and Late Iron Ages, representing changing funerary practices. In non-funerary contexts this drops from 36% to 17%.

While the proportions of patterned and plain objects from the PAS remain similar, the actual frequency of objects increases massively from 10 to 245 during the later period, reflecting general changes in the treatment of material culture across Iron Age Britain (e.g. Jundi and Hill 1998).

From this data, it can be suggested that non-ceramic patterned objects were relevant in both funerary and non-funerary contexts during 400-100BC in a way they weren't during the later time period. They fulfilled special functions in deposition at these sites, and perhaps took on new social and depositional roles during 100BC-AD100 when new types of deposition became popular. I will discuss this possibility in section 5.4.2.

Giles (2012) has written on the dramatic display of the East Yorkshire funerary rite, in which patterned objects may have played important visual roles, a notion

supported by this dataset. Given comments on the long biographies of some of the patterned objects found in East Yorkshire graves (Stead 1991, Garrow and Gosden 2012, Giles 2008, Giles 2012), and the presence of patterned objects in non-funerary contexts, however, it seems unlikely that the sole role of pattern was its deployment in the spectacle of the funerary rite. It may have had other roles during other stages of the biographies of objects and in different types of deposition. The next chapter will continue to dwell on context, and will focus in on patterned objects to consider the differing styles of pattern found in different contexts.

5.3.3 Style and Context

The concept of ‘style’ has seen much use and much discussion in archaeology (e.g. Wiessner 1983, Hodder 1982, Conkey and Hastorf 1990, Jones 1997) and I use it here with great caution. The reason I’m using this potentially contentious word is that I wish to explore the differences between the varied kinds of pattern present in my dataset. While I acknowledge that the imposition of categories can be unhelpful, I do not wish to view the patterned objects in my dataset as a unified or homogenous group. The objects discussed in this chapter are decorated in a whole range of different types of pattern; grooves, stripes, curves, lattice patterns, scratches, etc, all of which have different aesthetic effects. In an attempt to study this difference I have split the patterns of all non-ceramic objects from my dataset into a number of style categories, which I will describe here:

La Tène: This category applies to objects carrying La Tène style motifs. Fox describes many of these motifs in his ‘Grammar of Early Celtic Ornament’ (1958, 147-8, see Chapter 3 of this thesis); lobe patterns, palmettes, lyres and trumpets, for example. The names of these motifs have become an accepted ‘grammar’ for archaeologists discussing this style of art and are still in use today (e.g. Joy 2008). Figure 5.18 shows an image of the Bugthorpe scabbard, which is a good example of the use of La Tène or Early Celtic motifs.



Figure 5.18: Detail from the Bugthorpe scabbard, 1905,0717.1 (©Trustees of the British Museum).

Sub- La Tène: I've also created a group of objects with 'Sub-La Tène' pattern. This label refers to a category of pattern more 3-dimensional than La Tène, which alludes to its motifs with curving lines and shapes, but doesn't replicate them due to a lack of flat surfaces on the objects it is applied to (see figures 5.5 and 5.19). These types of objects, lipped terrets being a good example, are usually seen as being part of the phenomenon of La Tène art, but occupy the fringes of the category. This separate sub-La Tène category allows me to acknowledge that La Tène pattern is itself what Jones would call a 'fuzzy' (2012, 101-2) category with a 'core' and a 'periphery', and to be inclusive of a broader range of curvilinear patterns.



Figure 5.19: Terret, Kirkburn, 1987,0404.18 (©Trustees of the British Museum).

Ring-and-Dot: Ring-and-dot is a much neater category, involving a motif comprising a ring with a dot in the centre. The motif is often found on bone and antler objects across Iron Age Britain, where it is thought to have been created using a stamp, which is used on the bone once it has been softened through soaking, or possibly a compass (fig. 5.20). It is also found on bronze objects, where it can be cast or incised, and occasionally occurs alongside La Tène motifs on bronze. Where both occur together in my dataset, they have been categorised as La Tène.



Figure 5.20: A bone slider from Wetwang/Garton Slack with ring-and-dot pattern, KINCM:2006.11303.2961 (©Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).

Geometric: Geometric is a broad category and refers to any pattern made from straight lines; ribbing, stripes, grooves, lattices, etc (fig. 5.21). These types of patterns are often incised into bone objects. They also appear on cast bronze objects, where they often exist as bordering grooves.



Figure 5.21: A toggle with geometric decoration, SWYOR-2930F2 (Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme).

Baluster/bulbous/knobbed: Bulbous/baluster/knobbed refers to more three dimensional patterns and this category contains objects such as baluster toggles and knobbed bracelets. These patterns are three dimensional in the same sense as sub-La Tène objects are, but their shapes are more geometric; deep grooves, ‘reel-and-bead’ and raised circles and ovals.



Figure 5.22: A knobbed or beaded bronze bracelet from Arras, 1880,0802.137 (©Trustees of the British Museum).

Twisted/twisted effect: This category refers only to bracelets but encompasses a specific type of pattern that doesn’t fall into the categories described above. In bronze this pattern is achieved by twisting a ribbon of bronze before forming it into a circular bracelet. A jet bracelet in my dataset has also been carved in a way that emulates this twisted pattern.



Figure 5.23: A jet bracelet from Wetwang/Garton Slack carved in a twisted pattern, KINCM:2006.11303.4489 (©Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).

Scratched/scored Scratched/scored refers to a limited number of objects, mainly made from chalk, with irregular scratched patterns. This type of pattern is closely related to ‘Geometric’ but is rougher, less symmetrical and made from a mixture of straight and curved lines.



Figure 5.24: A piece of worked chalk from Wetwang/Garton Slack with incised geometric decoration (©Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).

Anthropomorphic/zoomorphic: This category applies to 100BC-AD100 only, due to several naturalistic representations of humans and animals from this period, which exist independently of any other pattern. (There are instances where La Tène pattern from the earlier period could be interpreted

as depicting animals, see the possible bird heads on the Bugthorpe scabbard in figure 5.18 for example. These instances are categorised as La Tène).



Figure 5.25: The head of a pin, decorated with anthropomorphic features, YORYM-A9A622 (Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme).

Petal and Eye Shapes: Like the category above, this category is only relevant to the later of the two periods and refers to patterns formed from or consisting of petal, eye or teardrop shapes, new motifs introduced during this period. These motifs are present on various types of small Late Iron Age and Early Romano-British bronze objects in the north of Britain (see MacGregor 1976).



Figure 5.26: An example of patterns based around an eye or petal motif, YORYM-97C1D6. (Courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme).

Glass beads/bangles/necklaces: Glass objects have been given their own category, as the wavy lines, swirls and 'eyes' found on them fall just outside the other categories mentioned here.



Figure 5.27: A glass bead from Arras showing the characteristic 'eye' design often found on glass beads, 1891,0327.4 (©Trustees of the British Museum).

Other The 'Other' category refers to a small number of unusual patterned objects that do not fit within the categories described above.

Each patterned non-ceramic object in my dataset has been placed into one of these categories (with the exception of a small number of objects, most from the PAS, where pattern is described in writing, but where a lack of available images means I cannot confidently categorise the pattern. These objects are recorded as 'Unknown'). Where objects have more than one type of pattern, they are categorised by the pattern type I consider to be most prominent in their overall designs. This generally means the pattern that covers more of the object's surface. This applies to several La Tène patterned objects that also contain ring-and-dot motifs, which I've categorised as La Tène. Notably it has also led to an apparent lack of baluster/bulbous/knobbed patterns in the later period, because these objects also all have dominant geometric patterns (see figure 5.21 for example).

The two graphs below show the frequency of each type of style in different context types during each of my time periods; 400-100BC and 100BC-AD100.

The first graph below (figure 5.28) and accompanying table (figure 5.29) show the data from 400-100BC. The style of pattern specific to glass objects is most common here, making up 30% of this group. This is due partly to the recording of beads individually in some museum databases and excavation reports, where they probably existed as parts of necklaces in many cases. This aside, beads occur in many

of the graves from this period at Wetwang and Arras in particular. Geometric is also a common category (22%), containing items of horse and chariot gear, bracelets, brooches and, from non-funerary contexts, several bone combs. Sub-La Tène (16%) and, to a slightly lesser extent, La Tène (12%) are also quite common, both categories being dominated by horse and chariot gear and also containing swords, shield fittings and personal ornament.

Significantly, while objects from funerary contexts dominate the whole graph, the four objects in the 'Scratched/Scored' category are exclusively from non-funerary contexts. All are whorls or discs; three chalk and one jet.

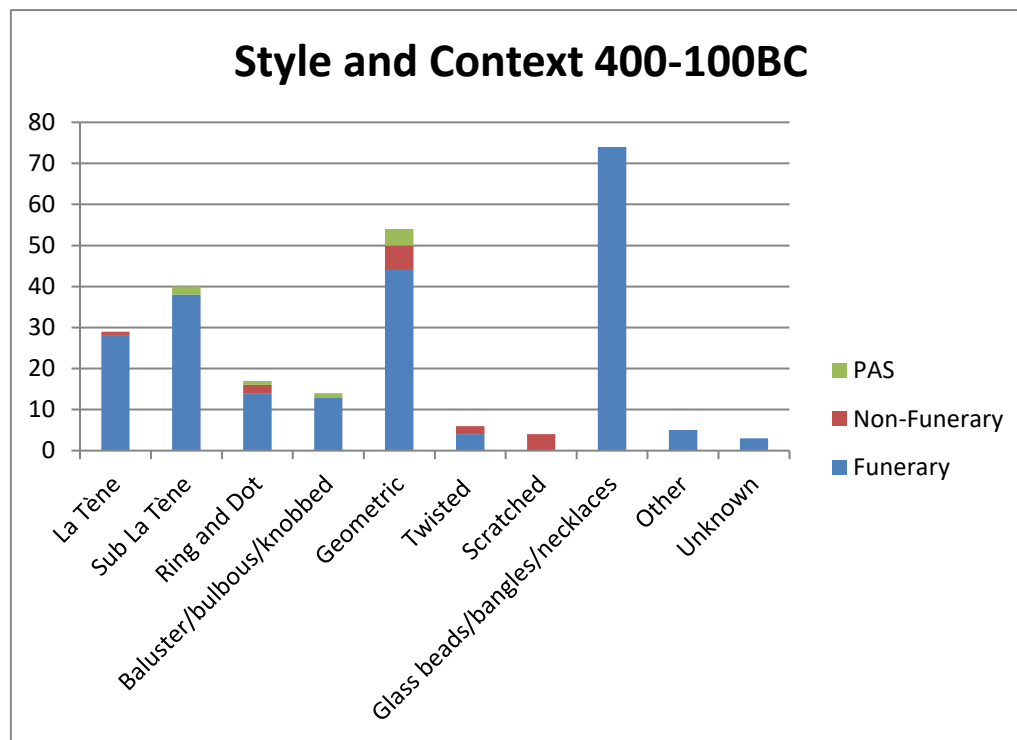


Figure 5.28: A Graph showing styles of pattern from 400-100BC.

Style	Funerary	Non-Funerary	PAS	TOTAL
La Tène	28	1	0	29
Sub La Tène	38	0	2	40
Ring and Dot	14	2	1	17
Baluster/bulbous/knobbed	13	0	1	14
Geometric	44	6	4	54
Twisted	4	2	0	6
Scratched	0	4	0	4
Glass beads/bangles/necklaces	74	0	0	74
Other	5	0	0	5
Unknown	3	0	0	3
TOTAL	223	15	8	246

Figure 5.29.: A table showing styles of pattern from 400-100BC.

The graph and table below (figures 5.30 and 5.31) show the same data for the 227 patterned objects of the later period, 100BC-AD100. As specified above, the categories ‘Petal/Eye shape’ and ‘Anthropomorphic/Zoomorphic’ have been added to reflect new styles appearing at this time. This graph appears dramatically different to the previous one. In the previous section of this chapter I briefly considered the way that the changing deposition of patterned objects in my dataset fits in with wider changes in depositional practice during the Middle-Late Iron Age. These changes are even more visible here; while the previous graph was dominated by objects from funerary contexts, the graph below is dominated instead by objects from the PAS. While the use of PAS data must take into account the specific biases associated with it, this graph very much reflects the increase in small decorated personal ornaments, particularly brooches, noted in the archaeological record of the Late Iron Age across Britain (e.g. Jundi and Hill 1998).

The graph below also shows that changes in the styles of pattern have occurred over time. The frequencies of La Tène and sub-La Tène styles have decreased noticeably to just 4% and 5% respectively. The horse and chariot gear that dominated these categories has largely disappeared from the graph and they are now both made up mainly of small mounts and fasteners from the PAS. Four swords from the South Cave Weapons Cache are also present in the La Tène category, though it is

significant that at least some of these swords may have been old when they were deposited (Powell in prep., also see Chapter 7). Patterned glass objects have also decreased to form just 2% of this group. Geometric patterns, on the other hand, have become even more popular than they were during the earlier period and now dominate the entire graph, making up 53% of the objects shown. Brooches make up most of the numbers here, although other objects such as mounts, toggles, weights and a comb are also present. One thing that has not changed over time is the fact that the seven objects with scratched decoration are found only in non-funerary contexts. Again, all are made from chalk and are a mixture of weights, discs and tablets.

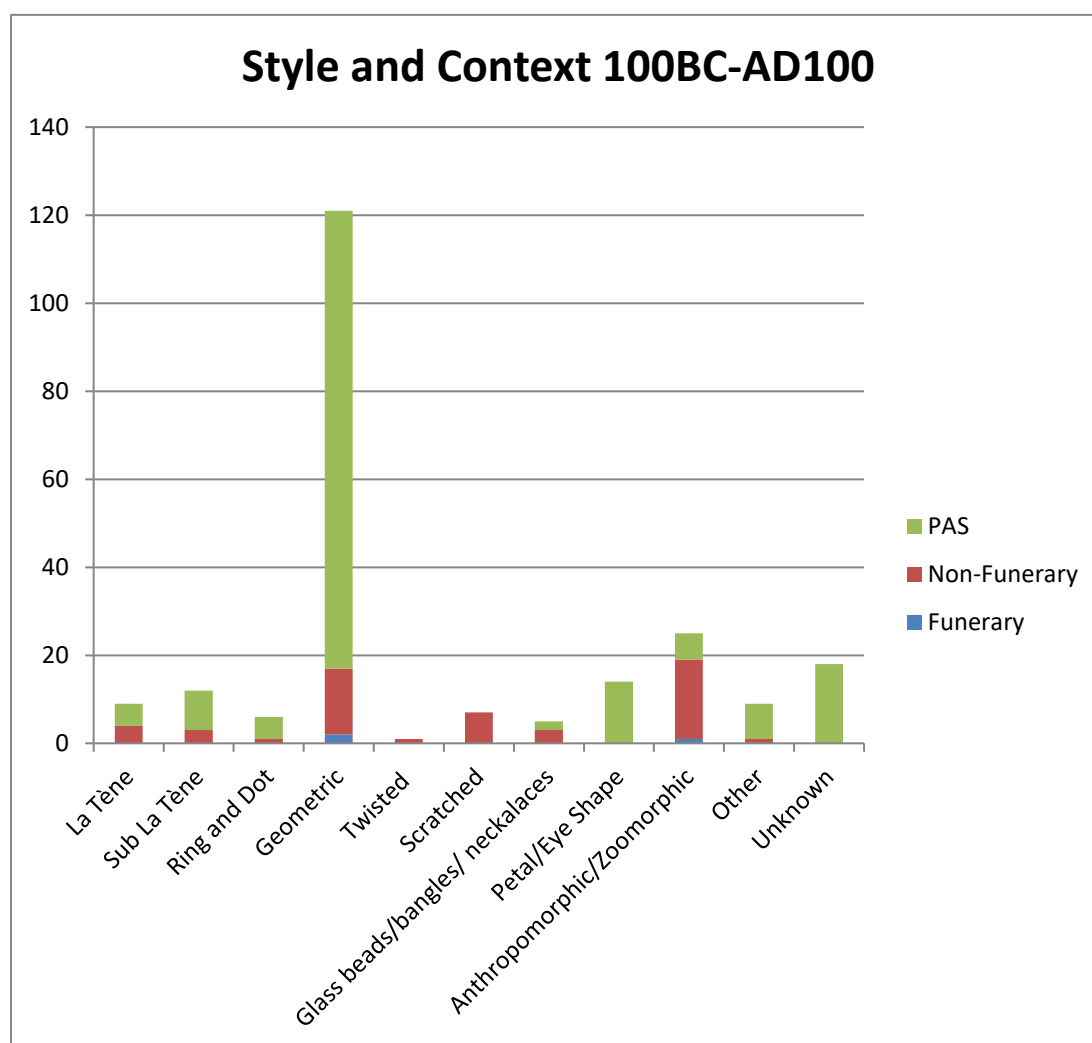


Figure 5.30: A graph showing the styles of pattern present in different contexts between 100BC and AD100.

Style	Funerary	Non-Funerary	PAS
La Tène	0	4	5
Sub La Tène	0	3	9
Ring and Dot	0	1	5
Geometric	2	15	104
Twisted	0	1	0
Scratched	0	7	0
Glass beads/bangles/necklaces		3	2
Petal/Eye Shape	0	0	14
Anthropomorphic/Zoomorphic	1	18	6
Other	0	1	8
Unknown	0	0	18
TOTAL	3	53	171

Figure 5.31: A table showing the styles of pattern present in different contexts between 100BC and AD100.

The analysis of style above allows me to expand upon what I was able to say about pattern during the previous section of the chapter. I suggested that the relevance of patterned objects to particular types of deposition changed over time. I can now develop this argument to state that the styles of pattern found on objects also changed. One explanation for this change is that ‘evolving’ tastes have resulted in new styles and brought on the decline of older ones. In my dataset, swirling and asymmetrical La Tène motifs are replaced with metalwork style tropes characteristic of the Late Iron Age in north Britain (see MacGregor 1976); enamelling, openwork, symmetry and petal motifs. These new styles dominate the PAS column here and appear on objects such as decorative mounts and button and loop fasteners.

Taking into account the aspects of my dataset relating to depositional practices, however, a more complex explanation can be posited. I described the tailing-off of the practice of inhumation burial and, with it, the deposition of patterned objects in burials. Perhaps the decreasing frequency of La Tène and sub-La Tène patterned objects, which were popular depositions in burials, is part of this decline. Perhaps these types of pattern did not translate to the new forms of depositional practice taking place during the Late Iron Age. Perhaps the roles of particular patterns in burials were not relevant to the types of deposition that have led objects to appear in the PAS record.

I have alluded several times during this section to the different types of objects on which different styles of pattern are found. While changing depositional practices may well have been a factor in changing pattern, it also seems inextricably tied to object type. Certain types of patterns are found on certain objects, and these objects are, in turn, deposited in different ways. To explore this further the next section of the chapter will focus on the different types of patterned objects that appear in my dataset.

5.3.4 Patterned Object Types

To investigate patterned object types, I've categorised the objects of my dataset using the same classes broadly used in the publications and databases from which I've taken the data, which reflect the conventional categories used to refer to object types by archaeologists; for example 'linch pin', 'brooch', 'spindle whorl', etc. The graphs and tables below will show that dividing objects in this way reveals some new trends, but that this type of categorisation ultimately has its limitations.

Figures 5.32 and 5.33 (below) show the frequencies of different types of patterned objects in different archaeological contexts from the period 400-100BC. 24 object types are represented, although some encompass several subcategories, such as chalk disc/roundel/spindle whorl and terret/mini terret (which have been grouped together in order to fit the graph on the page). All objects, unless labelled otherwise, are made principally from bronze (apart from an antler linch pin at Arras, two antler linch pins at Wetwang, a jet bracelet from Makeshift and a shale bracelet from Opposite Argam Lane). In many ways, the range of object types represented here is not surprising. Chariot fittings are common as a result of the chariot burials excavated by archaeologists, each chariot involving the use of 10-15 fittings. Items of personal ornament, popular depositions in graves, are also quite frequent. Glass beads are, by far, most frequent at 28%, partly due to the fact that they tend to be found in large sets, having once been necklaces. Similarly, terrets are commonly found in sets of 5, and are the second most common type of patterned object at 16% of this group. Other items of chariot gear often exist in matching pairs, and are also fairly common. The other object types exist in the graph at quite low levels, presenting overall quite a complex picture, which will need further analysis. For example, there are 5 toggles, 3 mirrors and 1 pendant.

What is surprising about this graph is the marked split between the types and materialities of objects deposited in different context types, further reinforcing the assertion that patterned objects fulfilled different roles in different spheres of activity. This graph suggests that, while some patterned objects had specific roles in funerary contexts, as suggested above, others had specific roles in non-funerary contexts. While the vast majority of the objects in this graph are made from bronze, most of the non-bronze objects come from non-funerary contexts; the bone combs, sliders, jet disc and worked chalk (these all come from Wetwang/Garton Slack).

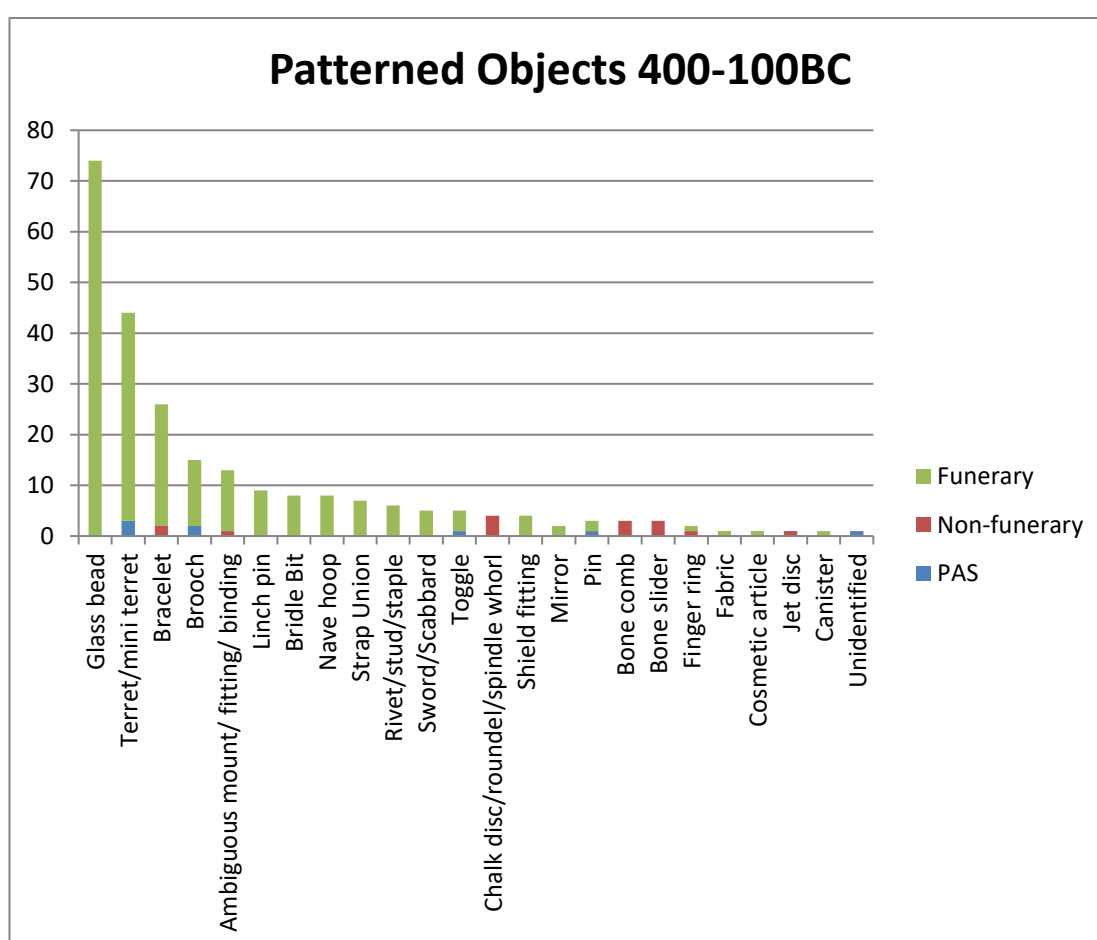


Figure 5.32: A graph showing frequencies of different patterned object types from different context types, from the period 400-100BC.

Object type	PAS	Non-funerary	Funerary	TOTAL
Glass bead	0	0	74	74
Terret/mini terret	3	0	41	44
Bracelet	0	2	24	26
Brooch	2	0	13	15
Ambiguous mount/ fitting/binding	0	1	12	13
Linch pin	0	0	9	9
Bridle Bit	0	0	8	8
Nave hoop	0	0	8	8
Strap Union	0	0	7	7
Rivet/stud/staple	0	0	6	6
Sword/Scabbard	0	0	5	5
Toggle	1	0	4	5
Chalk disc/roundel/spindle whorl	0	4	0	4
Shield fitting	0	0	4	4
Mirror	0	0	2	2
Pin	1	0	2	3
Bone comb	0	3	0	3
Bone slider	0	3	0	3
Finger ring	0	1	1	2
Fabric	0	0	1	1
Cosmetic article	0	0	1	1
Jet disc	0	1	0	1
Canister	0	0	1	1
Unidentified	1	0		1
TOTAL	8	15	223	246

Figure 5.33: A table showing frequencies of different patterned object types from different context types, from the period 400-100BC.

It seems, looking at the graph above, that the role fulfilled in the Middle Iron Age funerary rite was not simply performed by patterned objects, but specifically those made from bronze (although not exclusively). And that patterned bone and chalk objects were specifically relevant to depositional practices at the settlement of Wetwang/Garton Slack. The seven patterned objects of generic date from non-funerary contexts at Wetwang/Garton Slack support this trend, all being made from

chalk or bone. The relationships between materiality, object type and pattern, however, make this a complex issue and will be discussed in section 5.4.1.

Figures 5.34 and 5.35 show object types within the 'patterned' category from 100BC-AD100. As in the previous graph there are many types represented (28), many at low levels, and some of the types shown contain sub-categories, again, simply to make the graph manageable. Brooches, which are mainly from the PAS, are by far the most common object type here at 45%. Other forms of personal ornament, such as toggles and button-and-loop fasteners, are also relatively common. Chariot fittings are less common here, perhaps due to the lack of chariot burials in this period. In fact, only three of the objects from the whole graph are from funerary contexts. As mentioned previously, while later burials do contain grave goods, plain or iron objects are more popular, as opposed to the patterned bronzes of the earlier period. As in the previous graph, there is quite a marked split in the materiality of objects being deposited in different context types (again all objects are made principally from bronze, unless specified otherwise).

All the objects from the PAS represented in this graph are made from copper alloy (some also include enamelling or iron), whereas the objects from non-funerary contexts tend to be made from other materials: ceramic, stone, chalk and bone. The same is true for the objects of generic date from the Wetwang/Garton Slack settlement (see Figure 5.16). This point must be considered in the context of specific biases associated with the use of PAS data. Over 90% of PAS finds are recovered by metal detectorists (Robbins 2014, 11), so tend to be made from metal, of which bronze is a desirable variety. Metal detecting is also often carried out on ploughed arable farmland, meaning that to reach the point of being recovered in this way an object must also have survived in plough soil having been disturbed from its original context. Durable bronze objects, therefore, are more far likely to reach the PAS database than worked bone objects, for example. In addition, bronze objects also have a much greater 'visual apparency' than objects of other materials, making them more easily seen in plough soil by field walkers or metal detectorists (Robbins 2014 33-34). Biases surrounding the survival and collection of PAS finds (see Robbins 2014 for a full discussion) explain, to an extent, the absence of non-bronze objects from my PAS data. It is very likely, however, that this data also represents genuine cultural change in the past, expressed through increases in the production and deposition of

small, patterned, bronze objects, particularly those related to personal appearance, such as brooches (e.g. Jundi and Hill 1998). This is supported by the lack, during both my time periods, of patterned bronze objects in non-funerary contexts and the similar lack of patterned bronzes in the graves of the later period.

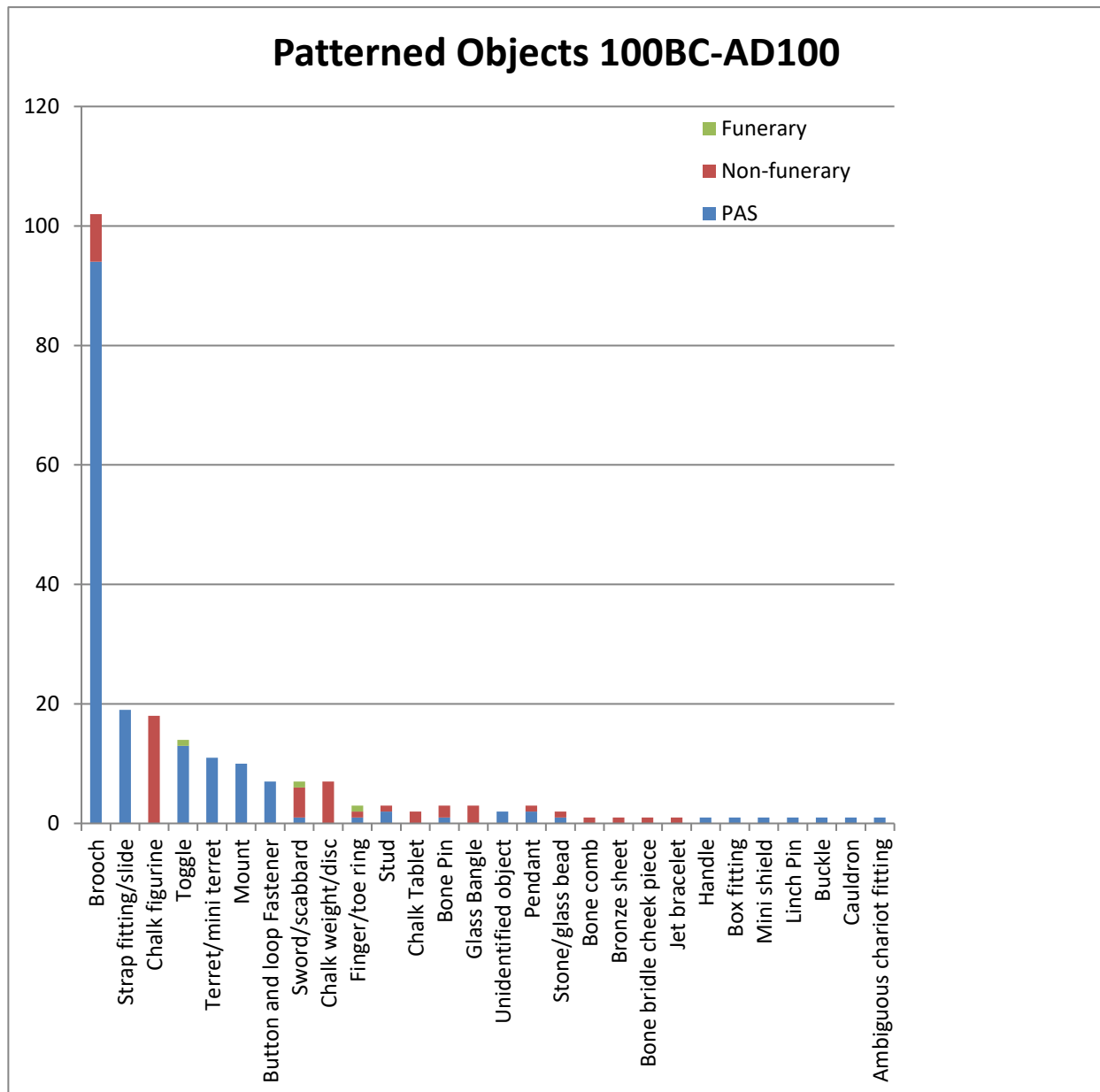


Figure 5.34: A graph showing the frequency of different patterned object types from the period 100BC-AD100.

Object Type	PAS	Non-funerary	Funerary	TOTAL
Brooch	94	8	0	102
Strap fitting/slide	19	0	0	19
Chalk figurine	0	18	0	18
Toggle	13	0	1	14
Terret/mini terret	11	0	0	11
Mount	10	0	0	10
Button and loop Fastener	7	0	0	7
Sword/scabbard	1	5	1	7
Chalk weight/disc	0	7	0	7
Finger/toe ring	1	1	1	3
Stud	2	1	0	3
Chalk Tablet	0	2	0	2
Bone Pin	1	2	0	3
Glass Bangle	0	3	0	3
Unidentified object	2	0	0	2
Pendant	2	1	0	3
Stone/glass bead	1	1	0	2
Bone comb	0	1	0	1
Bronze sheet	0	1	0	1
Bone bridle cheek piece	0	1	0	1
Jet bracelet	0	1	0	1
Handle	1	0	0	1
Box fitting	1	0	0	1
Mini shield	1	0	0	1
Linch Pin	1	0	0	1
Buckle	1	0	0	1
Cauldron	1	0	0	1
Ambiguous chariot fitting	1	0	0	1
TOTAL	171	53	3	227

Figure 5.35: A table showing the frequency of different patterned object types from the period 100BC-AD100.

5.4 Discussion of Data

This chapter has investigated broad trends in a large assemblage of 4611 objects to answer questions about the production and treatment of patterned objects, and the ways they changed over time. The trends revealed are complex. Certain object types are made from certain materials; some of these object types are often patterned while others are often plain; certain styles of pattern appear on specific objects. In addition, many of these objects have been deposited deliberately in specific ways that relate to their patterns. The following paragraphs will discuss the relationships between materiality, pattern and deposition; while the next chapter will take my analysis further to discuss the relationship between pattern and purpose in my dataset.

5.4.1 The Decision to Decorate

Joy (2011) asserts that the decision to decorate an object can change its life course, affecting what that object ‘did’. The data presented during this chapter make it clear that the initial decision of whether or not to decorate an object, and in what style, is related both to the type of object and to the material that object is made from. For example, as shown in sections 5.3.3 and 5.3.4, the majority of patterned non-ceramic objects in my dataset are made from bronze, but the specific style of pattern I identified as ‘scratched’ pattern is found only on plaques and whorls made from chalk.

To establish what the relations between pattern, materiality and object type are, I need to consider in detail the processes of making involved in the emergence of patterned objects in my dataset. Conneller (2011, 25-27) highlights problems with the ways in which archaeologists often see the making of objects as the simple imposition of a mental template onto an inert material, viewing this as a classic example of man triumphing over nature. Her suggestion is that archaeologists look at objects through a rhizomitic (Deleuze and Guattari 1999) *chaîne opératoire* (Leroi-Gourhan 1993), taking in both process and relations, to capture the material transformations that result in things.

Considering the *chaînes opératoires* of material interactions that has resulted in my dataset brings me first to the material from which each object is made. While materials possess properties that are context dependent, Conneller also emphasises their essential properties, writing that “different materials demand different forms of

technical interaction” (2011, 32). In this sense, clay must be fired to become hard and iron must be heated to become workable. It is possible to see the balancing of these two types of material property in the selection of materials for transformations into certain objects with particular capacities in my dataset. For example, on the one hand, clay has been chosen over bone to make vessels, because bone does not have the properties required to make the desired vessels. On the other hand, my dataset contains no vessels made from bronze. British Iron Age bronze vessels (cauldrons and bowls) do exist, but the only evidence for then in East Yorkshire is a bull’s head bucket escutcheon and a patera handle from the PAS.

Not only do material properties dictate the material a particular object will be made from, they also dictate the ways that different patterns can be performed, as well as the timing of this performance and therefore the point at which the object’s overall design must be finalised. For the materials in my dataset hardened by heating or cooling; metals, glass and clay, the decision to decorate usually has to have been made during the same process of the emergence of the object’s overall form, a discrete period of time. For the casting of bronze, the designs and patterns of the objects would have to have been finalised before the lost-wax process was carried out (for sheet bronze, repoussé and chasing can be carried out when the metal is cool). For potters the decision to decorate would have to have been made before the firing of the pot took place, whilst the pot was leather-hard.

Chalk objects, conversely, can be decorated at any time, leaving their designs open-ended. Decoration on chalk can even be erased and reworked (Jones *et. al.* 2015), meaning that the patterns on the chalk objects in my dataset may have been modified and added to at many points in time. Bone and antler fall between the two groups, as these materials can be marked at any stage but require soaking to soften their surfaces in order to achieve strong linear carving or ring-and dot patterns, particularly in the case of antler (Tuohy 1999, 15). This means that the patterns on bone and antler objects could be revisited as part of a longer process, but unlike patterns on chalk, they cannot be erased.

Despite the technical specificities of transforming each of these materials into a plain or patterned object, the confinement of certain styles of decoration to certain objects and materials in my dataset is striking and possibly alludes to the subtler, historically contingent properties of materials about which Conneller writes (2011).

For example, La Tène decoration never appears on pots, chalk or bone in East Yorkshire, despite the fact that it will have been physically possible to produce it in these media, as demonstrated by Glastonbury Ware in south west England (see section 2.4.2) and rare examples of La Tène patterned bone objects. Conversely, zig-zag patterns, for example, never appear on horse and chariot gear in the region. Fitzpatrick neatly describes a situation whereby certain styles of decoration were ‘appropriate’ for certain objects and materials (1997). When this ‘appropriateness’ is echoed throughout a large assemblage such as mine, it could be seen to constitute the adherence to particular traditions. Perhaps, from a perspective such as that of Conneller (2011), this appropriateness was related to the animate properties of the materials.

5.4.2 The Decision to Deposit

This chapter has revealed specific trends in the deposition of patterned objects in my dataset, suggesting that pattern was a factor in deciding where and how an object would be deposited. The deposition of some of my objects within graves can easily be assumed to have entailed the deliberate selection of certain objects, but my data has shown that objects were also deliberately selected for deposition in other context types. The following paragraphs will discuss trends in my dataset relating to deposition and pattern.

This chapter has shown a major shift in the ways that both plain and patterned objects were deposited in East Yorkshire between the Middle and Late Iron Ages. During 400-100BC deposition in my dataset was focussed on the funerary rite; a trend that is perhaps influenced by the lack of settlement evidence for this period, but that also reflects the cultural practices of the time. During 100BC-AD100 the funerary rite tails off and deposition on settlement sites becomes more popular, which may be similarly related to the increase in known settlement sites from this period, but again also to genuine cultural change. The sharp increase of objects in the PAS record shows that other forms of deposition may also become popular from 100BC. Jundi and Hill discuss the cultural changes resulting in the ‘fibula event horizon’, citing an increase in the brooches in circulation, a change in the way brooches fitted into society and changes in the ways they were deposited (1998, 127). Some of my PAS brooches may have been casual losses, but many may also have been deposited or discarded deliberately, as Jundi and Hill argue for brooches recovered

from settlement sites in the south of England (1998, 128-9). While Jundi and Hill are dealing with excavated sites, Hutcheson's study of Late Iron Age PAS finds from Norfolk (2004) examined the distribution of hoards and single finds and found, among many things, that objects become distributed more widely across the landscape during the 1st century BC and 1st century AD. A smaller percentage of artefacts are taken out of circulation through hoarding during this time (Hutcheson 2004, 97). Is it possible that my data represents a similar phenomenon; smaller percentages of artefacts being taken out of circulation through deposition in burials and instead deposited throughout the landscape? The distribution of my PAS finds along the line of the Wolds, however, may suggest these new forms of deposition continue to reference older practices (though it may also reflect trends in metal detecting).

Considering the proportions of patterned objects in different context types reinforces the idea of changing depositional practices. In the earlier period, 91% of patterned non-ceramic objects were from funerary contexts, reflecting the general focus on funerary deposition, where 94% of all non-ceramic objects were found. The obvious increase in the proportion of patterned objects in the PAS record during the latter period, however, shows that the deposition of patterned objects was specific and does not simply reflect overall deposition.

My analysis of style and materiality during this chapter further affirms this idea. I found that funerary contexts were specific foci for the deposition of La Tène and sub-La Tène patterned bronze objects, particularly horse and chariot gear and weaponry, during 400-100BC. As the funerary rite declined, these styles declined, suggesting these types of patterns did things that were specific to the funerary rite. The domination of patterned bronze objects from 100BC-AD100 by geometric patterns reflects both the changing focus of pattern to bronze personal ornament and the deposition of these objects outside funerary contexts.

The idea that certain materials and patterns had specific uses in different types of deposition is emphasised by the fact that patterned chalk objects in my dataset are deposited exclusively in non-funerary contexts throughout the Middle and Late Iron Ages, further highlighting the changing traditions relating to bronze objects.

5.4.3 The limitations of 'object type' categories

While this chapter has revealed important trends in the materialities of patterned objects, and the contexts in which different materials are deposited, I suggest that the 'object type' categories used in section 5.3.4 have their limitations. The many different types of object in each graph have made it difficult to discern any major trends related to object type. The existence of many object types in matching groups or pairs; glass beads and chariot gear in particular, has skewed the data somewhat and the division of objects into many categories has led to a fragmented picture. While object types are a useful way of categorising objects within large databases, using them here has led to the production of graphs which are over-complicated and perhaps overly detailed.

The division of objects into their individual types also negates the contexts in which they functioned and in which many of them were deposited, as parts of assemblages or as parts of larger composite objects. The chariot fittings excavated from my 30 sites were not buried as individual objects but as the sets they are likely to have functioned in prior to deposition. Garrow and Gosden (2012, 217) refer to 'groupsets', a term borrowed from cycling meaning the group of mechanical components that make up a bicycle (e.g. brakes, derailleurs, bottom bracket etc), to refer to the components that make up a chariot; linch pins, terrets, strap unions and bridle bits. All are needed for a chariot to function and in East Yorkshire they are usually all found together. Swords and shields could be viewed in a similar way, as most of the burials containing one also contain the other. Glass beads, similarly, are sometimes found together, having once been strung together as necklaces. Giles (2012, 121) has considered the grouping together of powerful materials such as bronze, jet and amber, all of which have particular interactive and visual qualities, as parts of personal ornaments, suggesting that they constituted 'suites' of objects. These examples suggest that considering individual objects as parts of functional groups or assemblages may increase my understanding of this dataset, an approach that will be pursued during Chapters 6 and 7.

5.5 Chapter Conclusion

During this chapter I've analysed a dataset of 4611 objects to investigate trends in the relationships between pattern, materiality and context. I've also tested the idea that pattern is rare in Iron Age Britain, which forms a key element of Joy's argument that all decoration is special in Iron Age Britain (Joy 2011). My findings have suggested

that, in fact, patterned objects may not be so rare in East Yorkshire when all objects are taken into account, constituting 14% of my total dataset when ceramic sherds are taken into account and 32% when they are removed. I've discussed the ways in which the decision to decorate was influenced by the animate properties of materials and ideas about 'appropriateness', suggesting pattern played a part in maintaining traditions. I also showed that pattern had specific roles in different types of deposition. Finally, the chapter has identified limitations in the categorisation of objects by object type. As a response to this, the next chapter will focus on categorising objects not by type, but by 'purpose'.

Chapter 6: Pattern and Purpose

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 discussed the work of the archaeologist Cyril Fox, focussing on his 1958 publication, *Pattern and Purpose: A Survey of Early Celtic Art in Britain*. Fox's novel approach to decorated Iron Age objects included not only the study of chronology and evolving styles, which were popular at the time, but also the consideration of the contexts in which Early Celtic Art objects were actually used. Although generally well-received, Fox's approach was not taken up by his contemporaries, who continued instead to focus on the chronological study of Celtic Art. I argued earlier in this thesis that recent advances in the absolute dating of Celtic Art objects, combined with new theoretical positions on the material, mean that this is the ideal moment to reopen Fox's line of enquiry; 'pattern and purpose'. This chapter will revisit and update Fox's ideas about what purpose meant in the Iron Age in order to define the purposes of objects in my dataset and investigate the relationship between pattern and purpose.

6.1.1 Fox's ideas about purpose

Fox's view of the purposes of Celtic Art objects is made clear during the introductory chapter of *Pattern and Purpose* (1958). His threefold purpose of Celtic Art, stated in full in Chapter 3 of this thesis, encompasses:

- a) The decoration of 'functional things'.
- b) Personal ornament for women and 'elaborately garnished war panoply' for men.
- c) The 'elaboration of the interiors of the chieftain's guest-houses and halls, for reasons of prestige and hospitality' (Fox 1958, xxvii).

So, for Fox Celtic Art itself was made for impressive visual display, as a show of status or for beauty's sake, adorning 'functional' objects that also had other purposes. This view is reinforced in Chapters VIII and IX of *Pattern and Purpose*, 'Personal Display: Indoors' and 'Personal Display: Outdoors'.

Although Fox never explicitly discusses his understanding of the definition of 'purpose', it seems that he viewed Celtic Art objects as having two separate layers of purpose. The first is what he refers to as 'function', and is, for example, the holding together of a garment by a brooch, or the guiding of reins by a terret. The second is a

separate purpose performed by the motifs themselves and could be defined as the projection or display of some aspect of the owner's identity, generally status in Fox's eyes; or even as 'art for art's sake.

Fox used purpose to categorise objects in the following way in Pattern and Purpose (after Fox 1958, 84-140):

Personal Display: Indoors	Personal Display: Outdoors	Side-lines
Mirrors	Weapons	Peasant Art (Ironwork, woodwork, bone- work, pottery)
Casket Ornament	Chariotry: Decorative and Functional Bronzes	Coinage
Personal Ornament		
Hearth and Home: Tankards and spoons		

Figure 6.1: A table showing Fox's categories of purpose (after Fox 1958, 84-140).

Like Fox, I will separate the objects from my dataset into broad categories of purpose. I am able to borrow some categories straight from Fox for use in this project, while others require modification. There are no tankards, spoons or casket ornaments in my dataset, so these categories will not be used. I have also filtered coins out of my dataset, as explained in the previous chapter, so coinage will not feature in this chapter.

In addition, the label of 'Peasant Art', while perfectly acceptable in Fox's time, may now be considered derogatory and outdated. I will replace this category with a category for 'vessels' and another for 'implements', into which any objects with obvious purposes not already covered will fall. An 'ambiguous' category will contain anything I am unable to fit into one of the other categories, or where the object type is unknown. In view of these modifications, my list of purpose categories will be as follows:

Category	Objects Included
Horse and Chariot Gear	All objects known to be chariot fittings or horse gear: Terrets, bridle bits, linch pins, strap unions, wheels, other miscellaneous fittings from chariots (decorative mounts from Ferrybridge).
Weapons and Defence	All objects considered to be parts of weapons or shields: Swords/scabbards, shield fittings, spear heads, daggers, bone points ⁷ .
Personal Ornament	All objects worn as jewellery or used to fasten clothing: Brooches, pins, pendants, button and loop fasteners, rings, beads, toggles. Also includes 1 Cosmetic article from the PAS, an object involved in maintaining personal appearance.
Vessels	All containers: Whole ceramic vessels or sherds, metal vessels or vessel handles (3 fragments in PAS), crucibles.
Mirrors	Mirrors/mirrors handles.
Implements	All objects with 'practical' functions that haven't been covered by the categories above: Knives, tongs, files, spindle whorls, bone combs, bone handles, weights, bone sliders.
Ambiguous Objects	Chalk discs/roundels/tablets, chalk figurines/figurine-like objects, ambiguous mounts and fittings, miniature shields/axes. This category will also need to accommodate Strap Fittings from the PAS database, as these could equally have functioned as personal ornament or horse and chariot gear (or even both).

Figure 6.2: A table showing my updated purpose categories.

⁷ Bone points are traditionally seen as weapons, which would have been hafted on spears, although archaeologists are increasingly cautious about classifying them in this way. Giles writes that they might be considered as generic tools (2012, 158), but that most of them appear to be weapons (2012, 160), so they will remain in the weapons category for now.

The table above divides object type into very broad categories based on the spheres of activity in which they were used during the Iron Age. As I discuss these categories in the context of my dataset, however, I will need to consider the possibility that these categories were ‘fuzzy’ and layered. Brooches, for example, served functions in pinning together clothing, and would also have had specific visual effects when worn on the person. Perhaps they will also have fallen into Giles’ group of ‘personal artefacts’, including mirrors and boxes, which she sees as having visual functions in martial activity (2008, 63). Giles also includes chariots and horse gear in the category of martial objects (*ibid.*), but other archaeologists (e.g. Stead 1991, Hill 2002) contest the idea that chariots were vehicles of war. This example shows that my categories will need to remain flexible, in order to accommodate discussion of the multiple functions of some objects. The following paragraphs will further discuss other considerations needed to update Fox’s ideas about purpose.

6.1.2 Augmenting Purpose

Since Fox’s time, changing theoretical perspectives on material culture have led to new approaches to prehistoric art. Archaeologists now tend not to separate motifs from the objects they adorn, rather viewing art objects in more integrated and holistic ways (e.g. Bradley 2009, Gosden and Hill 2008). As described in Chapter 2 of this thesis, the growing influence of social anthropology on the study of prehistoric art during recent decades has led to new perspectives on what objects such as Celtic Art objects did. I summarised the work of Alfred Gell (1992; 1998), who has been instrumental in the process of advancing the study of ‘primitive’ art beyond art-historical analyses focussing on aesthetics. Gell sees patterns as having the abilities to enchant and unsettle those experiencing them, causing intense psychological effects, as a form of secondary agency (1992; 1998). Fox’s ideas about Celtic Art as being a display of status can, therefore, be augmented to include Gellian ideas about what art did, not just what it represented, and recognise the potential for the objects of my dataset to have real physical power.

Another major development in the study of Iron Age material culture since the time of Fox has been a new focus on depositional practices (e.g. Hill 1995), which developed as part of a wider focus on ‘structured deposition’ in prehistoric assemblages during the 1980s and 1990s (e.g. Richards and Thomas 1984, described in Garrow 2012), when a focus on the relationship between objects and ideological or cosmological beliefs led to the idea that deposition was itself a meaningful activity.

Subsequently, many British Iron Age deposits in pits, ditches and watery contexts have been viewed as ‘structured’, ‘votive’, ‘ritual’, ‘deliberate’, ‘special’ or ‘odd’ (e.g. Bradley 1990, Hill 1995, Garrow 2012). Section 5.4.2 of the previous chapter has already discussed depositional contexts in my dataset, and the deliberateness of some of the deposits I discussed suggests they had particular purposes. This adds another layer to Fox’s concept of purpose, which doesn’t deal with deposition, despite a number of the objects he discusses having come from graves. For the objects in my dataset deposited in graves, it is plausible they were intended to be provisions for the afterlife of the deceased (e.g. Giles 2012, 134). It might be imagined that the deposition of objects such as weapons and tools in graves could represent the role of the deceased in the community during life, or perhaps a role they were yet to fulfil during the afterlife. The meanings behind deposition outside graves are, perhaps, more subtle, but my data has shown that non-funerary deposition in my dataset was deliberate and purposeful, and it could equally relate to either the past or future purposes of objects.

Taking into account the brief discussions of this section of the chapter, the augmentation of purpose must include firstly the active, Gellian qualities of pattern and the potential for objects to be purposeful during or after deposition. This means that, rather than viewing purpose as fixed and static, as Fox does, I will need to view it as dynamic; both active in its own right and changeable over time.

6.2 Data Analysis

6.2.1 Purpose Categories and Pattern

The following graphs and tables will present data on the relationship between pattern and purpose in my dataset, considering objects in the broad purpose categories presented in section 6.1.1 to afford more clarity than the ‘object type’ graphs of the previous chapter. Section 6.2.2 will then consider the relationship between purpose categories and depositional context.

For the purpose of this analysis I have removed ‘Iron’ and ‘Unknown’ objects from my dataset, in order to reduce the uncertainty brought by these groups and provide percentages of plain and patterned objects that reflect groups of objects within a known assemblage, making the figures I present below fairer and more meaningful. The following table presents the percentages of plain and patterned objects from each purpose category, using only objects where their statuses as plain or patterned are known.

	400-100BC			100BC-AD100		
Purpose category	Total plain and patterned objects	% Patterned	% Plain	Total plain and patterned objects	% Patterned	% Plain
Horse and Chariot Gear	107	74	26	23	59	41
Weapons and Defence	33	27	73	11	63.63	36.36
Personal Ornament	317	40	60	195	72	28
Mirrors	2	100	0	0	0	0
Vessels	230	7	93	2805	5	95
Implements	30	23.4	76.6	92	5	95
Ambiguous Objects	41	56	44	88	67	33

Figure 6.3: A table showing the different frequencies of plain and patterned objects within each of my purpose categories.

The table above shows that during both periods; 400-100BC and 100BC-AD100, pattern is far more common within some purpose categories than others, demonstrating a relationship between purpose and pattern. Particularly striking is the high percentage of patterned horse and chariot gear during 400-100BC (74%) and the similarly high percentage of patterned personal ornament during 100BC-AD100 (72%), reflecting a changing focus for pattern and a shift in the spheres of activity in which it was important. At the other end of the scale, this table also reiterates the very low percentages of patterned ceramic vessels and sherds, which were initially discussed in the previous chapter. Interestingly, the percentage of patterned implements is also very low during 100BC-AD100 at 5%, having dropped from 23.4%.

The following graphs examine the correlation between different styles of pattern and purpose categories. I have used the same style categories as I did in section 5.3.3 of the previous chapter. The category 'Vessels' has been removed for this

analysis⁸ because the patterns on pots are distinctly different from those found on other objects, and the large quantity of fragmented pots would skew the data. Graphs on the styles of pattern on pots are included in section 5.3.1 of the previous chapter on ceramics (see figures 5.10 and 5.11) and will be referred to in discussion.

The first graph below shows the frequencies of different styles of pattern in each purpose category during 400-100BC. A significant feature of the graph is the large number of the specific patterns found on glass objects. As I've mentioned previously, the number is high because beads are sometimes listed individually in museum databases, whereas in many cases they will have been parts of necklaces, though they were also sometimes deposited as individual objects. Another striking feature of the graph is the column for Horse and Chariot gear. Not only are a high percentage of these objects patterned (74%), but a high percentage of these patterned objects are decorated with La Tène and sub- La Tène pattern (58%); patterns that decorate just 12% and 16% respectively of all patterned objects from 400-100BC. Seven of the nine patterned objects from the Weapons and Defence category are also patterned with La Tène pattern. La Tène and sub-La Tène patterned objects are present in other categories of objects at lower frequencies, apart from the Implements category, where they are absent.

Geometric pattern makes up a significant part of this graph. It is found on 22% of all objects in the graph, and is present in varying frequencies in each purpose category. It is proportionally most common in the Implements category, where it is found on 57% of patterned objects. It also makes up 28% of patterned Horse and Chariot Gear and 30% of patterned Ambiguous Objects. Ring-and-dot is present at relatively low levels, making up just 7% of objects in this graph. This type of pattern is proportionally most common in the Implements category at 29%, and also makes up 10% of Horse and Chariot Gear and 17% of Ambiguous Objects. A conspicuous absence is that of scratched pattern in all purpose categories other than Implements and Ambiguous objects. This reflects its interesting absence from the funerary contexts of this period.

⁸ The two patterned fragments of bronze vessel handles from the PAS have been incorporated into the 'Implements' category for the two graphs below.

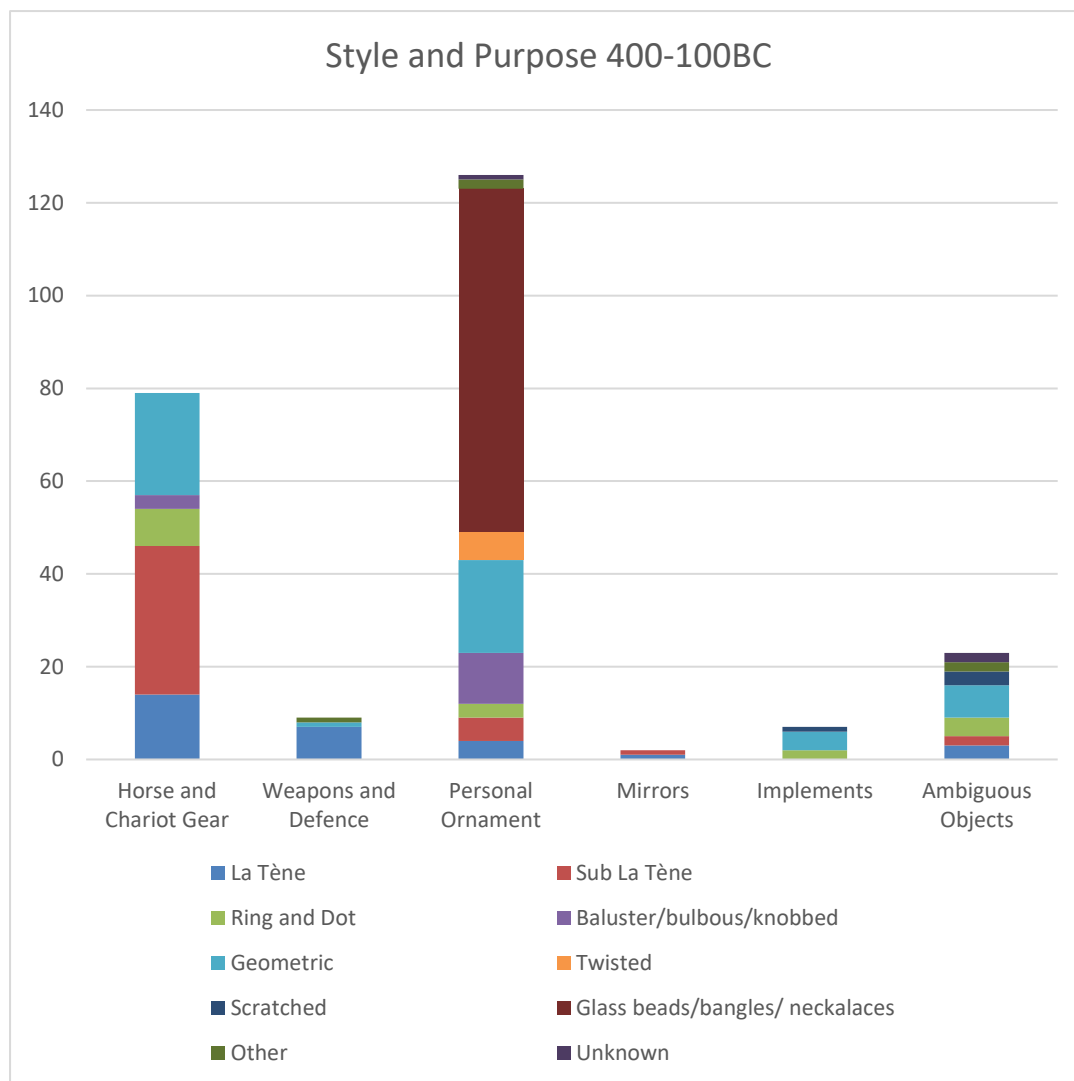


Figure 6.4: A graph showing the frequencies of different styles of pattern in each purpose category during 400-100BC.

	Horse and Chariot Gear	Weapons and Defence	Personal Ornament	Mirrors	Implements	Ambiguous Objects
La Tène	14	7	4	1	0	3
Sub La Tène	32	0	5	1	0	2
Ring and Dot	8	0	3	0	2	4
Baluster/ bulbous/ knobbed	3	0	11	0	0	0
Geometric	22	1	20	0	4	7
Twisted	0	0	6	0	0	0
Scratched	0	0	0	0	1	3
Glass beads/ bangles/ necklaces	0	0	74	0	0	0
Other	0	1	2	0	0	2
Unknown	0	0	1	0	0	2

Figure 6.5.: A table showing frequencies of different styles of pattern in each purpose category during 400-100BC.

The graph and table below (fig. 6.6 and 6.7) show the data on style and purpose for the period 100BC-AD100. Many aspects of this data are different from the data for 400-100BC, discussed above. Firstly the range of pattern types present has increased to incorporate the new petal and eye-shaped motifs that become common during the Late Iron Age, as well as naturalistic anthropomorphic and zoomorphic designs. This diversification reflects the more dramatic diversification of pattern styles seen on ceramic vessels in this period (see figures 5.10 and 5.11).

Another important feature of the graph is the sharp decrease in the frequency of objects in the Horse and Chariot Gear category⁹, which I referred to in the previous chapter. This may reflect changing depositional practices and the lack of chariot burials during 100BC-AD100, or the apparent ‘hiatus’ in the production or deposition of Celtic Art during the 1st century BC. Lewis comments on the decline in frequency of D-shaped terrets across Western and Central Britain towards the end of the 1st century AD and the introduction of Roman-style forms, several examples of which

⁹ The whole category, including iron and unknown objects drops from 188 to 24 objects

exist in my PAS data, linking this to potential changes in the social significance of chariotry (2015, 230-231).

The number of Ambiguous Objects increases during 100BC-AD100, due to the presence of ambiguous mounts and strap fittings in the PAS record, which could belong in several of the other categories. The large number of anthropomorphic/zoomorphic objects in this category is due to the 18 chalk figurines from Wetwang/Garton Slack in my dataset, which are part of a Late Iron Age tradition in East Yorkshire of the depiction of warrior-like figures in chalk (see Stead 1988).

The styles present also change over time, as well as the sizes of different purpose categories. The patterns specifically found on glass beads no longer dominate the Personal Ornament column. Like Horse and Chariot Gear, perhaps these are objects specifically associated with Middle Iron Age inhumation burial in East Yorkshire. Instead, geometric patterns have become very common in this category, their frequency rising from 16% to 77%. Geometric patterns also become common in the Horse and Chariot Gear and Implements categories at 43% and 50% respectively.

Conversely, the frequencies of La Tène and sub-La Tène pattern have fallen across all purpose categories, making up just 4% and 5% of objects in this graph respectively. In Horse and Chariot Gear they have dropped to 7% and 14% respectively. They remain common in the Weapons and Defence category at 50% and 13%, boosted by the 4 La Tène patterned swords from the South Cave Weapons Cache.

One aspect of the graph that remains the same as the former graph is the confinement of objects with scratched pattern to the Implements and Ambiguous Objects categories. Of seven scratched objects, three are Implements and four are Ambiguous.

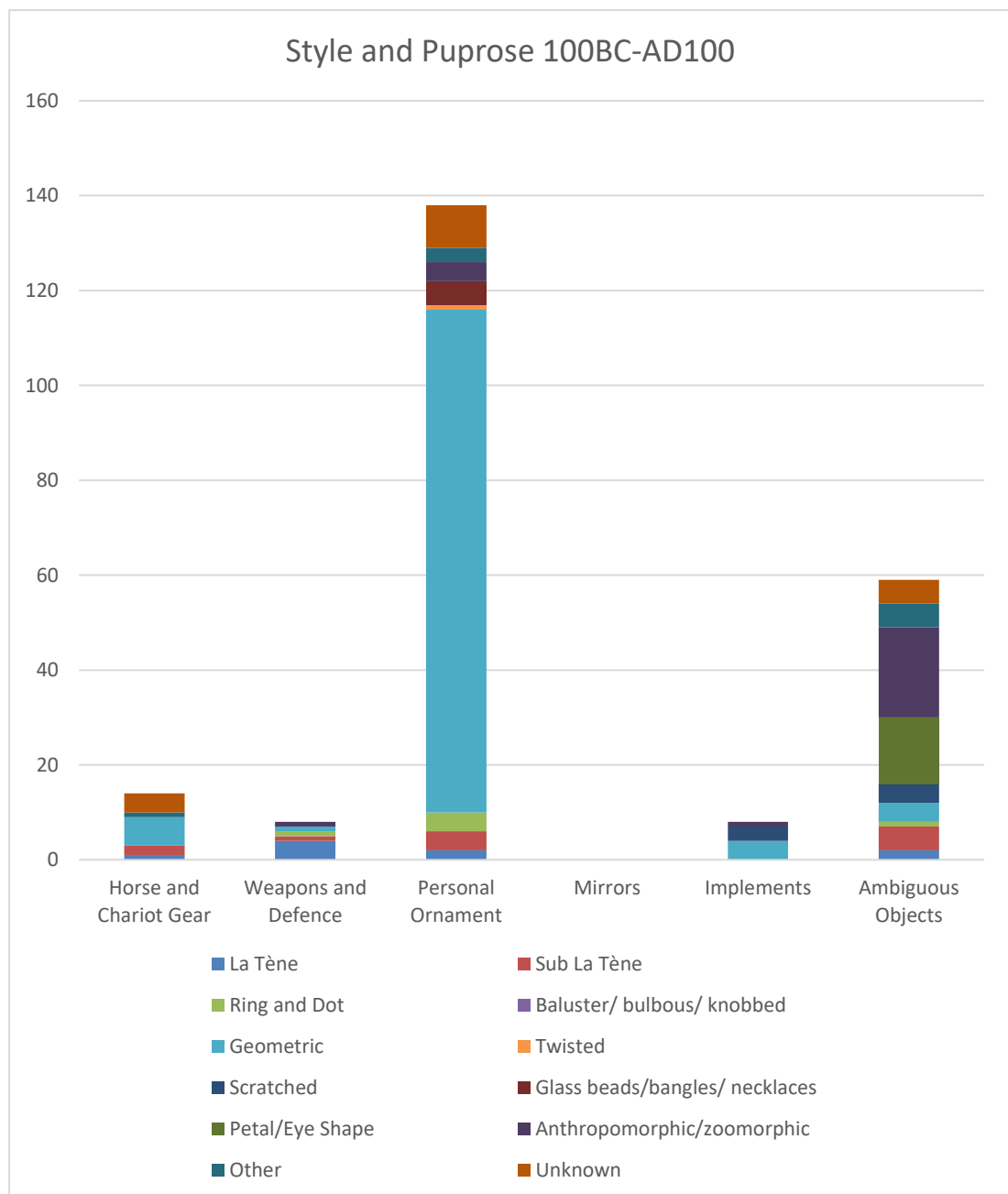


Figure 6.6 A graph showing the frequencies of different styles of pattern in each purpose category during 100BC-AD100.

Style	Horse and Chariot Gear	Weapons and Defence	Personal Ornament	Mirrors	Implements	Ambiguous Objects
La Tène	1	4	2	0	0	2
Sub La Tène	2	1	4	0	0	5
Ring and Dot	0	1	4	0	0	1
Baluster/ bulbous/ knobbed	0					
Geometric	6	1	106	0	4	4
Twisted	0	0	1	0	0	0
Scratched	0	0	0	0	3	4
Glass beads/bangles/ necklaces	0	0	5	0	0	0
Petal/Eye Shape	0	0	0	0	0	14
Anthropomorphic/ zoomorphic	0	1	4	0	1	19
Other	1	0	3	0	0	5
Unknown	4		9	0	0	5

Figure 6.7; A table the frequencies of different styles of pattern in each purpose category during 100BC-AD100.

6.2.2 Purpose Categories and Deposition

Section 6.2.1 has shown strong relationships between pattern and purpose in each category examined above. What's more, these relationships are of a slightly different nature in each purpose category, demonstrating the usefulness of categorising objects in broad groups of purpose. This section will move on to consider the augmentation of Fox's purpose to include the purposeful deposition of objects, bringing the data on iron and unknown objects back into the analysis.

The first graph and table below show data on purpose and context from 400-100BC. The content is unsurprising, considering the dominance of funerary sites and contexts from this period and the very low numbers of objects from non-funerary contexts and the PAS. It is significant that horse and chariot gear, weaponry and mirrors do not appear in non-funerary contexts, supporting the idea that certain

types of objects with certain types of pattern had roles in specific types of deposition. 46% of implements are from non-funerary contexts, suggesting they had particular relevance in non-funerary deposition, but perhaps also reflecting the chance loss or discard of objects on settlement sites.

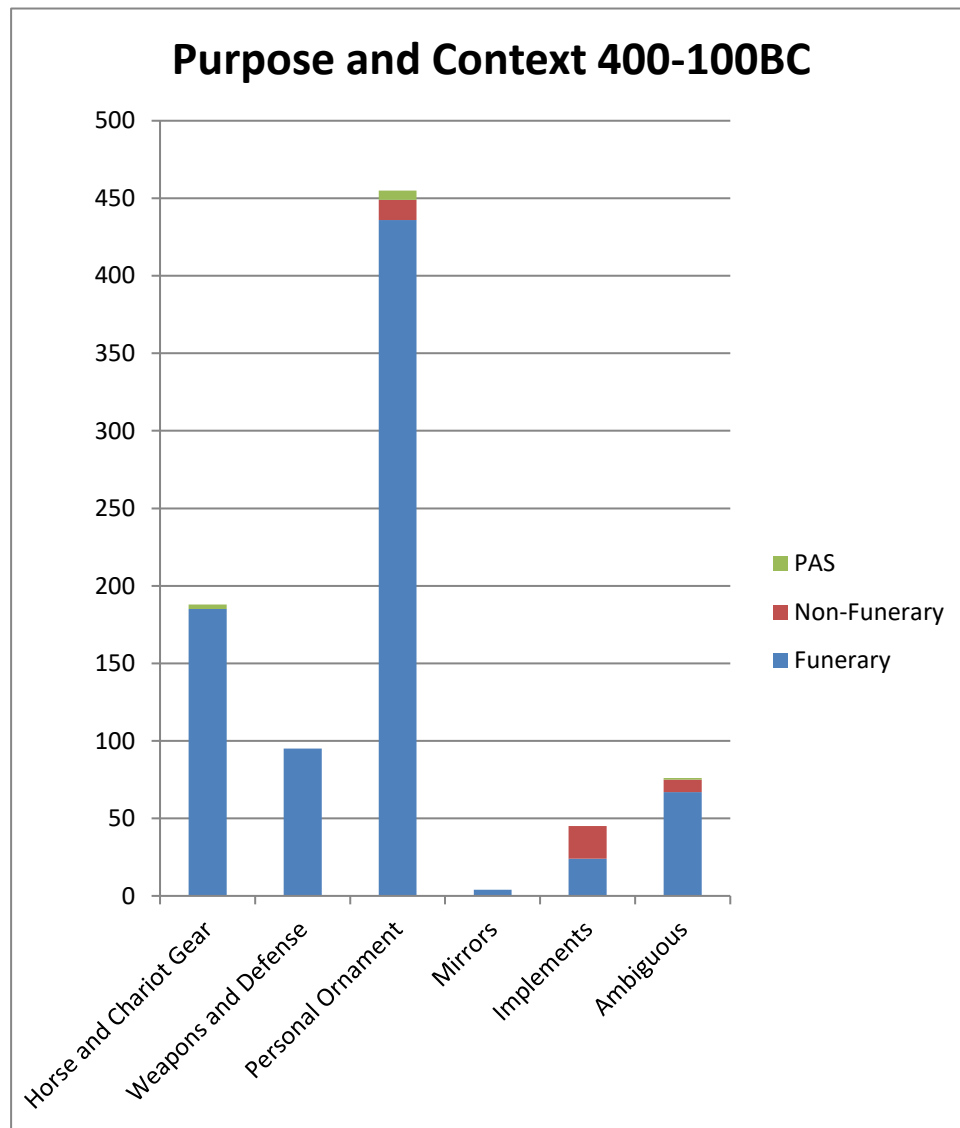


Figure 6.8: A graph showing purpose and context between 400 and 100BC

Context Type	Horse and Chariot Gear	Weapons and Defence	Personal Ornament	Mirrors	Implement s	Ambiguous
Funerary	185	95	436	4	24	67
Non-Funerary	0	0	13	0	21	8
PAS	3	0	6	0	0	1

Figure 6.9: A table showing purpose and context between 400 and 100BC

The graph and table below show data on purpose and context from 100BC-AD100, presenting a very different picture from those above. A significant feature of this graph is the lack of any horse and chariot gear and personal ornament from funerary contexts, indicating the changing selection of burial goods described by Stead (1991) and a move towards the deposition of the objects in other ways. The huge increase of personal ornament in the PAS record has already been discussed and is likely to relate to the wider fibula event horizon (Jundi and Hill 1998). The lack of weapons in the PAS record, whilst they continue to be popular in funerary contexts is significant, but may be due in part to the fact that weapons such as spears and bone-points are not made from bronze, and therefore perhaps less likely to be found and reported to the PAS.

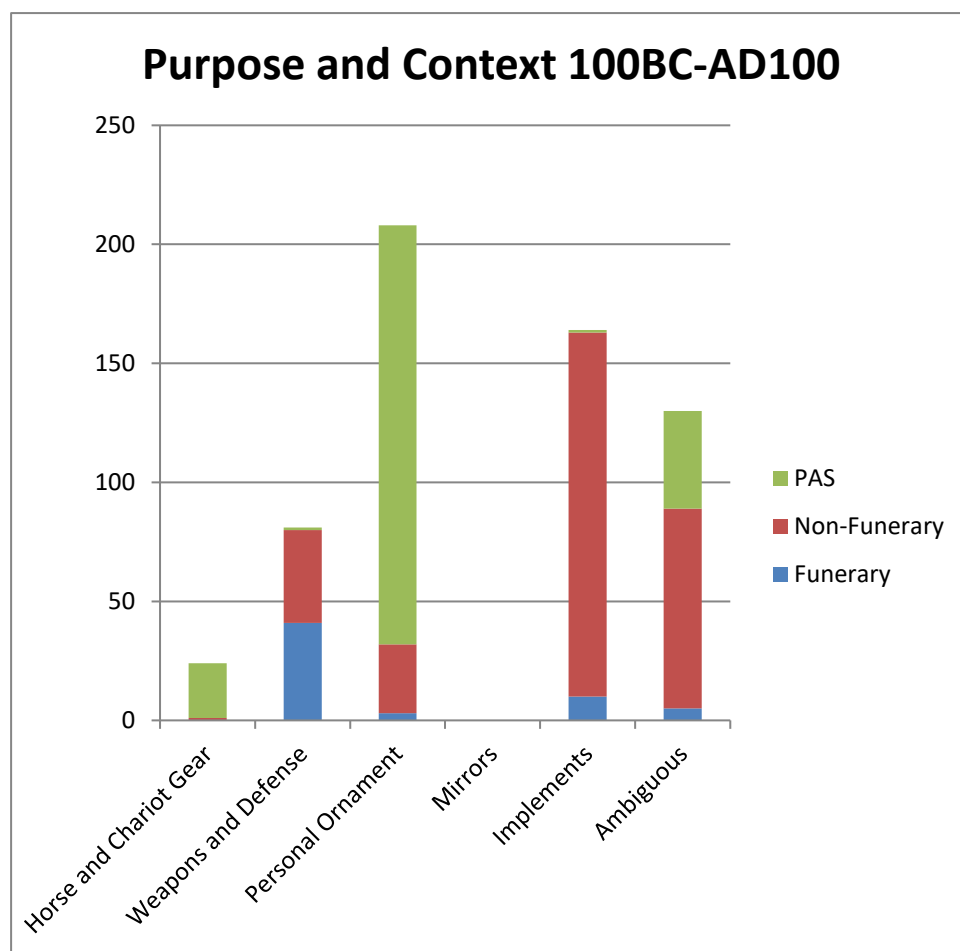


Figure 6.10: A graph showing data on purpose and context, 100BC-AD100.

		Horse and Chariot Gear	Weapons and Defense	Personal Ornament	Mirrors	Implements	Ambiguous
Funerary		0	41	3	0	10	5
Non-Funerary		1	39	29	0	153	84
PAS		23	1	176	0	1	41

Figure 6.11: A table showing data on purpose and context, 100BC-AD100.

6.3 Discussion of Data

The following paragraphs will briefly discuss each purpose category individually, bringing together evidence on the relationships between pattern, style, purpose and deposition.

6.3.1 Horse and chariot gear

This category is highly patterned during both periods; 74% during the earlier period and 59% during the latter period. It constitutes the majority of the patterned bronze objects from graves, as was shown in the previous chapter and is far more frequent during 400-100BC than in the later period, potentially as a result of this association with the funerary rite. In terms of style these objects are often patterned with La Tène motifs during the Middle Iron Age, making up 50% of the La Tène patterned objects of 400-100BC and 76% of the sub-La Tène decorated objects of this period.

During 100BC-AD100 styles change and horse and chariot gear tends to be patterned with geometric pattern, examples being terrets with grooved terminals and a linch pin with a chequerboard enamelled terminal. 43% of the 14 objects of patterned horse and chariot gear from this period are patterned in this way. Only one mini terret has been categorised as having La Tène pattern during this period, while two terrets are classified as sub-La Tène (one lipped, one parallel winged).

Deposition of these objects also changes over time. While they were almost all found in graves during 400-100BC, having been deposited in chariot burials during the decades around 200BC, all but one object (a bone bridle cheek piece from Easington) from 100BC-AD100 come from the PAS.

In terms of interpreting these patterns, it seems that Horse and Chariot gear as a category, the La Tène pattern it carries and its deposition in graves are all inextricably linked. As the frequency of La Tène pattern declines between my two time periods, the category itself also declines, although the sudden event-like nature of the chariot burials during the decades around 200BC mean any 'decline' in the circulation of chariot fittings in East Yorkshire may also have been quite sudden. As I mentioned above, Lewis links the replacement of traditional D-shaped terrets with new forms in Western and Central Britain by AD100 (2015, 230-31) to possible changes in the significance of chariotry, perhaps its decline as arena for expressing elite status. Hutcheson's study of Late Iron Age metalwork from Norfolk (2004) shows an increase

in horse gear in the archaeological record during the first century AD, perhaps demonstrating the expression of a similar change. I suggest that, in the case of East Yorkshire, chariots were perhaps 'vehicles' for La Tène decoration, and as this style returned in a different form after the metalwork hiatus during the Late Iron Age, they lost their relevance, as new Roman-style forms began to appear.

6.3.2 Weapons and defence

An interesting aspect of this category concerns what is absent from it. Although my dataset contains ten swords with decorated scabbards (nine with La Tène style decoration, one with sub-La Tène decoration), they are outnumbered by examples where the scabbards are lost and only the corroded iron blades remain. The scabbards are likely to have been made from wood or leather and may well have been patterned, perhaps even in the same La Tène patterns as the bronze scabbards. Similarly, La Tène patterned bronze shield fittings from Grimthorpe provide a glimpse into the types of pattern that may have existed within the wider organic assemblage, on shields made from wood and leather. Most other shield fittings in my dataset are made from iron, although other fragmentary bronze examples exist, and a number of ambiguous bronze mounts may also have come from shields. As it stands, however, I can only speculate about the possible patterns of organic objects. Looking at the plain and patterned objects from the category, the percentage of patterned objects rises over time from 27% to 63.63%, although the actual frequency of these objects falls, as shown in figure 6.3

During 400-100BC, all the objects from this category are from funerary contexts. Of the nine patterned objects present, seven are patterned in La Tène style. Deposition of these object types diversifies during the later period. Graves remain a focus for the iron objects of the category, which make up 35 of 41 objects of this category from funerary contexts. The South Cave Weapons cache dates to this period, containing five patterned swords and 33 iron spearheads. A bone point was excavated from a non-funerary context at Rudston Villa East Site. A single ring-and-dot patterned scabbard mouth is in the PAS group from this period and it is perhaps notable that there aren't more objects of weaponry or defence present here (though there is one miniature shield).

The relationship between certain styles of pattern, the objects of this category and the ways they are deposited is different to that which I discussed above for Horse

and Chariot Gear. While La Tène is the most popular style of pattern for the swords and shields of 400-100BC, which are all deposited in burials like Horse and Chariot Gear, the way the category changes over time is different. Rather than declining, La Tène pattern appears to 'live on' in swords, and new ways of depositing them become popular after the decline of the burial rite. The South Cave Weapons Cache contains five swords (four of which have La Tène decoration), 33 spear heads and sherds of amphora, and was found in a pit at the boundary of a settlement, having been deposited in around AD70. This type of practice; the Late Iron Age deposition of swords at significant places in the landscape, has been echoed at other sites in Northern England; at Ferrybridge (West Yorkshire), where a sword was deposited in the ditch of a Neolithic enclosure (Stead 2006, 186), and at Asby Scar (Cumbria), where a sword was found deep under the overhang of a limestone outcrop (Stead 2006, 192).

This compounds the differences between the purpose categories I am looking at and emphasises their usefulness. Although many items of Horse and Chariot Gear and Weapons and Defence fall into a group of La Tène patterned bronzes deposited in graves, looking at the way the patterns of each category develops over time shows that they are very much separate in many respects.

6.3.3 Personal Ornament

Like the two previous categories discussed, the category of Personal Ornament seems to have a specific relationship with pattern that changes over time. During 400-100BC the percentage of plain and patterned objects with pattern is 40%. This figure would in fact be much lower (27%) if iron objects were included, due to the large number of iron brooches from graves during this period. During the latter period the percentage of plain and patterned personal ornaments with pattern rises sharply to 72%. Iron examples from this period are much rarer, partly due to the fact that most personal ornament from the later period (85%) comes from the PAS, where all objects in my dataset are bronze. As I stressed in the previous chapter, it seems that this assemblage is subject not just to PAS bias but to genuine changes in the production, use and deposition of objects related to personal appearance during this time (e.g. Jundi and Hill 1998), including the increasing popularity of small, bronze personal ornaments.

This notion of changing practices relating to personal ornament is supported by several different aspects of my dataset. Not only are there shifts in the materials used, from iron to bronze, and in depositional practices, but the styles of pattern present also change. Pattern in the Personal Ornament category during 400-100BC is dominated by glass beads, which are common in graves. These all but disappear during 100BC-AD100 and geometric pattern comes to dominate the category. The unique decoration seen on bronze brooches from graves (e.g. Figure 5.5) is replaced by more standardised patterns on a greater range of different objects, such as button and loop fasteners and toggles, while brooches tend to be decorated by quite simple, symmetrical grooves or stripes. Strap Unions from the PAS, which have been placed into the Ambiguous Objects category, may have been forms of personal ornament and display particularly clearly standardised patterns featuring new petal or 'eye' shaped motifs.

Garrow *et al.* (2009, 111) have written on the popularity of unique, asymmetrical designs in British La Tène art. It is certainly possible to see this in the exuberant and unusual designs of some brooches from 400-100BC, and my dataset also shows changing design principles in the development of standardisation and symmetry in Personal Ornament during 100BC-AD100. As I have suggested for other purpose categories, perhaps these changing design principles are linked to changing depositional practices.

6.3.4 Mirrors

This grouping of objects was used to stay true to Fox's categories, but with only four mirrors in my dataset, the results here cannot be considered significant. The four mirrors here come from female graves dating to 400-100BC at Arras, Wetwang Village, Wetwang Chariot burial 2 and Wetwang and Garton Slack, demonstrating their specific purposes in the funerary rite. The Wetwang Village mirror is made wholly of iron and is very corroded (x-ray was unable to identify any pattern, J.D. Hill pers. comm.). The other three were all made mainly of iron, but have patterned bronze mouldings on or around the handles, displaying La Tène and sub-La Tène pattern.

6.3.5 Vessels

Here I will look back to section 5.3.1 of the previous chapter on ceramics and compare the data there with the other purpose categories discussed. Figures 5.10 and

5.11 showed that, while the proportions of patterned ceramic vessels remain very low during both time periods, the actual frequency of sherds increases dramatically. They also showed the diversification of types of pattern and the introduction of new techniques using varied tools during the latter period. I discussed the potential reasons for such an explosion in the number of pots and pot sherds in the archaeological record and it seems likely it is partly due to the scarcity of Middle Iron Age settlement sites in East Yorkshire, but also to changing practices concerning the pots themselves; increased production and deposition. Contextualising this data within the other purpose categories discussed here, the changing relationship with pattern and deposition are unique to this particular category.

6.3.6 Implements

This is a broad category, but contains mostly objects made of iron, chalk and bone. 23.4% of plain and patterned objects are patterned during the earlier period, these patterned objects coming exclusively from non-funerary contexts at Wetwang/Garton Slack. In terms of pattern styles they are fairly diverse. Chalk roundels, weights and discs and a jet disc are decorated with scratched patterns, sometime incorporating a motif comprising two intersecting lines. The three bone weaving combs have incised geometric patterns in zig-zag formations and two bone sliders are decorated with ring-and-dot. Just 5% of plain and patterned implements are patterned during the latter period. Similarly, though, they all come from non-funerary contexts and consist of the same types of objects with the same types of pattern; chalk objects with scratched pattern and a comb with a geometric zig-zag pattern.

The exclusive deposition of these objects, particularly those with scratched patterns, in non-funerary contexts is significant, as these contexts are not generally the foci for the deposition of patterned objects in either period. They come from a several different context types; pits, the floors of houses and ditches, where many seem to have been deliberately placed. The specific patterning and deposition of the objects from the Implements category affirms the idea that, while La Tène patterned metal work was clearly significant in the beliefs and practices of communities in Iron Age East Yorkshire, there were other significant materials and patterns that also formed parts of other, separate practices.

6.3.7 Ambiguous objects

The nature of this grouping means that the objects here can't be discussed as a category, but it is worth drawing attention to several groups of objects within it. The largest group is the 19 strap fittings from the PAS, dating to the later period, which are highly decorated and may either belong with either horse and chariot gear or personal ornament, both of which already have high percentages of patterned objects in the later period. The other significant group within this category is that of 18 chalk figurines, all from Wetwang and Garton Slack. These figurines are found across East Yorkshire and many are of a similar form; a person, often wearing clothes or fabrics, with a sword hanging from his back ('his', because some of the figurines possess male genitalia). His right hand reaches over his shoulder for his sword, while his left hand is extended forward in friendly greeting, and this human image has been interpreted in a number of ways; as a warrior, a god or ancestor (e.g. Stead 1988, Giles 2007b). Some of the figurines in my dataset are more naturalistic than others (some may be unfinished) but all appear to depict a human form, giving a very rare opportunity to study Iron Age dress and perceptions of the human form. The more abstract figures are often patterned with the same style of scratched decoration as the chalk weights, discs and tablets in my dataset showing that this type of pattern can be seen as relating to material rather than object type.

6.4 Chapter Conclusion

The conclusion of the previous chapter discussed the appropriateness of certain materials for making certain objects, and the related appropriateness of certain styles of decoration for certain materials and certain objects. This chapter has analysed the relationship between pattern and purpose in my dataset to identify strong correlations between the purpose categories I've used, the presence of style of pattern and depositional context. In linking pattern to purpose I am able to expand upon my previous statements and suggest that decoration was not only 'appropriate' to certain objects, but 'useful', contributing to the fulfilment of these purposes.

My use of purpose categories during this chapter has allowed the relationships between pattern and purpose to become clear and, in some cases, has compounded the differences between these categories, proving their usefulness. Studying changes in these relationships over time has, similarly, helped to make these trends clear. I've shown that the same style of pattern can perform different purposes in different spheres of activity at different times. For example, I've argued that items of horse and

chariot gear were important vehicles for La Tène pattern but that the relevance of these objects changed in East Yorkshire when the burial rite ceased, highlighting the important purpose of pattern in the burial rite, specifically in the chariot burial horizon. Conversely, sword scabbards continued to be important foci for La Tène pattern and continue to appear as parts of new types of deposit after the burial rite ceases. The instance of scratched and geometric patterns on implements made from chalk and bone, specifically deposited in non-funerary contexts, provides evidence of purposeful deposition outside the funerary sphere. These particular patterns may also relate to the uses of these objects as 'Implements' in certain tasks.

A key feature of this chapter is that it has considered not only the purposes of objects as Fox saw them; their uses in everyday life and in the projection of status, but the way these purposes developed over time and eventually led to purposeful deposition. It seems that, in the cases of some types of objects, the specific patterns they carried were as important in fulfilling their purposes in deposition as they were in fulfilling other types of purpose. These purposes may relate to a role intended for an object during an afterlife, particularly in the cases of burials, or to the memory of the object's previous use.

In terms of answering the question; what did pattern do in Iron Age East Yorkshire?, the analysis of this chapter has allowed me to argue that pattern had different purposes in different spheres of activity; it did specific things during specific activities and during deposition, and perhaps affected people in ways that caused them to treat patterned objects in different ways to plain objects. My broad exploration of the way the purpose of pattern evolved over time during the life-histories of objects, however, raises an important question: did the purposes of patterned objects evolve gradually over time in an ad hoc way; from design according to traditions of 'appropriateness', through use as 'functional' objects, to purposeful deposition? Or were the destinies of objects predetermined by the types of pattern they were endowed with? Put another way, did purpose dictate pattern, or did pattern dictate purpose?

In order to answer this question the following chapter will be examining the biographies and itineraries of a sample of my objects, to determine the effects pattern has had on their life-histories.

Chapter 7: The Biographies and Itineraries of Iron Age ‘Groupsets’

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will include a detailed biographical study of a sample of the objects discussed in the previous chapters. It will use a combination of existing information and the examination of these objects to trace objects through production, use and deposition by looking for evidence of use-wear, repair, modification and breakage. This analysis will allow me to answer questions about how the purpose of pattern changes over time, and whether pattern can dictate the life course of an object, as Joy suggests it does (2011). Some of the excavation reports used to gather the data for the previous chapters contain information on the biographies of certain objects (e.g. Stead 1991, Brewster 1980, Brown *et al.* 2007), and this information has then been used in more theoretical accounts of the material (Garrow and Gosden 2012; Giles 2012). This study, however, will be the first to look at the biographies of a large sample of different kinds of objects from across Iron Age East Yorkshire in this way, integrating the results of physical examination with existing data. The following paragraphs will revisit two important theoretical concepts that I’ll be using throughout this chapter; object biographies and itineraries, and groupsets, before I outline my methodology for this study.

7.1.1 Object Biographies and Itineraries

Section 2.7.3 summarised the concept of object biographies and the development of a metaphor that refers to archaeological objects as ‘alive’ in the same way that people are (e.g. Gosden and Marshall 1999; Joy 2008; 2009, Holtorf 1998). As explained, this concept has been hugely useful to archaeologists during recent decades and has been an important part of the consideration of object agency, and the relational approach to material culture that has become popular with archaeological theorists.

Recent criticisms of this metaphor, however, have hinged on the fact that it equates the lives of objects to those of humans (Joyce and Gillespie 2015, 4), imposing artificial stages of birth, life and death (Joy 2015b, 127-8). Archaeological objects do not necessarily ‘die’ when they leave the hands of the people who made and used them and enter the archaeological record. In the specific context of my dataset, an Iron Age assemblage, the fact that I’m considering the purpose of deliberate

deposition is a good reason not to view the 'life' or agency of an object ending as it enters the ground. Joyce and Gillespie (2015) have recently advocated 'object itineraries' as a complementary concept to object biographies. Itineraries focus on the spatial and temporal motion of objects, linking them to locations and, unlike biographies, have no defined end point. The idea of object itineraries is helpful to me as it places emphasis on the complexity of object lives, but, as Joy has pointed out, it is difficult to escape the linearity of an itinerary (2015b, 128). Joy recommends the combination of object itineraries with relational biographies to consider the continuous processes of things, whilst also imposing loose itineraries to produce comprehensible ideas (2015b, 129).

This chapter will follow Joy's suggestion, bringing together these two approaches. It will focus on the biographies and itineraries of four groups of objects from my dataset; chariot fittings, swords, bone or antler objects. Pots will also be discussed. Section 7.2 will explain the selection of objects I examined and the methods of examination used, but first I will revisit another important concept for this chapter, that of 'groupsets'.

7.1.2 'Groupsets'

During my discussion of the limitations of categorising my objects by object type in section 5.3.5, I mentioned the use of the word 'groupsets' by Garrow and Gosden (2012, 217) to refer to the typical set of Iron Age chariot fittings, like the sets found in many of the chariot burials I discuss in this thesis. 'Groupsets' is a word borrowed from modern cycling and refers to the essential mechanical components needed to make a bicycle work; the chain, brakes, gears, derailleurs, etc. A chariot groupset would, therefore, consist of terrets, bridle bits, linch pins and perhaps also strap unions and miniature terrets. Wheels, although not included in a cycling groupset, might also be considered here.

In the context of Iron Age East Yorkshire, the definition of groupsets could be widened to cover other assemblages of objects that function as parts of composite wholes. Given the fluidity of the notion of 'function' in this thesis, these composite wholes could be objects like knives or beaded necklaces, or they could be grave assemblages. This chapter will take the idea of Iron Age groupsets further to consider the existence of groupsets in a range of composite object types and assemblages and

to look in more detail at the ways they might have functioned, paying particular attention to pattern.

The objects I've chosen to focus on during this chapter exist archaeologically as parts of different kinds of assemblage. Chariot fittings exist today as separate objects, the wooden bodies of the chariots they once adorned having almost entirely decomposed. They will have performed at least some of their purposes, however, as parts of a complex composite object; as a groupset. As this chapter will show, they were also often fragmented and reassembled and may have had other purposes that related to the individual fittings, rather than the composite whole. Chariots tend to have been dismantled prior to burial (Giles 2012, 191-2, the exceptions being Cawthorn Camps, Pexton Moor, Ferrybridge and Newbridge), meaning that the relations between their components were altered once again when they were deposited.

Swords represent a different type of groupset. Just like chariots, they are assemblages, composed of a number of essential parts; a blade, a hilt, a handle, a tang, a chape, a front plate and a back plate. These parts were manufactured separately, perhaps by different craftspeople, and were then assembled to produce a sword. The complex construction of the Kirkburn sword and scabbard is shown in the image below (figure 7.1) and illustrates how these parts fitted together.

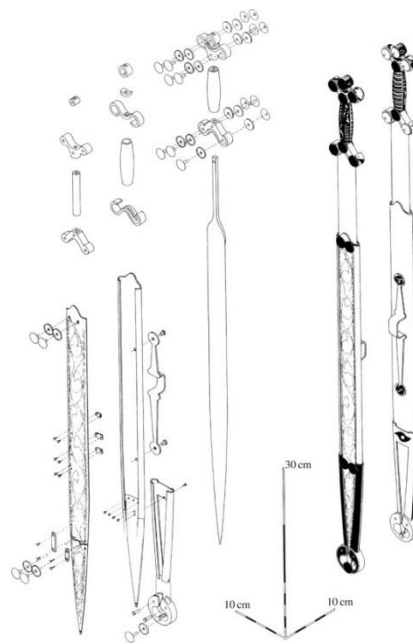


Figure 7.1: An exploded diagram of the Kirkburn Sword (Stead 1991, 69 ©Trustees of the British Museum).

Unlike chariots, swords and scabbards are often found in the archaeological record as intact (or almost intact) composite objects, as almost all of the examples in my dataset have been (excluding the scabbard mouth from the PAS database). In some cases, the sword itself remains whilst its organic scabbard has decomposed and in other cases the handle has degraded, leaving just an iron tang, but it seems that these objects were commonly deposited as whole groupsets.

The bone objects I've chosen to look at are a more diverse category in terms of the types of groupsets in which they have existed. Some exist archaeologically as single objects, or as parts of assemblages with other single objects. Some were once parts of composite objects; I've looked at several bone or antler knife handles, for example, whose iron blades have completely corroded away. Similarly, bone points may have been hafted to wooden handles or shafts when they were buried. Some bone objects also exist as parts of chariots and swords. The large terret from Garton Station chariot burial, for example, is decorated with three domed bone knobs. Bone and antler are also popular choices for the grips or handles of swords.

Pots, again, exist differently in my dataset from the objects above. As I emphasised in section 5.3.1, almost all pots in my dataset are broken and, as I'll describe in section 7.6., this fragmentation tended to occur before they were deposited. While each pot performed a function as a single whole object, therefore, their functions change as they are broken and become assemblages of sherds.

This chapter uses evidence for use-wear, damage, repair and modification to discuss the biographies and itineraries of these three groups of plain and patterned objects, and will show that the groupsets of composite objects and assemblages were often fluid and related to evolving purposes over time. Pattern, I will argue, played an important part in this process.

7.2 Methods

This section of the chapter will first explain how I've selected the objects to appear in this study, before describing my methods. All objects made wholly from iron were excluded, as their surfaces are too corroded to show any traces of use-wear, making it difficult to glean biographical information. PAS objects have also not been included in this study. This is partly because of access; PAS objects are generally

returned to finders once they've been documented, making it difficult to examine them and to ensure they have been kept in the same types of conditions as objects from museums have been, which means it is impossible to compare them in the ways I have done during this study.

Four broad groups of the remaining objects that would be particularly suitable for the analysis were identified: non-ferrous chariot fittings, non-ferrous sword scabbards and handles, bone or antler objects and pots. These groups all constitute significant numbers of objects within my dataset and all tend to have surviving surfaces upon which marks of wear or damage can be identified. In addition, the analysis of Chapters 5 and 6 had indicated that the examination of these groups of objects would benefit my understandings of pattern. I would be able to expand understandings of the biographies and itineraries of scabbards and chariots, which have already been discussed (e.g. Garrow and Gosden 2012, 128-34; Giles 2008, 61) and contextualise these with the biographies of other objects, which have not been considered in detail. It was decided that sword scabbards, chariot fittings and bone and antler objects would be physically examined, while pot biographies would be investigated through reference to literature.

Shortlists of objects to be examined were produced with the help of museum curators. Literature and museum databases were used to compile any existing comments on the objects' biographies, which were then taken into account when selecting objects. I visited both the Beverley Treasure House, where I examined four of the five South Cave Swords, and Hull Museum Collections, where I examined a further 85 objects. I also spent several days in the stores of the British Museum, where I examined 56 objects. These trips would not have been possible without the curators of these collections, David Marchant (Beverley), Paula Gentil (Hull) and Julia Farley (BM), to whom I'm extremely grateful. For a full list of all the objects I examined, please see Appendix IV.

Several relevant objects¹⁰ were involved in the *Celts: Art and Identity* exhibition at the British Museum (September 2015-January 2016), which then toured at the National Museum of Scotland in a slightly different format (March 2016-

¹⁰ The objects in question were the linch pins, terrets and strap unions from the Kirkburn chariot burial (all BM objects), the Kirkburn Sword (BM), the canister from Wetwang Chariot Burial 2 (Hull Museums Collections) and one of the South Cave swords (from the Beverley Treasure House)

September 2016) as *Celts*. Although their involvement in the Celts exhibitions meant I was unable to handle these objects, they have all been well-documented already and I was able to visit them in their cases several times during the exhibition, meaning it did not pose any major barriers to discussing them in this chapter.

The biographical study itself comprised several different elements, but no set process. The most important aspect of the study was the examination and documentation of each object. This method allowed me to gain a lot of new information, as I was able to experience the textures, colours and minute details of the objects. It also became more and more valuable as I examined more objects, as I was able to draw more comparisons with those I'd seen previously.

As well as documenting my findings in writing and through sketches, I took photographs using a digital camera. I also used a USB digital microscope (MAOZUA 5MP 20x-300x) to examine the surfaces of each object and take photographs where appropriate (some objects were too fragile for this type of recording).

The remainder of this chapter will discuss my findings, integrating them with existing information on object biographies and itineraries. Chariot fittings and swords will be discussed in the contexts of the groupsets in which they've been deposited, the particular configurations of different components that make up the forms in which they existed at the time they were deposited. Bone and antler objects will be discussed slightly differently, as they are not composite objects like swords and chariots (although they sometimes act as parts of composite objects). They will first be discussed as a group, before I focus on particular assemblages of these objects at several different scales. Trends in the biographies of pots will be discussed in a regional context.

7.3 Chariots

Of the 17 Chariot burials in my dataset, I have chosen nine as suitable examples for discussion during this chapter. Those I won't be examining or discussing individually¹¹ include those with mainly iron components, which are corroded so that their original surfaces are no longer visible, making use-wear analysis impossible.

¹¹ Beverley, Cawthorn Camps, Danes Graves, Hunmanby, Middleton, Pexton Moor, King's Barrow Arras, Charioteers barrow Arras. .

Chariot burials with few surviving components have also been excluded from this analysis.

As mentioned earlier, the surviving components of chariots tend to exist in specific groupsets. Most of the chariots in my dataset appear to have had five terrets, which tend to appear archaeologically as a line representing the position of the chariot's wooden yoke, showing that the yoke was often deposited whole. The central terret is often larger than the other four and is sometimes decorated differently, and the remaining two pairs are also often different sizes. Terrets tend to have been made from bronze cast onto an iron bar or ring, though this chapter will discuss several exceptions. Linch pins are also important components, being used to fix the wheels of a chariot in place. They are often made of iron, with a ring-headed form, but my dataset also contains some 'vase-headed' examples, with bronze terminals cast onto an iron bar. Also present in my dataset are several linch pins made from antler. Brewster has commented that some linch pins may also have been made from wood (1980, 412). Linch pins are often found with associated miniature terrets, which may have been mounts designed to hold the pins in place, but which may also have had other possible functions (Lewis 2015, 19, 58). Bridle bits are also essential chariot components, being used to guide the two horses that pulled each vehicle. Like some of the other chariot fittings, bridle bits can be made from either iron or iron and bronze (with the rings made from iron encased in bronze). The wheels of chariots are also represented archaeologically, often by stains where the wooden parts once were, but also by iron tyres and copper alloy or iron nave hoops. Copper alloy strap unions (similar to buckles) are also found in several of the chariot burials in my dataset (Kirkburn, Garton Slack, Wetwang Village), but are absent from most. This may indicate they were not such an integral part of the groupset.

It is important to note here that all the chariots from my dataset fall into the earlier of the two periods I have been using to analyse my data, 400-100BC. As mentioned in the previous chapter, recent dating programmes have refined the previous dates for some of the East Yorkshire chariots to the decades around 200BC (Jay *et al.* 2012). The following paragraphs will discuss the evidence I've gathered for each chariot, before discussing the group as a whole.

7.3.1 Ferrybridge (Castleford Museum)

Surviving components: Two tyres, four nave hoops, two linch pins, five terrets, one bridle bit (plus a number of decorative mounts and miscellaneous fittings, a brooch and a possible shield).

I open this section of the chapter with a chariot burial that is an exception to several of the East Yorkshire ‘rules’. Ferrybridge is a site located outside East Yorkshire (in West Yorkshire), and this chariot differs in several ways from those in the core area of chariot burials on the Wolds. I did not examine the Ferrybridge chariot as part of the research for this chapter, but a good reason for including this exceptional example first in the chapter is that its excavators go into incredible detail on various biographical aspects of its components; the sources of iron used for its tyres, the effects on its linch pins of a replacement west wheel, etc (Brown *et al.* 2007). In this sense, it has provided me with a useful guide when looking at other chariots myself.

The exceptional characteristics of the Ferrybridge chariot do not end with its location. It was not dismantled before burial in that same way most others have been, and was instead buried whole. Its terrets are unique, having been made from a clay or silt core wrapped in sheet bronze. They are thought to be ‘sham terrets’, attached to the chariot purely for the ceremonial purpose of its final journey, an idea supported by wear and distortion to several of the terrets (Brown *et al.* 2007, 138-141).

The chariot’s west wheel is very clearly a replacement wheel. It is a different size from its eastern counterpart, its tyre is made from different sources of iron and it is decorated with a patterned bronze strip while the east wheel remains plain. Possible replacement wheels on other chariots will be discussed during the rest of this chapter, but the west wheel at Ferrybridge is a particularly obvious replacement (Brown *et al.* 2007).

Considering the biographies and itineraries of the Ferrybridge chariot components reveals a set of complex stages it has gone through prior to burial. Wear on the tyre of the east wheel suggests that this wheel, if not the whole chariot, was used many times prior to the replacement of the west wheel, and the distortion of the west linch pin suggests the chariot was also used a number of times subsequently. It might be assumed that the wheel was replaced due to the wearing-out of its predecessor, although the fact that the east wheel has continued to function suggests

there may have been other reasons. The chariot's sham terrets had been used for a short time prior to its burial, but would not have withstood an extended period of use. It is unlikely its original terrets would all have failed at the same time, which begs the question of where the original set is. Were they removed from the chariot and passed onto another?

The lack of any attempt to make the new west wheel blend in with the rest of the chariot suggests that perhaps the blatant collecting that has resulted in the chariot at the time of its burial was, perhaps, part of what made it important. The Ferrybridge chariot was a patchwork of different components that may have represented the processes of making, exchange and assembly needed to achieve this particular effect before it was buried whole.

7.3.2 Wetwang Village (British Museum, 2001,0401)

Surviving Components: Five terrets, two bridle bits, two iron linch pins (one dipped in copper alloy), three strap unions, two wheels (plus iron mirror, beaded necklace, ceramic sherds).

Like Ferrybridge, Wetwang Village is one of the more recently excavated chariot burials in Britain (2001). It contained the body of a woman aged 35-45, along with a brooch, a glass bead necklace, an iron mirror and ceramic sherds. At the time of its discovery the find was reported in *Current Archaeology* (Hill 2002) and in *Past*, the Prehistoric Society newsletter (Hill 2001), as well as more widely throughout the British media. The curator's comments in the British Museum's online collections contain accounts of the objects adapted from JD Hill's preliminary report on the burial (2001b), and contain some information on their biographical aspects.

The five terrets from Wetwang Village were examined for this project. Each is made from bronze, cast onto an iron strap bar. As in many of the other sets of terrets examined in this chapter, there are four smaller examples, all with the same design, and one larger example with a different, but stylistically related, design. Like some other chariots (e.g. Kirkburn, Wetwang 2) there is a size gradient present; two of the small terrets are similar in size while the other two are smaller but also similar in size. This is visible in figure 7.2., below. Each terret originally had five coral inlays and is decorated with curvilinear mouldings and very fine stippling detail, as shown in the images below (figures 7.3 and 7.4).



Figure 7.2: All five of the terrets from Wetwang Village. Numbered left – right: 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 (H Chittock ©Trustees of the British Museum).



Figure 7.3: Terret 2 from Wetwang Village (H Chittock ©Trustees of the British Museum).



Figure 7.4: Fine stippling detail on terret 5 from Wetwang Village (2001, 0401.7) (H Chittock ©Trustees of the British Museum).

The decoration of the larger fifth terret is similar, but not exactly the same as that on the four smaller examples. It has the same curvilinear mouldings extending down from each of the coral knobs as are found on the fronts and backs of the smaller terrets, but the angles of these mouldings are different and they slope downwards towards the iron strap bar (see figure 7.2). In addition, there is a ridge running around the outside of the ring, which is not present on the smaller four terrets.

In terms of wear on the terrets, the copper alloy ring of the larger terret appears far more worn than the smaller four. The inside of the ring has been visibly smoothed and the mouldings worn down. It also appears to have been worn slightly lopsidedly, creating a thinned and asymmetrical appearance (visible in figure 7.2). The four smaller terrets, although less worn than the larger one, are also not new. Most obviously, they have lost many of their coral knobs; only terret 4 has all knobs remaining. The loss of coral knobs probably happened post-deposition in some cases, but one on terret 1 has been replaced with red glass, showing the original knob was lost during the use-life of the terret.



Figure 7.5 and 7.6: Left, terret₁, showing the replacement glass knob, 2001,0401.3. Right, a magnified image of the glass knob (H Chittock ©Trustees of the British Museum).

The four smaller terrets also show some signs of wear on the insides of their copper alloy rings, though to a much lesser extent than the large terret. Terret 5 shows some quite obvious polishing and smoothing down of mouldings, which was also visible on terret 1. Terrets 2 and 4, conversely, showed no signs of this kind of wear. The image below shows wear on terret 5, the wearing down of a ridge which was still prominent on terrets 2 and 4.



Figure 7.7: Wear on terret 5 from Wetwang Village, 2001, 0401.7 (H Chittock ©Trustees of the British Museum).

From the differing wear shown on these terrets we can place them into 3 groups. The smallest two, 2 and 4, barely seem worn, other than lost coral knobs. 1 and 5 are slightly worn, and 1 has had a lost knob replaced by red glass. Terret 3, the largest, appears by far the most worn. A similar correlation between wear and size has been noted on some of the other chariots discussed here (e.g. Kirkburn, Garton Slack) and is due to the differing pressure put on terrets by the reins.

The two bridle bits from Wetwang Village were also examined for this project and are made principally from copper alloy, although the rings have iron cores. The rings on both examples are beginning to split at the points where they pass through the centre links, where they appear to be slightly narrowed (figure 7.8) as a result both of pressure being put on these parts of the rings during use and of subsequent corrosion of the iron within. There was also slight wear visible on the links, which was reported by Hill (BM Curator's Comments). Each bridle bit is decorated in the same way, with lip-like mouldings on the links and with pelta or tricorn-like La Tène motifs on the ring attachments. Notably the links would have been inside the horse's mouth during use, raising a question about what this decoration was actually for. The outer ring attachment of each bridle bit was decorated with a bridge-like ornament containing a large red glass bead, held in place with a copper alloy cross or swastika-type motif. On the second bridle bit (2001, 0401.2) the bridge is partially broken (see figure 7.9).

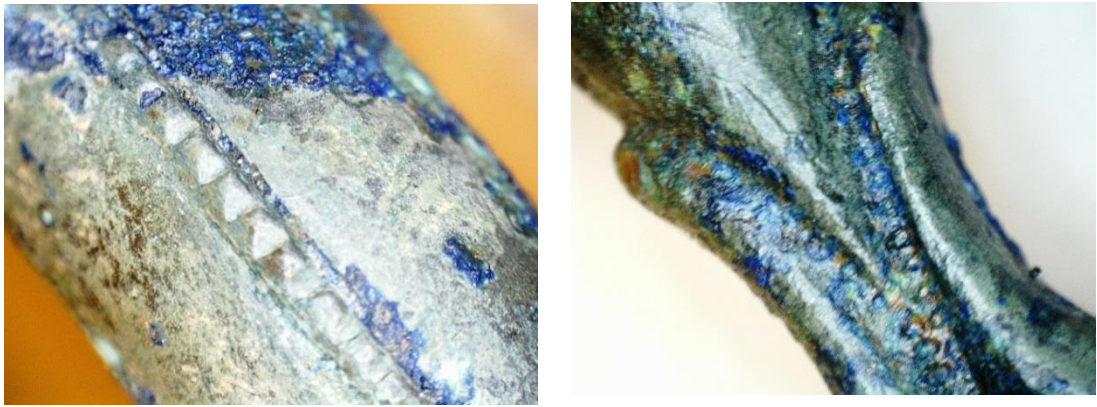


Figure 7.8: Bridle bit 2001, 0401.2 from Wetwang Village. (H Chittock ©Trustees of the British Museum).



Figure 7.9: Use-wear and damage on bridle bit 2001, 0401.2 from Wetwang Village (H Chittock ©Trustees of the British Museum).

In addition, several very small decorative details were also present on the bridle bits. Firstly, a ring of tiny indentations ran around the outside of each ring (figure 7.10). Secondly, very fine stippling was present as part of the decoration of the links (figure 7.11), similar to the stippling found on the terrets. Stippling like this is not common on terrets or bridle bits and doesn't appear on any others in my dataset, suggesting perhaps the Wetwang Village terrets and bridle bits were made as parts of a set and remained within that set until deposition, in contrast to some of the other groupsets I will discuss. These tiny details are interesting in another way, as they are only visible when viewed at very close range and will not have been discernible by those viewing a chariot in action. This is particularly true of the bridle bit links, which will have been within the mouths of the horses during use. These points suggest either that the patterns on these bridle bits were made partly to be viewed while not in use as part of a chariot groupset, or that the patterns shown here had purposes not solely related to the visual.



Figures 7.10 (l) and 7.11 (r): Details from the Wetwang Village bridle bits (H Chittock ©Trustees of the British Museum).

The linch pins from Wetwang Village are both iron j-shaped and ring-headed linch pins. The head of one has been dipped in molten copper alloy to create a contrasting colour to the iron's original silvery appearance. Some of the bronze coating remains and I have identified two parallel lines scratched into it, which probably represent wear sustained during the use of the linch pin (figures 7.12 and 7.13).



Figures 7.12 (l) and 7.13 (r): Left, linch pin from Wetwang Village (2001,0401.15) with a yellow circle added to indicate the position of two parallel lines. Right, A magnified image of the two parallel lines. (H Chittock ©Trustees of the British Museum).

It is not possible to say for sure whether the second linch pin also had a copper alloy coating. Given the good survival of the example above, it seems likely that any coating on the second linch pin would also have survived in the grave. It is

possible one of the linch pins represents a replacement, or that the symmetry of having both pins coated with bronze was simply not desired.

Unusually, the Wetwang Village chariot burial has not two, but three strap unions; two matching and one odd. The matching strap unions are both made from copper alloy in an openwork style, each decorated with a coral stud in its centre. 2001, 0401.8 is slightly thinner or flatter around the outsides of the main circle that makes up its shape than 2001, 0401.9, but this is probably due to slight differences in the mould, as other clear discrepancies in the overall shape are visible (figure 7.14).

Wear does appear to be visible, however, on the two strap bars of each strap union, in the forms of polishing on the bars and the adjacent balls, and also of the thinning of the bars. This is particularly visible on the right bar on 2001, 0401.9 in figure 7.14

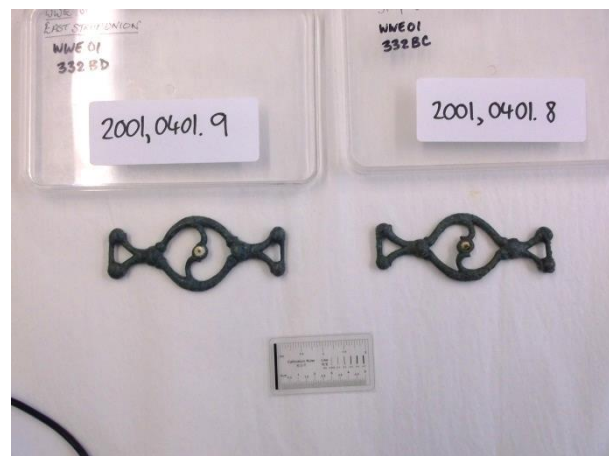


Figure 7.14: The two openwork strap unions from Wetwang Village (H Chittock ©Trustees of the British Museum).

The third strap union (fig. 7.15) has a very different design to the two shown above. It is a variant of the figure-of-eight form found across Southern Britain and present at Kirkburn and Garton Slack. Unlike the two others discussed above, it was not associated with the yoke but was found close to the left knee of the deceased woman. Skeletal evidence has been used to suggest that it was part of the fastening of a large bag containing the body (BM curator's comments).



Figure 7.15: Strap Union from Wetwang Village, 2001,0401.18 (©Trustees of the British Museum).



Figure 7.16: Decorative detail on strap union from Wetwang Village (H. Chittock © Trustees of the British Museum).

The third strap union has some interesting decorative features (fig. 7.16). At each curved end of its figure-of-eight form there is a La Tène style motif consisting of a circular field containing a raised trumpet motif and a raised bead or pellet. In addition to this, there are four round holes in the front of the strap union. Striations within them suggest they have been bored using a circular motion, either into the bronze or into the wax during the lost-wax process. The lack of any kind of residue within them, unlike those on the terrets where the coral inserts have been lost, suggests that they never held decorative attachments. It is also possible that the impressions were thoroughly cleaned after attachments were lost or removed. Figure

7.17, below, shows a magnified image of one of the impressions, illustrating the circular striations within each one, which indicate that it was made through a boring motion.



Figure 7.17: A magnified image of one of four impressions on the Wetwang Village strap union (H. Chittock ©Trustees of the British Museum).

Evidence of the wheels from Wetwang Village remains in the form of two iron tyres and four nave hoops made from iron encased in copper alloy. No repairs or modification are reported for these objects (BM curator's comments), and this was confirmed through re-examination. All four differed very slightly in size, but the difference was not significant enough to suggest any replacement or repair and could easily have been derived from distortion in the grave. Evidence suggests, therefore, that the two wheels of the Wetwang Village were a set.

The biography and itinerary of the Wetwang Village Chariot groupset are complex. In contrast to the very varied styles of pattern of the Kirkburn objects, which I will describe later, the terrets and bridle bits from Wetwang Village are decorated with the same minute stippling. This could suggest they were made by the same craftsman as parts of a matching set, or that this pattern was reiterated in one of the groups of objects, having been inspired by the other. The strap unions and terrets are also united in their inclusion of coral knobs as part of their decoration, although their designs are very different.

The inclusion of such a large amount of coral¹² in the decoration of this groupset is significant (Hill 2002), as coral is generally fairly rare in Iron Age Britain and implies the existence of particular trade networks. Coral is usually assumed to have come to Britain from the Mediterranean, traditionally thought to have been the closest source of the material, which would imply the use of long-distance trade to obtain the tiny coral beads used on the Wetwang Village chariot fittings. Adams (2013, 158-9), however, draws attention to cold water coral reefs off the shores of Scotland, Ireland and Norway, which may have resulted in coral fragments being washed up on British shores. Whatever its origin, coral wasn't abundant in Iron Age Britain, and has been found to have been recycled on at least one object from East Yorkshire; a wheel headed pin decorated with beads of coral that had originally been strung, probably as part of a necklace (Stead 1979, 77). Perhaps the coral knobs on the Wetwang Village chariot fittings were also recycled.

In addition to its status as an exotic material in Iron Age Britain, the reddish colour of some coral may also have been special. Although it is often bleached white today, the replacement red glass blob on the Wetwang Village terret suggests the coral here was also originally red, a colour that is thought to have held special significance on martial objects in Iron Age Britain (Giles 2008).

The design of this groupset raises another issue, pertaining to the way its components relate to each other. As I mentioned, the minute stippling on the terrets and bridle bits is only visible at very close range and, in the case of the bridle bits, parts of the designs would have been hidden within horse's mouths during use. These points suggest that the visual effects of these chariot fittings were not only meant to be deployed while the chariot was in use. Perhaps the fittings were also meant to be viewed in more intimate circumstances (Spratling 2008, 192), perhaps when they were not in configuration as parts of the chariot. This changes the whole meaning of the idea of the chariot groupset. Perhaps its components could function outside it, as well as within it. Alternatively, perhaps the purpose of these particular patterns was not necessarily to be seen but to imbue the objects with qualities unrelated to the visual. To conclude, some of the objects in this groupset appear to have had shared origins,

¹² Although see Adams' Raman Spectroscopy analysis on applied materials on British Iron Age brooches. In some cases, materials that might have been visually identified as coral were, in fact, other materials (2013).

but their designs also suggest they may have had extra functions outside the groupset.

7.3.3 Wetwang 2 (Hull and East Riding Museum, 2010.8)

Surviving components: Five terrets, two bridle bits, two linch pins, four nave whoops, two tyres (plus a mirror, two pins, and a bronze canister).

Wetwang 2 is the second of three chariot burials excavated in Wetwang Slack by John Dent during the early 1980s (Dent 1985). Many aspects of the contents of the grave are remarkably similar to those of Wetwang Village. The grave contained the body of a young woman along with a mirror, an iron pin, a pin decorated with gold and coral and a bronze patterned canister, dubbed 'The Bean Tin', making the whole assemblage similar to that of the Wetwang Village burial. As well as the wider contents of the grave, the chariot fittings themselves also share some characteristics with those from Wetwang Village. I will begin with the terrets, which bear the most striking resemblance.

Like Wetwang Village, the Wetwang 2 terrets are made from bronze cast onto curved iron bars. They also have a similar size gradient with one large, two medium and two small (figure 7.18). In terms of decoration they are very similar indeed, with a coral inlay riveted to a cup-shaped setting at the top of each ring and at other locations around the ring. While the terrets from Wetwang Village had five coral inlays each, the Wetwang 2 terrets are varied; the three largest have seven each and the two smaller ones each have three.



Figure 7.18: The Wetwang 2 Terrets (Image: H Chittock ©Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).

The patterns found on these terrets are particularly interesting. The cup-shaped mouldings at the top of each ring seem, at first, identical to those from Wetwang Village. Closer inspection reveals they are, in fact, patterned slightly differently. While the terrets at Wetwang Village had tiny stippling detail, these terrets are patterned with very tiny stripes, resembling basket-hatching in the case of the largest terret (and possibly the two medium terrets). Tiny dots are also visible, bordering the parts of the terret where the central ‘cup’ connects to the rest of the ring (figure 7.20). The tiny stripes and hatching appear to have been made by pushing a pointed object into the surface of each terret’s wax model many times to form lines. This process is visible in figure 7.21.



Figures 7.19 (l) and 7.20 (r): Pattern resembling basket hatching on each side of the largest terret from Wetwang 2, KINCM:2010.8.57 (H Chittock © Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).



Figure 7.21: Stripes on one of the side-mounted coral beads on KINCM:2010.8.58 (H Chittock © Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).

Comparing the Wetwang 2 terrets to those from Wetwang Village has revealed them to be conspicuously similar from a distance, but also conspicuously different when viewed close up. This echoes an important design principle of La Tène art picked out by Jody Joy in a recent talk at EAA 2015 (Joy pers. comm.), which is that this art was made to be unique, as others have suggested (Garrow *et al.* 2009), but that its uniqueness occurred through the elaboration of an accepted framework of motifs and layouts.

In terms of the wear on these terrets, the largest example is the only one with obvious wear. The thickened ‘skirts’ round its terminals are worn on the inside of the ring, as indicated in figure 7.22. Again, this is similar to Wetwang Village, where the largest terret was also the most worn. The smallest two terrets from Wetwang 2 also had possible wear in the same position, but none was visible on the medium sized pair.

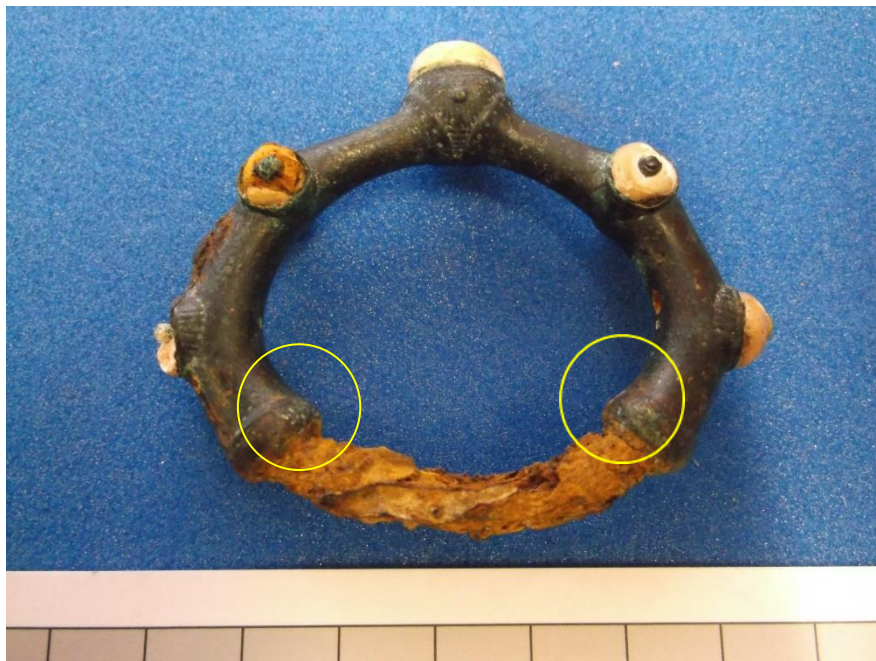


Figure 7.22: Wear on the large terret from Wetwang 2 (H Chittock, ©Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).



Figures 7.23 (l) and 7.24 (r): One of the Wetwang 2 bridle bits (H Chittock, ©Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).

Unlike the bridle bits and terrets at Wetwang Village, which may have been made as a set, those from Wetwang 2 bear no obvious stylistic resemblance in terms of pattern. The bridle bits are made from iron rings, encased in bronze sheet, and iron links with a bronze band round the centre. Each ring is decorated asymmetrically, like those at Wetwang Village, with one bulbous link decorated with a spiral 'S' motif (figure 7.24) while the other is plain. On each bit, the ring attached to the plain link is patterned with a single wiggly line running round its outside, while the ring attached to the patterned link has a double wiggly line. These lines resemble the raised, indented line running around the rings of the bridle bits at Wetwang Village.



Figures 7.25 (l) and 7.26 (r): Detail on Wetwang 2 bridle bits (H Chittock, © Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).

The Wetwang 2 bridle bits show no obvious wear, other than the slight distortion of the rings, which could have occurred during use or in the grave. The fact that their links are corroded means that any potential wear on these parts of the bits, as that found at Wetwang Village, has been lost.

Like the terrets and bridle bits from Wetwang 2, the linch pins are also highly patterned, though in a slightly different style once again. Each linch pin is made from bronze cast onto a j-shaped iron bar to form a large, decorated bulbous terminal and a smaller bulbous terminal at the curved end. Both linch pins were originally decorated in the same way, although one is highly worn and shows only traces of the types of pattern found on the other. The two linch pins were placed into the grave together, following the dismantling of the chariot, so it is not clear which wheel each will have belonged to.

The pattern on the better preserved linch pin is pictured below, and is made up of a tricorn shape on the head of the terminal, formed from solid lines in-filled with stripes and outlined by dots. Each arm of the tricorn extends to the side of the terminal where it forms a bulbous shape containing a small tricorn with stripes in-filling around it. A border of dots circles the baluster collar of the terminal.



Figures 7.27 (l) and 7.28 (r),: Pattern on the better preserved Wetwang 2 linch pin, KINCM:2010.8.46 (H Chittock, ©Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).



Figure 7.29: Faint traces of pattern on the worn Wetwang 2 linch pin, KINCM:2010.8.45 (Image: H Chittock, ©Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).

The more worn of the pair of linch pins is pictured above, showing very faint traces of the pattern found on the other linch pin. The corroding iron is bursting through the bronze terminal as a result of degradation, but possibly also of earlier wear or damage to the linch pin. The differing wear of the two pins suggests that this chariot may have been driven with two wheels of slightly differing sizes, as at Ferrybridge, where this resulted in one linch pin becoming more worn and distorted than the other. Unfortunately I was unable to examine the wheels of this chariot so am unable to confirm this. Another possibility is that one pin is older than the other, and the better preserved example represents a replacement or copy.

In terms of the overall biography and itinerary of the Wetwang 2 groupset, it seems to represent less of a coherent set than Wetwang Village, displaying a range of different decorative styles. Perhaps its components were acquired from a wider range of sources. Its terrets are, however, closely related to those from Wetwang Village, suggesting perhaps that they were produced by the same craftsman, or that one set references the other. It also seems significant that these two chariots were deposited in similar burials with women, containing similar grave goods. Wear on the components of the Wetwang 2 chariot suggests that all were quite well used.

7.3.4 Garton Slack (Hull and East Riding Museum, 1973.32)

Surviving components: Five terrets, two iron bridle bits, two tyres, four nave hoops, two strap unions.

The Garton Slack chariot burial was excavated by TCM Brewster during 1971 (Brewster 1971). In his microfiche on the wider site of Garton Slack (1980) he goes into great detail on the chariot fittings, with a focus on use-wear, which meant these objects weren't a priority for examination during my project. For this reason, I will summarise his findings below with reference to images from Hull Museum collections and compare them to my own for the fittings I've already discussed.

The five terrets from Garton Slack share design features with those from Wetwang Village and Wetwang 2, which were, as I suggested, both conspicuously similar and conspicuously different. Each of the Garton Slack terrets has the same cup-like feature at the top of its ring, holding a coral inlay. As at Wetwang Village and Wetwang 2, there is a size-gradient present among the terrets, with one large terret, two medium terrets and two small. All five Garton Slack terrets have the same design; a cup-like setting with a raised dot on each side and another dot on the underside of the setting (fig. 7.30). The cups themselves are plain but the groove running round each side is filled with a border of tiny impressed dots, demonstrating a close similarity with the stippled cups of Wetwang Village in terms of design and execution.



Figures 7.30: The largest Garton Slack terret, KINCM:1973.32.7 (©Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).

Just as I noted different degrees of wear on terrets of different sizes at Wetwang Village and Wetwang 2, Brewster also notes the same phenomenon at Garton Slack, describing the largest terret as showing more signs of wear than the other four (1980, 386-394). While wear on the largest ring is visible in images, which show the thinning of ring at certain points, I would argue that the four smaller rings are also perhaps quite worn, as all show the wearing down of the skirted terminals on the insides of their rings. Brewster also mentions possible imitation coral on terret 3, but does not confirm this (*ibid.*).

Two bronze strap unions were also recovered from Garton Slack chariot burial (figures 7.31 and 7.32). Each takes a figure-of-eight form, also seen in the Wetwang Village and Kirkburn chariot burials. They are both decorated in the same way, with borders and concentric circles. They also have unusual stud attachments, which are said by Brewster to be ‘fine, dark enamel’ (*ibid.*), but which may also be a different coloured copper alloy. Both strap unions are worn to the same degree, with the wear most visible in the centre of the figure-of eight, where the borders have been worn down. This is consistent with their functions as strap unions, indicating the place where the strap would have sat.



Figures 7.31 and 7.32: Strap unions from Garton Slack Chariot Burial (©Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).

The wheels of the Garton Slack chariot are particularly interesting as, like those from Ferrybridge, one is an obvious replacement. Brewster reports no wear on the east wheel, other than some dents in its copper alloy nave hoops, while the whole west wheel is very worn. The iron of its tyre has been significantly worn down, and one of its bronze nave hoops has been replaced by an iron one (*ibid.*).

Looking at the overall biography and itinerary of the Garton Slack chariot groupset, it is clear that some of its components were designed with local design principles in mind. Its terrets bear such a resemblance to those from the two Wetwang chariots discussed above that they must have been either made by the same crafts person, or were perhaps inspired by one another. These three sets of terrets could be viewed as a ‘family’ of objects, carrying visible relationships with one another. The inclusion of coral, an exotic and relatively rare material, in the terrets might also mark them out as members of this group. The strap unions are less local in design, and are based on a Britain-wide, figure-of-eight shape, although their studs are an unusual feature. They don’t seem to have been part of a set, suggesting they were potentially brought into the groupset at some point. All the elements of the chariot discussed have been used, and the replacement wheel shows the vehicle as a whole had seen much use.

7.3.5 Wetwang 1 (Hull and East Riding Museum, 2010.8)

Surviving Components: Five terrets, two antler linch pins, two iron bridle bits, four nave hoops, two tyres, three iron clamps (Plus: one sword, two associated rings, two iron shield fittings, seven iron spear heads).

Just as the Wetwang Village, Wetwang 2 and Garton Slack chariot burials are closely related to one another in several different ways, Wetwang 1 and 3 also share some important characteristics and are members of the trio of chariot burials excavated by John Dent (1985). I will first give details of my findings relating to Wetwang 1, the better preserved of the two burials.



Figure 7.33: The terrets from Wetwang 1 (H Chittock ©Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).

The terrets of Wetwang 1 differ from those from Wetwang Village, Garton Slack and Wetwang 2 in several respects. Firstly, they are made from sheet bronze, wrapped around an iron core, rather than cast bronze, using a similar type of technology as that used to produce the rings of bridle bits in the Iron Age, and the sham terrets from Ferrybridge. Secondly, each iron strap bar is broken at the centre, an unusual feature not seen on any of the terrets made from iron and cast bronze. While no structural trace of the chariot's yoke is indicated by Dent (1985), the terrets were excavated in a very clear line. It is possible that the terrets were cut from the yoke, or cut after removal to render them unusable (assuming a strong enough tool would have been available). It is also possible the breakage has occurred post-deposition through the degradation of the iron.

Each terret is patterned in the same way, with a series of many small ribs, formed by linear impressions in the bronze sheet, wrapping round the ring. Presumably this decoration was carried out after the iron bar had been encased by the sheet. As visible in figure 7.33, there is a slight size gradient present.

In terms of wear, the structures of the terrets mean that the corroding iron is bursting through cracks in the bronze in several places, making specific areas of wear difficult to discern, as shown in the image below. General wear and polish on the ribs of all five terrets seems to suggest they had been used, although there is no difference in the appearance of the largest terret, as at Wetwang Village, Wetwang 2 and Garton Slack.



Figure 7.34: Terret 2010.8.15. (H Chittock, © Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).

The other chariot components examined from Wetwang 1 were two antler linch pins. Both were made with the same design; a tapered curve with a baluster end at the narrower end, and a linear border around the wider end. Although the perforations of both linch pins were worn to similar degrees, they exhibit quite different wear patterns elsewhere on their bodies. One (2010.8.3) had an obvious wear facet at a particular point on its wider end (figures 7.35 and 7.36), similar to the facet found on one of the Kirkburn linch pins. It also had several patches of ferrous concretion, left by contact with iron (possibly a mini terret). The other (2010.8.29) had two, much broader wear facets, one at each end, both on the outer curve of the pin (figure 7.37).



Figures 7.35 (l) and 7.36 (r): The wear facet on 2010.8.30 (H Chittock, ©Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).



Figure 7.37: The wear facets on 2010.8.29 (Image: H Chittock, ©Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).

The differing wear on the linch pins might have been used to suggest that Wetwang 1 had a slightly different sized replacement wheel, as Ferrybridge did, but I was able to measure its four nave hoops, and they showed very little variation in size (all were within 0.5 of a centimetre within 14cm in diameter), suggesting the two linch pins were simply fitted slightly differently.

The overall itinerary of Wetwang 1 is quite different from those of the previous chariots discussed. The use of antler for the linch pins will have required very

different processes of acquisition and crafting to the metalworking used to make most other chariot components, and may have had particular connotations relating to stags themselves (see Chittock 2014). The way the terrets of Wetwang 1 were produced is also very different to the way the terrets of Wetwang Village, Garton Slack and Wetwang 2 were made. While I suggest the terrets from these other three chariots were produced under related circumstances, those from Wetwang 1 seem completely outside this group. Perhaps they were imports to the region. While it was difficult to discern specific wear patterns on the terrets from Wetwang 1, the linch pins showed obvious wear, showing that they'd seen significant use as part of a chariot before deposition.

7.3.6 Wetwang 3 (Hull and East Riding Museum, 2010.8)

Surviving components: Four terrets, one iron linch pin, two iron bridle bits, one sword, four nave hops, two tyres (plus one shield fitting, several misc. fittings).

Wetwang 3 is the least well preserved of the trio of chariot burials of which it is part (Dent 1985), due to destruction caused by the quarrying that uncovered the burials. Nevertheless, parts of its groupset have survived. Four terrets survive, all made from an iron ring encased in bronze sheet, exactly like those from Wetwang 1. They are also decorated with ribs, which fill a tapering field, running round the outside of the ring. Similarly to the terrets from Wetwang Village, Wetwang 2 and Garton, they are conspicuously similar but also conspicuously different from the Wetwang 1 terrets.



Figure 7.38.: Terrets from Wetwang 3 (H Chittock, ©Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).



Figure 7.39.: Detail on terret KINCM:2010.8.66 from Wetwang 3 (H Cchittock © Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).

Just like the terrets from Wetwang one, the four terrets from Wetwang 3 had broken strap bars. Again, it seems strange that all four would break at the same point in this way, and it is possible they were broken deliberately. No wear was noted on these terrets.

The terrets are the only objects from Wetwang 3 that were suitable for examination in this project, making it difficult to comment on the overall biography of the chariot itself. The similarities between these terrets and those from Wetwang 1, however, become even more significant when the similarities between the swords from these two burials are considered. They will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

7.3.7 Kirkburn (British Museum, 1987,0404)

Surviving components: Five terrets, two strap unions, two linch pins, two bridle bits, two miniature terrets. (Plus one mail tunic, three toggles, one set of lid fittings).

The Kirkburn chariot was excavated from burial K5, which also contained the remains of a male aged 25-35, an iron mail shirt, three bronze toggles and the bronze fittings from a wooden box lid. All the Kirkburn chariot fittings except the bridle bits, miniature terrets and wheel components were exhibited as part of the exhibition, *Celts: Art and Identity* during the phase of the project when I was undertaking this analysis, which meant I was unable to handle these objects. I was, however, able to

spend time looking at them, which supplemented detailed information which already exists in Stead's analysis of this burial (1991, 45-6). I was able to examine the bride bits and miniature terrets.

The five terrets from Kirkburn are designed similarly, each lipped and with an iron strap bar. They are all slightly different sizes, displaying variation slightly different to the size gradients shown in some of the sets discussed above. The central terret (KR/AU) is noticeably larger than the others, with 11 lips. The two terrets found adjacent to KR/AU were KR/AW and KR/AS, both with 10 lips each. The two smallest terrets, KR/AT and KR/AV, have 9 and 8 lips respectively and were found at either end of the line representing the yoke of the chariot. This slight asymmetry in the numbers of lips might be deliberate on the part of the craftsperson who made these terrets (Spratling 2008, 197-8), or may indicate an addition to the set.

Stead (1991, 47) does not mention wear on any of the terrets in his description, but I felt there were differences in their appearances when I viewed them in their case during January 2016. In particular I noted that KR/AW and KR/AS appeared to show polishing on the insides of the rings and the bottom points of their lips (towards the inner circuits of the rings) were worn and less defined than those of KR/AT and KR/AV. There seemed to be a wear facet on KR/AS opposite its strap bar. The large central terret also appeared polished on the inside of the ring. Some of its lips may have been slightly worn, but no obvious wear facet was visible. In contrast KR/AT and KR/AV did not appear polished, still had very well-defined lips and were a slightly lighter colour than the other three terrets. This possibly indicates they were made from a slightly different alloy, perhaps at a later date than the other examples, given their lack of wear.



Figure 7.40.: Linch pins, terrets and strap unions from Kirkburn (©Trustees of the British Museum).

Stead notes wear facets on both the Kirkburn linch pins, which carry La Tène decoration in the form of a bird's head triskele on the end of each terminal, surrounded by raised dots. Linch pin KR/AY has slight wear on the bottom of the upper terminal, like both pins from Wetwang 1, and a marked wear facet opposite the strap bar of the associated miniature terret. The iron bar of the other linch pin, KR/BL, is noticeably off centre and there are wear facets at two points on the upper disc of the upper terminal. No wear was reported on the associated miniature terret by Stead (1991, 45-6). The two miniature terrets were re-examined and no additional wear was identified.

It is possible the differing wear facets on the linch pins could relate to slightly different sizes of wheel, as in the example from Ferrybridge, or could be due to the iron bar of KR/BM being off centre, possibilities that Stead does not discuss. Stead's report does suggest that the east wheel is much newer than the west wheel. The west tyre is more worn than the east tyre, with flanges on its underside (1991, 42). In addition to this, one of the two nave hoops on the western wheel has been reused, as shown by an additional set of nail holes from where it had fitted a slightly smaller diameter on a different wheel (*ibid.*). One end had also been trimmed in an irregular

line connecting the other set of original nail holes. The same nave hoop has also been repaired with an iron patch at a point where the copper alloy appears to be splitting.

The Kirkburn strap unions are decorated with raised dots arranged around their figure-of-eight shapes and the terminals of their strap bars, and have quite similar designs to those from Garton Slack. Stead notes no wear, and I could not discern any when I viewed them during the Celts exhibition, which is significant when comparing them to the worn examples from Garton Slack.

The Kirkburn bridle bits (fig 7.41) are made from iron, with the rings and fixed side links encased in bronze. They are plain, standing out amongst the highly patterned objects discussed in this section of the chapter. Many small dents were visible on the rings, which could indicate wear or traces of the production process. No other wear was visible, other than the slight distortion of one of the rings.



Figure 7.41: One of the Kirkburn Bridle Bits, 1987,0404.16 (©Trustees of the British Museum).

In addition to the typical set of chariot fittings, the Kirkburn burial also contained a mail tunic, made principally from iron, draped over the body, three miscellaneous copper alloy toggles and copper alloy fittings from a wooden box lid. The copper alloy toggles were examined for this project, and no signs of wear were identified.

An important consideration of this groupset relates to the designs of its individual components. Garrow and Gosden have written that this particular set of fittings “could certainly have been *more* uniform” (2012, 218) and, although we must

be very careful about the ways we envisage Iron Age concepts of ‘matching’, these objects do display a great diversity of styles, especially when compared to the similarities between the Wetwang Village bridle bits and terrets, for example. It is plausible, therefore, that these objects were not made as part of an intended ‘set’. They may have been made by a number of different individuals in different places at different times. The differing levels of wear on different components suggest possibly that they have seen different degrees of use. The differing sizes of the terrets, particularly the two smallest with 9 and 8 lips respectively, and the slight differences in wear patterns suggests perhaps these two smallest terrets entered the set at a later stage than the others. The wear on the wheels suggests that this chariot saw either intense use over a short period of time or less intense use over a longer period. The east wheel seems to have replaced with a new one, while the west wheel has been patched up. My interpretation of this groupset is that it was formed over a period of time. Perhaps the components were acquired gradually by the owner or owners of the chariot. Perhaps they were exchanged for other components.

7.3.8 Garton Station (British Museum, 1985,0305)

Surviving components: Five terrets (plus two corroded iron linch pins, one iron miniature terret, two corroded iron bridle bits, and two wheels with iron nave hoops and tyres).

The Garton Station chariot was buried with a male aged 35-45. Due to the instance of mainly iron components in this burial, only the terrets have been examined as part of this project. The four smaller terrets are of very similar size, unlike those from Kirkburn and Wetwang Village, Wetwang 2 and Garton Slack, where a size gradient is present. They are made wholly of copper alloy, while the fifth larger example is made from copper alloy cast onto an iron strap bar (fig. 7.42). Significantly this is the only set of terrets in my dataset that is constructed in a variety of different ways, and those made wholly from copper alloy are the only ones made in this way in my dataset, which leads me to suggest these terrets were not made as a set and instead originate from different sources.

The smaller terrets are decorated with curvilinear lines running around the outside of the ring, which form three elongated panels, and double ring-and-dot motifs inside these panels. The larger one has more elaborate pattern; three domed

bone settings fixed to the top and sides of the ring with rivets, which are decorated with berried rosettes. Two pairs of La Tène style ornaments are also arranged around the outside of the ring (fig 7.43-7.45). While the ring-and-dot elements of the larger terret could be seen as linking it stylistically to the smaller four, its overall design is very different.



Figure 7.42: The four smaller terrets from Garton Station (©Trustees of the British Museum).



Figure 7.43: The larger terret from Garton Station, 1985,0305.24 (H Chittock© Trustees of the British Museum).



Figure 7.44 (l) and 7.45 (r): Decorative detail on the larger terret from Garton Station (H Chittock ©Trustees of the British Museum).

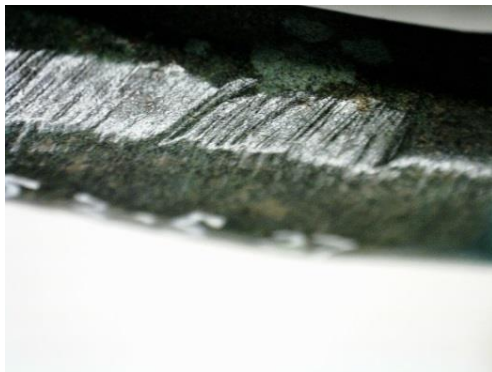
Stead writes in 1991 that there are no close parallels for these terrets, but that their closest relatives are those from Wetwang 2, which should be considered as Spratling's 'knobbed type with domed knobs' (1972, Group IXA), which had a long life and is well represented in northern Britain (Stead 1991, 47). More recently, Lewis has placed all the terrets with coral inserts into their own group named 'studded terrets', which exist exclusively in East Yorkshire (2015). The Garton Station terret is also a member of this group. The use of bone domes on the large Garton Station terret, rather than the coral knobs used on several of the other East Yorkshire examples, is unusual and significant. How did bone relate to coral as a material and, importantly, where did the bone come from? Was it animal or human?

Stead mentions a small X engraved on the strap bar of one of the smaller terrets (GW/JG), which is pictured below in figure 7.46. Stead does not give an interpretation of the X, but perhaps it was added to the strap bar as an apotropaic mark or a mark to identify it amongst the three other similar terrets. Marks consisting of intersecting lines are also quite common on chalk weights from Wetwang and Garton Slack, where they're interpreted as marks of ownership (Brewster 1980). When I examined the four smaller terrets I also found polished surfaces and striations on some of the strap bars, which Stead doesn't mention. Interestingly, different terrets bear different wear marks on their strap bars. 27 has many striations running diagonally across the strap bar and has a very polished appearance (figure 7.47). 28

has more subtle striations running along the strap bar at each end (figure 7.48). These marks may have been caused by use, but could also be left over from the lost wax casting process, having been made on the wax models rather than the terrets themselves. The surfaces of the other two strap bars show no obvious marks and have more degraded textures.



Figure 7.46: An X carved onto the strap bar of terret GW/JG from Garton Station. (H Chittock © Trustees of the British Museum).



Figures 7.46 (l) and 7.48 (r): Left, striations on terrets from Garton Station (H Chittock © Trustees of the British Museum).

In terms of wear, the larger terret appears polished on the inside of its ring but not distorted like the large terret from Wetwang Village. Its terminals also do not appear worn, suggesting it didn't see as much use as some of the terrets I've looked at here. Its bone domes are highly polished, as visible in figures 7.44 and 7.45 and the

central dome is very slightly worn down on one side, suggesting perhaps it has been handled regularly.

The wheels of the Garton Station consisted of four D-shaped iron nave hoops and two iron tyres. They have been reconstructed and are on display in Gallery 50 of the British Museum. The estimated diameters of both wheels in the British Museum database are exactly the same at 900mm, and the fittings all appear the same, suggesting these wheels are either the original wheels of the chariot, or they were replaced at the same time.

The most striking aspect of the biographies and itineraries of the Garton Station chariot fittings as a groupset is the likelihood that the four small terrets and fifth larger one were not designed as part of a set. While they share certain characteristics they are more different than they are similar. The smaller terrets, with their bronze strap bars are unusual in this dataset, being the only terrets made this way. Given the possibility that the large terret belongs to the same 'family' as the coral-studded terrets from this region, I suggest that perhaps this terret was manufactured locally, while the four smaller ones were imported.

7.3.9 Arras: The Queen's Barrow (British Museum, 1877,1016).

Surviving components: Two bridle bits, one terret, two tyres, four nave hoops (plus a bracelet, mirror and beaded necklace).

This part of the chapter will draw to a close by visiting the first of all the chariot burials discussed in this chapter to be excavated (during 1815-17), and the site that gives the Arras culture its name. The Queen's Barrow at Arras was named by its excavators due to the female remains and the feminine nature of the artefacts found within it; many glass beads, a mirror and a bracelet, grave goods that link it to the other female burials discussed above. For this project, I examined the two bridle bits and one surviving terret.

All three objects examined were remarkable in the degrees of wear they displayed. The single terret was of the lipped type (fig. 7.49), similar to the five from Kirkburn, and was bronze cast onto an iron bar. Its lips are unusual, in that they alternate between a bordered lip and plain lip. The terret is noticeably distorted, more so than any other I've examined. The inside of its ring is well-worn and polished.



Figure 7.49: The single terret from Arras (H Chittock © Trustees of the British Museum).

The two bridle bits are made from iron rings encased in bronze, with bronze links. They are decorated with a simple stripe round the central link, and by a raised line running around the outside of each ring, terminating in a bulbous shape (see fig. 7.50). The line on one of the rings of 1877.1016.11 is wiggly in places, like those on the Wetwang Village and Wetwang 2 bridle bits. There is no sign of a wiggly line on the other rings, which may be due to wear, or could mean that this particular ring represents a repair or replacement. It's also possible it represents deliberate asymmetry of difference as suggested by Spratling (2008, 197-8) for the Kirkburn terrets.



Figure 7.50: Decoration on bridle bit 1877.1016.11 from Arras (H Chittock © Trustees of the British Museum).

Both the Arras bridle bits show quite extreme wear on their links, far more than any other bridle bits with bronze links I have examined for this project. This could indicate that the Arras bridle bits were used more intensively or more regularly than others, that they are older, or perhaps that they were made from a softer alloy.



Figures 7.51 (l) and 7.52 (r): Examples of wear on the links of both Arras bridle bits (H Chittock ©Trustees of the British Museum).

Significantly, the bronze bridle bit from The King's Barrow at Arras (Yorkshire Museum YORYM : 1948.900) has a very similar design to this example, with a simple stripe running round the central link, although it lacks the stripes running round the rings and instead has ring-and-dot motifs on the raised beads that stop the rings sliding. Two surviving terrets from the King's barrow are also similar in design to those from the Queen's barrow, with simple lipped designs. These similar objects, however, displayed much less wear than those from the Queen's barrow.

Measurements for both the wheels of the Arras Queen's Barrow chariot were obtained from the BM database. All four nave hoops survive and are the same diameter (interestingly, their rivets have ring-and-dot-decoration), and no repairs are mentioned, suggesting they are a matching set.

7.3.10 Chariots: Discussion

This section of the chapter has described in detail evidence for the biographies and itineraries of nine chariots, through looking at their components. Although each chariot was unique in appearance, I've highlighted several important trends relating to the ways the components existed as parts of their groupsets. The

following paragraphs will summarise and discuss these trends, tracing the fittings through production, use and deposition.

Raw materials

The tangible beginning of each object's biography is the raw materials it is made from. In Chapter 5 I considered the role of materiality in the decision to decorate, and now I will look specifically at the fabrication of chariot fittings. Because of the degradation of certain materials, this chapter has necessarily focussed on those that have survived well over time; bronze, antler, coral and bone¹³, but I will also consider those that have not survived.

The acquisition of these materials (and the equipment needed to work them) will have required trade networks of a variety of scales, as well as the power and influence needed to exploit such networks (Giles 2007c, 407, Lewis 2015, 193). Lewis also points out that a demand for materials, conversely, was also a mode of maintaining medium-long distance links (Lewis 2015, 193). I touched earlier on the Mediterranean trade networks usually assumed to have supplied Iron Age Britain with coral, and on Adams' argument (2013, 158-9) that reefs off Norway, Scotland and Ireland may also have been the source of small pieces of cold water coral, washing up on British beaches. Whatever the source, coral is not a common material in Iron Age Britain, used in small quantities and sometimes recycled. It may have had a special meaning or significance, given its unusual colouring (although most of the coral in my dataset appears white today, it's likely some of it was originally pink or red). I mentioned Giles' work on the significance and connotations of the use of the colour red in the Iron Age earlier in this chapter (2008), which she suggests had specific power in martial contexts.

I've touched, at several points during this thesis, on debates surrounding the functions of chariots, and whether they should fall into the category of martial objects. Stead (1965) names them 'carts' to avoid the martial connotations of the word 'chariot', and JD Hill, for the same reason, calls them 'carriages' (2002). Whilst these terms carry inferences to everyday transport, Sharples (2008, 211) later writes that they were used for 'short ceremonial journeys', being unsuitable for long-distance

¹³ The excavators of the Ferrybridge chariot (Brown *et al.* 2007) analysed the ore sources of the iron used to make its tyres, which could be an interesting avenue for the future research of the other chariots.

travel or battlefield manoeuvres. Giles (2012) sees them as having multiple functions, and includes their fittings in her analysis of objects linked to martial activity. I see the functions of chariots as encompassing spheres of everyday, funerary and martial activity, as well as display.

The use of coral takes on another type of significance when we consider that the only known terrets with coral studs from Britain are those from East Yorkshire chariot burials (Lewis 2015, 89). Lewis names these terrets 'Studded Terrets', and the group also includes the unique example with bone domes from Garton Station, making many of the terrets discussed part of a very specific local tradition in terms of their designs as well as the ways they were eventually deposited.

The inclusion of bone on the Garton Station terret is interesting in its uniqueness. Perhaps the bone belonged to an ancestor, or to a significant animal (a horse perhaps)? Or perhaps bone was simply used in lieu of white coral; perhaps the two substances were one and the same? Another possibility is that the bone was originally coloured red, to imitate the red coral of the other East Yorkshire chariot fittings. The use of antler for the Wetwang 1 linch pins raises some similar questions about whether this material held any specific meaning relating to its origin. I have previously written about the possible metaphorical significance of antler as a material (Chittock 2014), as an alternative to the idea of antler relating directly to stags as special or liminal creatures (e.g. Sharples 2000), and either could be true in this context.

In addition to the more novel materials discussed above, chariot fittings, above all, made use of metals. Like coral, the use of bronze is associated with long distance trade networks. Both copper and tin will have come from specific sources non-local to East Yorkshire, the principal prehistoric sources of copper in Britain being in western England, Wales and Ireland, while the main source of tin in Britain is Cornwall, though it's likely that other more distant sources were also in use. The likely production of at least some of the fittings discussed above in the region of East Yorkshire would involve the procurement of these materials, or potentially the recycling of older bronzes, which in itself might have implications relating to biography and memory. As mentioned in chapter 4, the excavation of just 1% of the site at Kelk-6, during the Humber Wetlands Project revealed significant evidence for metalworking (Van Der Noort and Ellis 2000) and it is possible this was a major

production site, where some of the objects discussed may have been crafted. Discussions of the nature of bronze in prehistory have also rested on its special, magical properties and potential relationships with wider understandings of the world (e.g. Budd and Taylor 1995, Helms 2012).

Iron, although ores were more widely available than the copper and tin used to make bronze, is also seen as being involved in its own set of beliefs during the Iron Age. Archaeologists have seen the location of iron smelting sites outside main settlement areas in Britain as being related to the dangers involved in the process; intense heat and noxious fumes (Hingley 1997, 12), but also to the potential metaphorical significance of this process as transformative and regenerative (Hingley 1997, Giles 2007c). Support for this idea comes from hoards of metalworking debris and iron objects at liminal locations such as enclosure ditches and roundhouse doorways on Iron Age sites (Hingley 1990). Archaeologists have also drawn on ethnographic evidence on metalworking from West and Sub-Saharan Africa (see Giles 2007c), where it is often involved in taboos and wider ‘philosophies’ relating to heat, sexuality, fertility and other crafts, for example (Gosselain 1999). Lotte Hedeager’s detailed account of the stories and practices surrounding Old Norse smithing supports the idea of smithing as a liminal and magical practice across distant cultures (2011), and the enduring nature of these stories, Wayland the Smith being the most famous example, and demonstrates their persistent relevance.

The bringing together of the materials briefly discussed above to make chariot fittings represents both the manipulation of trade networks of varying scales and the combination of potentially powerful substances. The working and ownership of these materials will have carried great weight. I will now move forward to consider the process of the design and making of the objects.

Design and making

Garrow *et al.* (2009, 111) emphasise the uniqueness of Early Celtic Art objects. The same motifs are very rarely used in the same combinations, creating an unpredictable aesthetic, based on the desire for novelty. This is certainly visible in the assemblage of chariot fittings discussed above. No two designs are the same, other than when pairs or sets of objects like bridle bits, linch pins and terrets actively mirror each other.

This unique aesthetic is, however, very much tempered by the referencing of certain objects by others and the repeated use of certain forms and motifs. I have highlighted at several points in this chapter the conspicuous similarities and differences between the designs of the fittings from different chariots. The terrets from Wetwang Village, Wetwang 2 and Garton Slack all share an inclusion of coral and a cup-like setting at the top of their rings. But there are also salient differences between the three sets, some of which are very subtle and require very close inspection; stippling vs basket hatching on their cups for example. The same applies to the two sets of slightly different ribbed terrets from Wetwang 1 and 3. Some of the objects discussed also represent interpretations of styles that are more far-reaching geographically. The lipped terrets from Kirkburn and Arras belong to a style found across Southern Britain, executed in slightly different ways but very much complying with the overall idea of the style. Looking beyond terrets, other types of fittings are, again, unique but share certain features. The patterned lines bordering the rings of the Wetwang Village and Wetwang 2 bridle bits, for example, and the use of coral across several different object types.

So, while the chariot fittings I've discussed were designed to be unique, they also seem to deliberately reference each other through the use of the same motifs and style tropes in slightly varying ways. Joy has suggested that an important principle governing the practice of La Tène art in Britain was elaboration on a basic framework. An accepted set of motifs was used in unique combinations to create unique objects within a set of design rules (Joy pers. comm.). I argue this is the type of artistic practice visible in my assemblage of chariot fittings.

The making of my chariots components is likely to have involved multiple individuals, and a key question concerns who was creating the decorative designs I've described above. I will suggest during this chapter that making La Tène pattern was a somewhat esoteric practice, based on known sets of motifs and design rules. It is likely that not everyone knew these rules and I suggest that producing Early Celtic Art was a craft specialism in itself that required skills beyond artistic flare or creativity. All the chariot fittings carrying La Tène style motifs in this chapter are made from cast bronze, suggesting that those producing the patterns upon them were also involved in the casting process.

The design and making of the chariot fittings discussed in this chapter, therefore constituted not only the transformation of potentially powerful materials, but also the working of craftspeople within an esoteric Early Celtic Art framework.

Use

Most of the fittings I've discussed in this chapter show use-wear in the form of the wearing down and polishing of bronze or antler. This wear shows that the chariots saw a significant amount of use before they were deposited in chariot burials, something supported by the replacement wheels noted on several of the chariots, and the uneven wear on associated linch pins. It is clear that some chariots saw more use than others, the fittings from Arras bearing particularly heavy wear, although this may also be influenced by the variable hardness of different copper alloys. A common feature of the sets of terrets I examined is that the middle terret appears more worn than the other four. The fact that each large terret is the central one in a set of five through which the reins of both horses pass explains both the larger size and the greater degrees of wear on many of the central terrets, and it seems this is likely to be the reason for the differential wear on the large terrets I've discussed in this chapter.

I also suggested above that the decoration on some of the chariot fittings I've discussed indicates they may have had uses outside their chariot groupsets. The tiny scale of much of the pattern on the fittings means it can only be seen at very close range, and would certainly not have been visible on a moving chariot several metres away (Spratling 2008, 192). While an explanation for this is, perhaps, that this pattern wasn't made for visual effect, but imbued the fittings with other properties, it is also possible that the pattern was made to be seen close-up outside the context of the chariot. Perhaps the fittings were regularly detached from the chariot and kept in different places, perhaps they were regularly handled in more intimate indoor settings.

Chariot fittings and horse gear, therefore, were well-used in configuration as chariots, some having possibly been used in several different chariots prior to deposition. They appear also to have functioned as individual objects, used in quite different contexts.

Collection, Exchange and Deposition

I have already touched upon the exchange of materials needed to make chariot fittings, but I've also argued that the exchange of the fittings themselves as individual objects also occurred.

I've expanded on existing suggestions that some chariot groupsets are mismatched. Garrow and Gosden (2012, 218) have highlighted the non-uniform nature of the designs of the Kirkburn chariot fittings, suggesting they may have been brought together from other groupsets¹⁴, potentially from distant regions of Britain. The replacement wheels of several of the chariots discussed above support the idea that chariots were, at times, dismantled and repaired. I found additional evidence in my dataset to support the idea that chariot groupsets were brought together over time. For example, the large terret from Garton Station is very much an anomaly in its set and I argue it was perhaps swapped in from another set, or brought in to replace a broken terret. It's also possible that the four smaller terrets were brought into the region, given the apparent belonging of the larger terret to the local knobbed style.

Although archaeologists must use the notion of 'matching' or 'mismatching' in the Iron Age with caution, some of my groupsets appear to have elements that share design features, highlighting further the more diverse styles of other sets. The Wetwang Village groupset, in particular, has unusual stippled pattern on both its terrets and bridle bits, and uses coral inlays on many of its objects, suggesting this groupset was designed as a set. A question remains over whether chariots were continually dismantled and reassembled at different points during their biographies, or whether they underwent a single episode of swapping prior to the funeral ceremony. Certainly, the Ferrybridge chariot, with its sham terrets, seems to have been specially assembled for the funeral and driven for a very short distance in its final form, as shown by wear to the sham terrets. The other chariots I've discussed, all of which seem to have been buried as dismantled wooden components with metal fittings attached or as individual fittings in some cases, may have existed in their final configurations prior to the funeral, during which they were dismantled and deposited. Giles seems to favour this interpretation, envisaging a dramatic funerary procession, where the chariot acted as a hearse for the deceased, before being

¹⁴ Although see the set of fittings from Burrough Hill (Leicestershire), which appears quite similar to that of Kirkburn.

dismantled and placed into the grave (2012, 209). Alternatively, the components may have been brought together from different sources by mourners and placed into the grave.

Either way, the process of exchanging chariot components implies a social process, and it is possible that the reassembled chariots served as embodiments of the social relations between the communities between whose hands they had changed (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 218).

Summary

To summarise this discussion of the biographies and itineraries of chariots from East Yorkshire, it seems likely most of these chariots were fragmented and reassembled at some point during each of their biographies. The patterns on the fittings themselves played important roles in telling the stories of chariots in their final forms; in identifying them as being parts of sets or wider families, and conversely in emphasising the contrast between more diverse components. They also provide clues about the possibilities of fittings having multiple uses and being viewed and handled at different scales, suggesting these patterns did different things in different contexts.

7.4 Swords

The following section of the chapter will concentrate on swords. I've mentioned, at several points during this thesis, ideas that the Kirkburn Sword was an 'elder object' (Giles 2008, 61) with a long biography, passed down through generations (Gosden and Hill 2008, 11). This section will provide an opportunity to establish whether the same is true of other swords from East Yorkshire. Of the 26 Swords in my dataset, 14 were examined for this chapter. Of these, six were corroded iron blades from Makeshift and will not be discussed in detail here, as no biographical information could be gleaned from them. The Kirkburn Sword and one of the South Cave swords were being exhibited as part of the *Celts* exhibition during this phase of the project, but existing written accounts mean they can still be discussed here.

Unlike the chariots discussed above, which all date to the earlier of my two time periods (400-100BC), the swords here date to both my time periods, meaning I'll be able to look at the ways their biographies and itineraries change through time. I will deal first with the swords from 400-100BC, in no particular chronological order,

and secondly with the swords from 100BC-AD100, which were all found within the same context.

400-100BC

This section discusses five swords from Middle Iron Age inhumation burials; two from chariot burials at Wetwang and the remaining three from what could be considered warrior burials at Kirkburn, Bugthorpe and Grimthorpe.

7.4.1 The Bugthorpe Sword (British Museum, 1905,0717.1)

The Bugthorpe Sword was discovered in the mid-19th century. Stead writes that the original report does not mention a burial, but that two subsequent accounts refer to an 'interment' and a 'body', suggesting that this sword was deposited as part of an inhumation burial (Stead 2006, 186; Wood 1860; Thurnham 1871, 475; Greenwell 1877, 50n.1).

The remains of the sword consist of a corroding iron blade in a scabbard formed from a bronze front plate overlapping an iron back plate. The front plate has a low campanulate mouth and its full length is decorated with chased tendril-like pattern, featuring bird's head motifs. The pattern is in-filled with basket hatching and its overall snaking or alternating shape is reminiscent of the patterns on the Wetwang and Kirkburn swords, while the motifs and hatching resemble the pattern found on mirror backs in Britain. The sword's decoration is best shown by the illustration below:



Figure 7.53: Illustration of the Bugthorpe sword (Stead 2006, 258 ©Trustees of the British Museum).

The cast bronze chape is also highly decorated with lunate and bird's head motifs, and a hatched background, seemingly echoing the pattern of the front plate. It has a lipped motif at the end. The back of the chape is partly obscured by corrosion but part of an openwork plate is visible.



Figures 7.54 (l) and 7.55 (r): The front and back of the chape of the Bugthorpe Sword (H Chittock © Trustees of the British Museum).

Stead refers to the two large rivets, pictured in figure 7.54, above, as “imitation clamps, that have never been attached to the chape frame” (2006, 187). There are two more of these towards the top end of the scabbard. These rivets are similar to those found on the Kirkburn and Wetwang scabbards. If the Bugthorpe examples are, indeed, imitation clamps, perhaps they were added to the scabbard to emulate those on the others, or perhaps these features represent local ideas about what a scabbard should look like.

The Bugthorpe scabbard doesn't bear the same kinds of evidence for repair and modification as some of the other swords I'll discuss in this section, and any repair that has been carried out has certainly been achieved in a much more subtle manner than that on the South Cave swords, for example. There is evidence that the scabbard was used, however. A crease in the centre of the front plate suggests that the scabbard was bent and then straightened (Stead 2006, 186), presumably without the sword inside it. It is unclear whether such a bend would have been possible whilst the iron back plate was fixed to the front plate, but the damage seems to have occurred after the decoration was performed. It's possible the bend happened either while the

sword was in use, during combat perhaps, or during production, while the front plate was being attached to the back plate. It is also possible that the front plate was being transported or stored on its own; perhaps it was changing hands between craftspeople. Garrow and Gosden (2012, 132) suggest the bend was deliberate.



Figure 7.56.: Part of the Bugthorpe scabbard, showing its pattern, and the bent section (H Chittock ©Trustees of the British Museum).

Overall, the Bugthorpe Sword gives fewer clues about its biography and itinerary than some of the other swords discussed in this chapter, but its skilfully executed La Tène decoration suggests it was made by someone who was experienced in designing and producing this type of pattern. The ‘kink’ in the front plate also suggests either that it saw some use, or may inform us about the way this sword was assembled if we consider the possibility it happened when the scabbard’s components were not yet part of one object.

7.4.2 The Kirkburn Sword (British Museum, 1987,0404.2)

The Kirkburn sword was excavated from the same cemetery as the Kirkburn chariot, which I discussed earlier in this chapter, from the grave of a man aged between his early 20s and late 30s when he died (grave K3). The burial also contained three spearheads, which had been thrust into the man’s chest before the grave was filled in as part of the dramatic ‘speared burial’ ritual identified at several of the East Yorkshire cemeteries (described in Giles 2012, 1-3).

This sword was not examined as part of this project, due to it being exhibited in the *Celts* exhibition, but detailed study has also already been carried out on the

sword (e.g. Stead 1991; 2006), meaning that it was not a priority on my list of objects to examine it in person. I will not give the full description of the sword from this literature, but will rest instead on points relating to use-wear, repair and modification.

This sword is particularly elaborate in terms of its decoration and well preserved in terms of surviving details. It is an iron blade within a scabbard formed from a copper alloy front plate overlapped by an iron back plate. The front plate is in two parts, which join at the chape clamps. It is decorated with a scroll of keel shaped tendrils, alternating left and right in a similar snaking motion to the Bugthorpe scabbard (fig. 7.59). Though the decoration of the two parts of the front plate is similar, Stead writes that on the lower section the execution of the design is “much cruder” (2006, 184), with irregularly shaped voids and styles of infilling not regularly seen in British Early Celtic Art. Repair strips at the junction of these two separate plates and a repaired break at the same point on the back plate seem to suggest that the whole chape end of the scabbard was broken off at some point and that the bottom section of the front plate was added as a repair (figure 7.58). The cruder style of the repair echoes similar phenomena seen on several of the other swords I will discuss in this chapter¹⁵, suggesting the repair had been carried out by a craftsman less skilled in the reading and production of La Tène motifs than the maker of the original front plate.

Stead has also noted the repair of splits along the border of the front plate, again describing the rivets of the repair strips as ‘crude’ (2006, 184), which is perhaps evidence of the same phenomenon. Gosden and Hill add that the front and back plate were, at some point, split from each other and later reassembled, a process requiring a highly skilled craftsman (Gosden and Hill 2008, 11.).

¹⁵ Also, see the Wetwang canister for ‘crudely’ executed La Tène pattern.



Figure 7.57: The repaired section of the front plate (©Trustees of the British Museum).

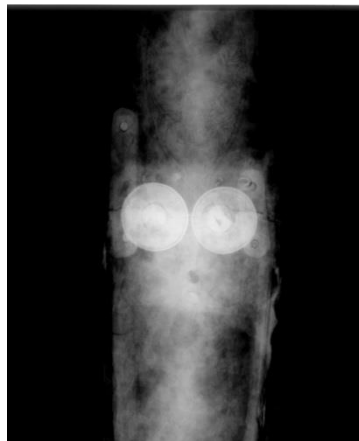


Figure 7.58: an X-ray image of the Kirkburn Sword repair (©Trustees of the British Museum).

The handle of the sword is made in four parts slotted over the tang. The iron grip and pommel are decorated with cells filled with red enamel, and a number of domed studs around the hilt and handle are keyed in order to be able to hold enamel. Red glass enamel is present at many points on the sword, even within small triskele fields on the suspension loop on its back, and Giles writes about the power of this colour in a more general martial context in *Iron Age East Yorkshire* (2008), showing that the sword perhaps fits into a wider tradition of the harnessing of red. The

configuration of roundels on the pommel and hilt link this sword to other Type E swords (from Wetwang Chariot Burials 1 and 3), which have the same design characteristic.



Figure 7.59: The Kirkburn Sword (©Trustees of the British Museum).

The chape of the Kirkburn sword was made from iron in two parts; the frame and bridge, and the chape end, which were riveted together and attached to the back plate. Like the handle, it also has fields and settings which may once have held red glass enamel.

The Kirkburn sword is notable in that it was old when it was deposited, as indicated by its complex history of repair, far more so than the young man it was buried with. Gosden and Hill (2008, 11) date the production of this sword to 250BC. Human bone from the individual it was interred with has been dated to 360-110BC (Celtic Art Database; Garrow *et al.* 2009, 117), meaning it may have been 150 years old when deposited.

To summarise this short description of the Kirkburn Sword, taken from existing literature, it was a complex object made from many components and materials, probably involving a number of craftspeople. It was repaired at least once during its life by different individuals to those who produced it. It was eventually buried with a young man many years after it was originally made, having possibly outlived several generations. Gosden and Hill (2008, 11) write that the sword and its components may have been important in generating human genealogies or oral histories, providing mnemonic devices.

7.4.3 Wetwang 1 (Hull and East Riding Museum, KINCM:2010.8.31)

A sword was recovered from Wetwang chariot burial 1 (Dent 1985), a male burial that also contained seven spearheads along with the remains of the chariot, which I discussed earlier in this chapter. I examined this sword at the Hull and East Riding Museum, but its extremely fragile state meant I was not able to see its front plate, as it is was being stored with its front plate down and moving it would have risked causing damage. I was only able to view its corroded iron back plate, handle and chape. I've been able, however, to draw some information on the sword from relevant literature produced when the sword was in a more robust state (Stead 2006, 185).

The construction and design of the scabbard is very similar to that of the Kirkburn Sword. Gosden and Hill suggest they were produced at around the same time, 250BC, but that this sword was younger when it was deposited (2008, 11), which occurred during the chariot burial horizon of the decades around 200BC. It is a bronze front plate overlapped by an iron back plate. A wave-tendrill design, with large spirals running alternately off the central wave, runs down the front plate. This design itself is similar to that of the Kirkburn Sword, and the similarities continue with the hilt end and handle of the swords, as it has the same configuration of metal roundels arranged on the pommel, hilt and the chape clamps. Like those on the Kirkburn Sword, the roundels were keyed to hold red glass enamel, most of which has been lost. The iron chape is also similar to that of the Kirkburn Sword, with red glass enamel insets.

Stead does not mention any damage or repairs to the scabbard and I did not find any during my examination of its back, but he does write that some of the pattern on the front plate appears worn, suggesting it had seen use.



Figure 7.60: Wetwang 1 Sword in storage (©Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums)

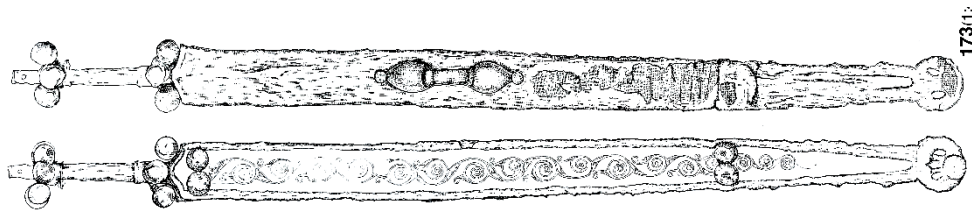


Figure 7.61: Illustration of Wetwang 1 sword (Stead 2006, 254 ©Trustees of the British Museum).

7.4.4 Wetwang 3 (Hull and East Riding Museum, KINCM:2010.8.65)

Wetwang 3 chariot burial also contained a sword very similar in design to those discussed above from Wetwang 1 and Kirkburn. It's likely to have been produced at a similar date, 250BC, but, like Wetwang 1, was deposited when it was much younger than the Kirkburn sword (Gosden and Hill 2008, 11). I examined this sword at the Hull and East Riding Museum and was able to see its front plate, as it was being stored face up (unlike the Wetwang 1 Sword, see above).



Figure 7.62: Wetwang 3 Sword (©Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).

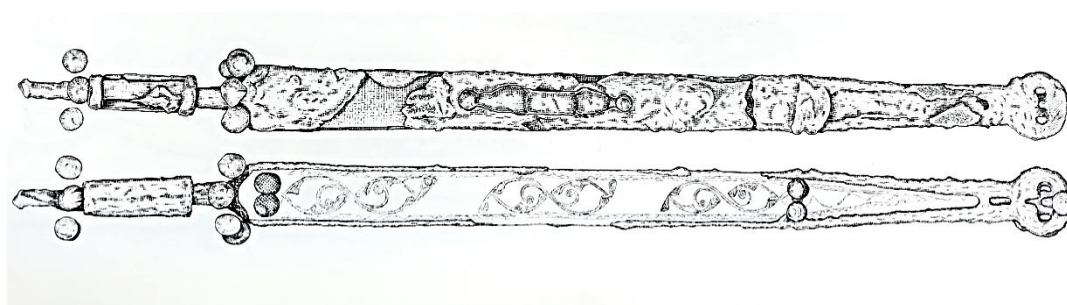


Figure 7.63: Illustration of Wetwang 3 sword (Stead 2006, 256 ©Trustees of the British Museum).

The Wetwang 3 sword consists of an iron blade inside a scabbard formed from a copper alloy front plate overlapped by an iron back plate. The scabbard has a low campanulate mouth and roundels keyed for enamel arranged around the hilt and pommel in the same configuration as those on the Kirkburn and Wetwang 1 swords. The tang and handle remain and the grip, unlike that from Kirkburn, is made from an organic material.

The front plate of the scabbard has been decorated using tremolo lines, very fine zig-zag lines produced using a rocked graver (Harding 2007, 7). This type of line is also found on the Wetwang 'Bean Tin' (Stead 2006, 185). These lines form three separate but similar motifs. Each is a reversed S shape with pointed top and bottom,

ending in two spirals. Trumpet shapes and lobes attached to the S shapes form fields, which are in-filled with slightly different combinations of fine lines and dots.

The similarity between the two Wetwang swords becomes extremely potent when considering their wider contexts as parts of two chariot burials located close to each other (Dent 1985), containing very similar chariot fittings. It seems possible these two burials were carried out at the same time and almost mirrored each other, or that one referenced the other.

When examining the Wetwang 3 sword I found possible evidence for additions to the decoration in the front plate, similar to the 'crude' repair section on the Kirkburn sword. To the La Tène pattern of the front plate there has been added a border formed from two parallel lines, between which runs a rough zigzag or wiggly line. The two borders running down each side of the front plate converge at the chape end to form a rough wave. Like the rest of the pattern on the front plate, these borders are formed from tremolo lines but the execution is uneven and wobbly. I suggest perhaps these borders were added by a different person to the one who produced the main pattern of the front plate. Their proximity to the overlap of the back plate suggests perhaps they were added after the two plates had been fitted together. A similar border exists on the Kirkburn scabbard, made using a continuous line and I would argue perhaps this is also an addition to the front plate not performed by the same craftsman who carried out the La Tène decoration.



Figure 7.64: Wetwang 3 scabbard (H Chittock ©Hull and east Riding Museum: Hull Museum



Figure 7.65: Wetwang 3 scabbard (H Chittock ©Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums)

Unlike the Kirkburn scabbard, the Wetwang 3 scabbard bears no signs of repair, but Stead does note wear on its tremolo lines (2006, 185). Overall, this seems to be a sword that has seen use, or at least handling, and interventions at different times by different individuals.

74.5 The Grimthorpe Sword (British Museum, 1876,0208.10)

The Grimthorpe Sword was excavated by JR Mortimer in 1868 (Mortimer 1869) from a crouched inhumation also containing a spearhead, 16 bone points and the fittings of a shield; a set of grave good that has earned this burial the name 'The Grimthorpe Warrior'.

The sword consists of an iron blade within a scabbard formed from a plain bronze front plate overlapping an iron back plate. Only the lower half of the scabbard survives.

The chape is cast bronze with a lip moulding at the end and banded mouldings on each side which echo this. There are central circular perforations on its front and back, and on the front this perforation is decorated with a bordering pattern. Two panels decorate the front of the chape, each containing three empty settings described by Mortimer as being 'set with small rubies, which were all absent but one' (1869, 181). It seems likely these rubies were, in fact, red coral (Stead 2006, 187).



Figure 7.66: The back view of the Grimthorpe chape (H Chittock ©Trustees of the British Museum).

The chape has been cast onto a bronze frame, which is decorated on the back of the scabbard with two openwork rungs, patterned with birds head motifs and in-filled with fine lines (similar to the patterns on the Bugthorpe Scabbard). Both rungs are broken and part of the upper example is missing. Stead (2006, 187) notes the worn break on the upper rung which, together with a repair panel on the chape at the left side of the rung, suggest it was an old break¹⁶.



Figures 7.67 (l) and 7.68 (r): The two openwork rungs on the Grimthorpe Sword (H Chittock © Trustees of the British Museum).



Figure 7.69: A repair to the upper openwork rung of the Grimthorpe Sword (H Chittock © Trustees of the British Museum).

¹⁶ Stead doesn't mention the break in the lower rung, suggesting this is a newer break, probably caused by the expansion of the back plate and corroding blade within.

Another repair is evident in a bronze band riveted around the scabbard at the top of the chape. Stead illustrated the band as running all the way round the scabbard but only a small part of it survives today, although the impression where it once sat is visible (the current location of the rest of the band is not clear). Interestingly, while Stead mentions and illustrates this band, he does not describe its pattern, which is only just visible on the front of the scabbard and takes the form of a spiral shape, possibly containing a tricorn motif.



Figure 7.70: The patterned repair strip on the Grimthorpe Sword (H Chittock© Trustees of the British Museum).

The hilt end of the sword is arched/campanulate and terminates in two projecting bars. Stead describes the lower part of the grip (2006, 187) but the tang was entirely missing when I looked at the sword and these details were not visible.

Overall, the biography of the Grimthorpe sword suggests that it saw substantial use, enough to be damaged and repaired, prior to its burial.

The Grimthorpe Shield (British Museum 1876,0208.1 and 2)

During my investigation I also examined the remains of the shield from the Grimthorpe warrior burial, the only shield in my dataset with substantially surviving bronze fittings. My findings relating to this shield were highly interesting and reveal similar biographical details to those for some of the swords and chariots I've looked at, particularly the South Cave Weapons Cache, which is discussed below.

The Grimthorpe Shield is formed from an 'eye-shaped' boss, decorated with a symmetrical design formed from straight and curved lines and in-filled with fine lines; and two arc-shaped bronze sheets decorated on their outer edges by a border filled with geometric, blocked pattern. It seems likely these three elements were arranged as shown in the image below (fig. 7.71, this is how they were photographed by the British Museum). Also included is a small disc decorated with curvilinear La Tène style motifs; peltas and circles separated by repousse arcs. Completing the group of fittings are two strips of bronze, each measuring around 27cm long and pierced at each end. While one is damaged around its piercings, the other is well preserved and has been patterned with a three-sided field in-filled with fine lines (fig. 7.72)



Figure 7.71: Fittings from the Grimthorpe Shield (H Chittock © Trustees of the British Museum).



Figure 7.72: Pattern on a fitting from the Grimthorpe Shield (H Chittock © Trustees of the British Museum).

In terms of wear, the shield has clearly seen use, particularly on the two largest fittings. These have visible tears and breaks that have been mended by rivets which, presumably, fixed the fittings onto a wooden or leather backing. There are also two substantial dents in one of these fittings, possibly suggesting the shield was used in a defensive context.



Figures 7.73 (l) and 7.74 (r): Damage and repairs to the Grimthorpe Shield (H Chittock © Trustees of the British Museum).

Furthermore, the rivet holes in both the two large fittings and the small disc are of many different sizes and are unevenly spaced. There are also far more holes than would be necessary to fix the fittings to their wooden or leather backing. I suggest that these fittings were fixed to a number of different backings at different times.

Looking at these fittings as a group, my interpretation is that they've come from a number of different sources, just as I've suggested for some of the chariot fittings discussed in this chapter. Like the chariot fittings, they display a whole range of different decorative styles. On top of this, some elements are more worn and damaged than others, and the rivet holes suggest they've been detached and reattached to multiple different backings.

It seems these fittings have been collected over a period of time to form the assemblage of shield fittings found with the Grimthorpe warrior. It's tempting to imagine they were, perhaps, trophies won in battle but they may also have been gifts, heirlooms, or objects collected specifically for the funeral.

100BC-AD100

7.4.6 The South Cave Weapons Cache (Beverley Treasure House)

The South Cave Weapons Cache was excavated in 2002 following a metal detector find. The cache consisted of five swords, bundled together, deposited in a pit above a bundle of 33 iron spear heads within a pit, which was lined with sherds from a Dressel 20 amphora. These sherds have allowed archaeologists to date the deposition of the assemblage to the later 1st century AD (Powell in prep, 2).

This section of the chapter will discuss the five swords from the cache, four of which were examined for this project at Beverley Treasure House; the fifth being exhibited as part of the Celts exhibitions in London and Edinburgh. My findings have been supplemented by those described in a draft report on the cache (Powell in prep, kindly provided by David Marchant), which is less focussed on wear and repair than this chapter, but which includes an enlightening analysis of the alloys of the scabbards, which I will mention during my account of the swords.

RF40 (2005, 99.9)

RF40 consists of an intact scabbard, containing an iron blade, and a detached iron tang with traces of a horn grip. It also has a Type g chape with pronounced lips. The front plate is made from brass and is decorated with five horizontal bands, separating six plain panels. Each band is decorated with two zig-zag lines either side of a plain band. The back plate and suspension loop are made from bronze. The chape and hilt guard are both made of metals with mixed compositions, probably made using bronze imported from the continent a considerable time before the scabbard was made (Powell in prep, 6-7). This suggests that the components themselves were old, or possibly that they were made from recycled bronze, melted down and recast. Certainly, type g chapes (fig. 7.75), with lipped ends are said by Stead (2006, 15) to characterise earlier northern swords, meaning the chape itself is probably an old object, recycled in a newer sword, given the use of brass for some components. The crown shaped hilt guard, however, is a feature of later northern swords (Stead 2006, 13), so may be made from recycled metal.

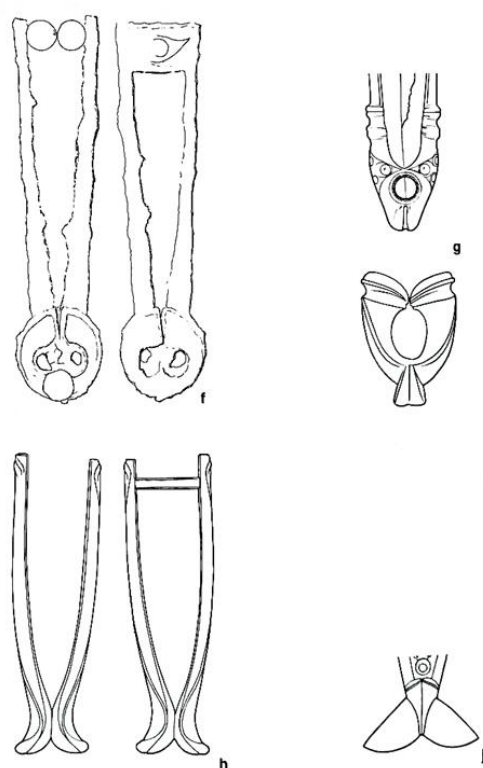


Figure 7.75.: Stead's northern chape types (2006, 14 © Trustees of the British Museum).

Several horizontal and vertical cracks are present on both the front plate and back plate and these have been visibly repaired in two places, both of which are mentioned in the report (Powell in prep, 24). The first is a crack in the back plate, which has been repaired using an irregular patch of bronze or brass, slotted under the suspension loop plate and affixed with three rivets (fig. 7.77). The second is a crack at the chape end of both the front and back plate shown in figure 7.76. The detached tip of the scabbard has been held in place by the riveting on of the chape, which suggests that perhaps this chape was not an original feature of the sword. The report also mentions that the decorative band closest to the chape end was plain and riveted on as a repair, probably to repair the same crack (Powell in prep. 24) (for conservation reasons I was not able to remove the sword from its stand so primarily had a view of the back) .

The repairs, shown in the images below, are striking in the ways that they stand out visually, compared to the more subtle repairs on the Grimthorpe and Kirkburn Swords, for example. This suggests not only the execution of repairs by different craftspeople to those who originally assembled the scabbards, but also the possibility that these repairs were *meant* to be visible.



Figure 7.76: RF40 (H Chittock ©Beverley Treasure House).



Figure 7.77: RF40 (H Chittock ©Beverley Treasure House).

RF18 (2005, 99.8)

The front and back plates and suspension loop of this sword are all made from very similar (or the same) brass (Powell in prep, 6), with the back plate overlapping the front plate. The front plate is decorated with three repousse oval panels, the uppermost of which is filled with a lyre motif containing two trumpets (fig. 7.78). Spiralling trumpet motifs on the upper part of the back plate echo this and suggest that the front and back plates might have been made at the same time as parts of the same original scabbard.

The other components: the chape and hilt plate are made of slightly different brasses, while the rivets analysed are of mixed composition, as they were probably formed from small pieces of scrap metal (Powell in prep, 6). The chape is not lipped like some of the other South Cave swords, but Powell (in prep, 23) suggests that it still belongs to Type g, the pattern at the end mimicking the idea of lips. I suggest that this chape, in fact, resembles much more Stead's southern type e (2006, 12), which has a smooth and rounded end, and may be an import from southern Britain, or a copy.

Analysis of fragments associated with the handle revealed that the pommel and grip were made from whale ivory and antler.



Figure 7.78: Decoration on RF 18 (H Chittock ©Beverley Treasure House).



Figures 7.79: RF18 chape (H Chittock ©Beverley Treasure House).

The scabbard of RF18 has split open along the lines of the repoussé decoration and along the sides, where the back plate overlaps the front plate, due to the pressure caused by the corroding blade, which has probably occurred post-deposition. The report (Powell in prep, 23) refers to a repair to the suspension loop plate. It is likely this denotes the riveting of the back loop plate onto the chape, shown in figure 7.8o, similarly to RF4o. There is no obvious break that this repair is fixing and I suggest that it may in fact not be a repair, but simply the fixing of a new chape onto a pre-existing scabbard. Again, this modification is not subtle, and it is possible it was meant to be visible.



Figure 7.8o: RF18 repair (H Chittock ©Beverley Treasure House).

RF41 (2005, 99.10)

The back plate of RF41 is made from bronze, while the front plate and suspension loop (along with its rivets) are made from different brasses. Interestingly, the front plate is identical to that of RF18, with the same division into three repousse oval panels and the same lyre containing two trumpet motifs in the uppermost panel. The brass it is made from has a slightly lower zinc percentage, suggesting it was not made from the same piece of metal as the front and back plates of RF18. It may be a copy by a different craftsman, but the execution suggests perhaps that one craftsman simply copied his or her own work. The identical design is very unusual, considering the concern for uniqueness that governs much of Early Celtic Art, as I discussed above. Considering the late date of this assemblage, it perhaps denotes the

beginning of the more standardised objects produced during and after the Roman conquest, although these tend to be smaller personal ornaments.

The back plate of RF41 resembles that of RF40, with a similar rounded suspension loop. The chape is bridged with a bifurcating end (Type h) (fig. 7.81). It is made of bronze, but a very different bronze to that of the back plate, resembling closely the bronze from RF40 (Powell in prep, 7). Type h chapes are characteristic of later northern swords, meaning that if old bronze was used to make this chape it has probably been recycled. RF41 has a crown-shaped, or campanulate hilt and part of an iron tang, but no traces of the grip remain as with some of the other swords.



Figure 7.81: RF41 chape (H Chittock ©Beverley Treasure House).

As with RF18, the corroding blade has caused the scabbard to begin splitting along its edges. There is a significant repair to the lower half of the back loop plate that is not mentioned in the report. A break in the back loop plate has been repaired using a large rivet, which contrasts the original concealed rivets, which are barely visible. The join has also been hammered. Two more breaks slightly further down have not been repaired, but the broken section remains attached by an original rivet. This suggests that the repair was, like the others described above, carried out by a less specialised craftsman than the original attachment of the back loop plate, using a larger rivet (Fig. 7.82).



Figure 7.82. Repairs to the back of RF41. Inset, one of the concealed rivets from the top half of the back loop plate (H. Chittock© Beverley Treasure House).

RF17 (2005, 99.5)

RF17 has been plough damaged and has a resulting bend in its scabbard of around 90 degrees. It is very highly decorated, marking it out from the other swords. The hilt, suspension loop and chape are all patterned with ring-and-dot designs. On the suspension loop the compass work used to create the design is visible (fig. 7.83).



Figures 7.83: RF17 suspension loop (H Chittock ©Beverley Treasure House).



Figure 7.84: RF17 decorative detail (H Chittock ©Beverley Treasure House).

The front of the scabbard is decorated with six panels, five of which are decorated with trumpet curvilinear motifs in-filled with lines. In two of the panels these motifs take the form of creatures similar to the dragon of a Dragonesque brooch. The panels are separated by applied horizontal bands patterned by two bands of dashes either side of a plain band. A band is also present at the top of the back plate (fig. 7.84). The three panels depicting more abstract motifs are silvered with layers of foil fitted underneath the dividing bands. All panels are decorated with red and blue glass attachments.



Figure 7.85: RF17 decorative panel (©Beverley Treasure House)

All the components of this scabbard are made from brass, which can be categorised in three different groups. Its front plate and the repousse panels attached to it are made from the same piece of metal. The back plate and suspension loop are also made from the same alloy, as are the chape and decorative band (Powell et al in prep, 6). These three different sources of brass perhaps represent different craftspeople, or the deliberate juxtaposition of different coloured alloys. Analysis of the remaining components of the handle has shown the hilt guard to be made from elephant ivory, while the grip is made from cetacean jaw bone (Powell in prep, 11).

Interestingly, there are no obvious repairs to this scabbard, as with the previous three. There appears to be a break across the whole front plate just below the position of the back loop, but this may be a result of the plough damage rather than an old break. There are many striations across some parts of the scabbard, but again these are almost definitely a result of plough damage.

RF16 (2005.99.25)

This sword was not examined as part of this project, as specified above, but information from the draft report has been used to compare it to the other four. Like RF17, it has been plough struck and is bent at about 90 degrees at its chape end.

The front of the scabbard has been divided into three panels, separated by striped horizontal bands of red and white enamel. The middle panel is blank while the other two are decorated with cast openwork panels (figures 7.86 and 7.87), patterned with trumpet type motifs and raised ring-and-dot motifs. They are both made in a similar style but the patterns are quite different. Powell (in prep, 21) comments on the striking nature of the plain panel compared to the others and suggest it may have once held a decorative insert made from an organic material, such as leather or wood. The hilt is also decorated with a circular low relief pattern.



Figures 7.86 (l) and 7.87 (r): RF16 openwork panels (©Beverley Treasure House).

All components of RF16 are made from brass. The major components may all be made from the same piece of metal. The decorative panels, however, are made from a different brass, suggesting perhaps they were made separately from the other components, possibly by a different craftsperson. They may even have been recycled from another sword.

The hilt guard and pommel of this sword are made from whale ivory and the grip appears to be made from elephant ivory (Powell in prep., 10).

The South Cave Swords as an assemblage

The five swords of the South Cave Weapons Cache clearly served a common purpose at the point of deposition, having been carefully bundled together in an organic wrap and placed into a pit at the edge of an enclosure. Having examined them, it is also clear that they may also be linked biographically in other ways.

Each sword has an individual appearance, but the striking similarities of the front plates of RF18 and 41 suggests they were made by the same craftsperson or perhaps at the same time, or even that one was a copy of the other. Examination of

the marks of repair and modification on the swords supports the assertion that they were made from a mixture of old and new components (Powell in prep.), drawn from the differing alloys used to make different components. On three of the five swords described above I identified the mending of breaks and in two cases this took the form of the fixing on of a chape that perhaps was not part of the sword's original configuration. In the case of RF40 the chape was probably much older than the other components. I also mentioned the possibility of the chape of RF18 being an import from southern Britain.

Just as I've argued for East Yorkshire chariots, the South Cave swords also carry a sense of being patchworks, with differing styles being placed alongside one another in a blatant way and with repairs and modifications being left visibly obvious. A question remains of whether the configurations of the swords changed over time simply to replace broken components and prolong the lives of broken swords, or whether it was more of an active practice, carried out to augment the power of swords. I'll discuss this process further below in the context of my full assemblage of swords.

7.4.7 Swords: Discussion

The paragraphs below will bring together points raised in the section of this chapter on swords, picking up on important points and tracing the objects through making, use and deposition as I did for the chariots above.

Raw Materials

I discussed in detail the raw materials used to make chariots in section 6.3.10, and the mechanisms needed to acquire these. Many of the same points apply to swords; they are composite objects formed from a range of materials that will have involved the exploitation of exchange networks of different scales. The bringing together of these materials represents the power needed to exploit these trade networks (Giles 2007c, 407; Lewis 2015, 193), and may have had meaningful significance, considering the potential properties of the materials involved.

Earlier, I discussed work by archaeologists on the significance of the use of bronze, iron, antler and red substances in the Iron Age (e.g. Budd and Taylor 1995, Helms 2012, Giles 2008). The swords I've discussed also include these materials, and the South Cave swords include the additional presence of elephant and whale ivory. These materials occur in the South Cave assemblage alongside antler and white

enamel, suggesting that white may have been a significant colour in the making of these objects. Whale ivory may represent something traded over long distances, or a 'found' substance washed up on a beach in northern England, similarly to the possibility for coral described by Adams (2013, 158-9). It may have held a direct reference to the animal it came from or may have had other meanings and properties related to its colour and texture. The elephant ivory may have originated from somewhere in the Roman Empire, where elephants were used for war and display (Eckardt 2014, 97), or even from further afield. Ivory itself was also traded into the empire from India, Ethiopia and Sudan via Egypt and the Red Sea (ibid.). Eckardt identifies just 66 ivory objects from 25 sites across Roman Britain, making it a rare substance (2014, 98), and she suggests it held a particular exoticism, as well as being an ideal material from which to craft intricate artefacts (2014, 97-8). Although we cannot be certain that ivory will have held the same associations with elephants and long distance trade for the makers of the South Cave swords as it did across the Roman empire, the inclusion of this new Roman material in the assemblage certainly reflects the deposition as a whole, which also included sherds of Dressel 20 amphora.

Many of the swords in my dataset have not been discussed in this chapter due to the fact their scabbards were organic, and all visual traces of use- wear have degraded or corroded. Archaeologists have, however, been able to identify traces of the wood used to make scabbards, and have found a wide variety of wood types were used, many non-local to the cemeteries (Giles 2012, 164). At Makeshift, for example, hazel, maple, cherry, alder and ash were among the woods used for scabbards (Stead 1991). This suggests that perhaps different woods were selected for their differing hues or for other properties. Giles (2012, 163) describes the differing qualities of woods used to make shields; cherry has a distinctive pink-brown colour, while alder is lightweight and shock-resistant, for example.

The making of swords constitutes the bringing together of materials with particular properties and potential aesthetic or metaphorical power, representing trade networks of varying scales.

Design

When I discussed the designs of chariot fittings above I suggested that they had been designed both to fit into particular design conventions relating to groups of objects and Iron Age design 'rules', and to stand out as individuals. The same seems

true of swords. The repoussé and chased La Tène patterns found on the front plates and chapes of many of my scabbards reflect the desire for ‘novelty’ reported by Garrow *et al.* (2009, 111) as being a key concern governing the production of Early Celtic Art in Britain. Although many of these patterns create a sinuous wave running up and down the length of the scabbard, as is dictated by the form of this type of object, each is noticeably different from the others.

These patterns use, however, an accepted ‘language’ of familiar La Tène motifs; birds head motifs, trumpets, etc. This is emphasised particularly by the ‘amateur’ decoration on the repair to the Kirkburn scabbard, which makes use of inconsistently shaped voids and irregular infilling not seen on the other objects discussed in this chapter. I suggest that both the motifs themselves and the specific ways in which to produce and arrange them represent the performance of this art by people who were aware of a set of esoteric design conventions.

Stead has discussed at great length typologies of some key components of swords; chapes, suspension loops and hilt ends and arranged British swords into temporal and geographical groupings based on these (2006). His typology illustrates the working of sword designers within similar regional and date-specific design traditions to what I’ve described above in reference to La Tène pattern. Chapes, for example, do vary in design, no two being the same, but take on a limited number of forms; Stead identifies four types in northern Britain for example (2006, 14).

The same concern for similarity and difference is evident when looking at the swords and scabbards as whole objects, particularly at the Kirkburn, Wetwang 1 and Wetwang 3 scabbards. These objects all have very similar chapes, sinuous curvilinear patterns, and unusual configurations of enamelled roundels around their hilt-ends and handles and appear, at a glance almost identical.

Exceptions to the ‘novelty’ that seems to have governed the production of the objects in this chapter are the front plates of RF18 and RF41, which, as described, carry identical designs. This may represent the tailing off of La Tène artistic conventions during the 1st century AD, where the production of repeated motifs and patterns started to become more common.

Making and Repairing Swords

The process of making an Iron Age sword and scabbard was complex and involved the manufacture and assembly of many components (see fig. 7.1). The question of craft specialisation arises once more here; were the components of a sword made by one person or by many? Were swords made and assembled in ‘workshops’, or were components made, exchanged and assembled by specialists? Providing definitive answers for these questions is beyond the scope of this thesis, but given the evidence I’ve accrued, it is certainly possible to discuss them.

Among the swords I looked at I found evidence of both specialist and non-specialist craftsmanship. The ‘crude’ decoration added to the Kirkburn and Wetwang 3 swords, and the obvious repairs made to many swords suggest that the making of the original swords and the subsequent modifications made were carried out by different individuals. This suggests, not necessarily that ‘professional’ sword makers existed, but that there were a limited number of individuals who were proficient in producing the original objects.

Use

Damage and wear on several of the scabbards shows the swords were well-used, sometimes over long periods of time. Whether this was in armed conflict or in other contexts is not possible to say. Some damage, such as the bend in the Bugthorpe scabbard, may even have been deliberate (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 132). The chape ends are often where damage and repairs seem to happen, which may say something about the way swords were carried and used. The unusual Late Iron Age chalk figurines from East Yorkshire are sometimes depicted carrying swords (Stead 1988, Giles 2007b), which always appear on their backs, hanging straight from central suspension loops, suggesting this was the main mode of carrying swords during this time.

Fragmentation and Reassembly

I’ve discussed above the repairs of the swords, but have also highlighted during this section of the chapter the potential for deliberate fragmentation and reassembly of some swords. Gosden and Hill (2008, 11) write that the front and back plates of the Kirkburn scabbard had been, at some point, separated and reattached, and I’ve found evidence for similar practices throughout my assemblage of scabbards.

This type of practice is particularly visible in the South Cave weapons cache, where, as I described earlier, the analysis of alloys has been used to identify certain components as being old or new at the time of deposition. This supports the visual evidence of the scabbards, which shows them to have been modified over time. It is also supported by typological evidence. Although the South Cave assemblage doesn't feature in Stead's typology (2006), as it is a relatively recent find, the typology has been used to identify an old type g chape on RF40 (despite the assemblage's late deposition date) and a southern chape on RF18.

I postulated earlier whether the fragmentation and reassembly of swords was simply aimed at recycling old components to fix damaged objects and prolong their useful lives, or whether it was an active practice carried out for other reasons. It may have been a practice born partly out of necessity. Both producing the components for sword and scabbards, and assembling them, appear to have been specialist skills. The increased recycling of old components as time goes on may also represent a decline in these specific skills and, therefore an increased need for recycling.

Looking at this practice in the wider context of the objects considered in this chapter, however, suggests to me that the modification of swords reflects, at least in part, a different kind of practice. I described the bringing together of different chariot fittings in ways that suggest the collection of these fittings over time or the deliberate juxtaposition of different styles. My analysis of the Grimthorpe Shield, which seems to represent the fittings from several shields, collected together to produce one object, tells a very similar story. I feel that, while the modification of swords may partly represent 'practical' concerns, it is also part of the wider practice of creating composite objects with visible biographies and itineraries in order to tell the life stories of these objects.

Deposition

The deposition of swords across Britain follows both geographical and temporal patterns. Overall, southern swords are most often found in rivers, while northern swords appear most often in graves (Stead 2006, 81). Within my dataset, temporal change is visible when considering the more isolated and well equipped 'warrior burials' of the Middle Iron Age (see Garrow *et al.* 2009), the later sword burials in Makeshift cemetery and the South Cave Weapons Cache, buried at around 70AD. This changing practice represented by the cache is reflected across northern

Britain more generally, with increasing numbers of swords being deposited in potentially significant, remote natural places during the Late Iron Age, though they tend to be single deposits rather than hoards (Stead 2006, 80). Examples are the Asby Scar sword (Cumbria), found under the overhang of a limestone outcrop (Stead 2006, 192), and the Cotterdale Sword (North Yorkshire), found on the moors (*ibid.*).

Traditional views of Iron Age society have often revolved around the idea of masculine power and status, exerted through warrior-like physical strength. Although models like this are now viewed with scepticism, the burials of East Yorkshire do appear to indicate the gendered distribution of grave goods in ways that support the association between males and weapons. Martial objects; swords, shields, spears, daggers and knives¹⁷ are overwhelmingly found in the graves of male individuals with a focus on males aged 17-25 (Giles 2012, 168). Only one female has been found to be buried with such objects (R163), although Giles writes that this female was very robust in build, and may have fulfilled a role usually occupied by men (Giles 2012, 167). Associations between sex and grave goods are also present in other categories of objects. In the Great Wold Valley cemeteries, for example, chalk spindle whorls are found only with female individuals, while iron tools are generally found with males (Giles 2012, Fig 5.17, 160). Mirrors, similarly, are found in female graves. Whilst gender in prehistory must be approached with caution, and whilst it is unlikely that gender was defined in a simple, binary way, the evidence above does suggest that swords were objects associated with maleness, perhaps even masculinity.

The deposition of swords in burials along with males, and with other martial objects is thought of by Giles as being related both to ideals of power and prestige and to the intertwining biographies of warriors and weapons (Giles 2012, 168-9). Some weapons may have been passed down over generations, speaking also of ancestry and memory. She also highlights the evocative power of weapons during the funerary rite (Giles 2012, 168), which may relate to their dazzling visual qualities. Swords continue to retain their depositional association with other martial objects after inhumation burial ceases to be a common practice in East Yorkshire; the South Cave cache contained 33 iron spearheads. This continued association perhaps represents a nod to tradition, which is reflected in the old components of some of the swords themselves.

¹⁷ Knives could, of course, have been used for tasks not related to combat. However, as Giles shows (2012, 167), they are often associated with other martial objects.

The three very similar swords from Kirkburn, Wetwang 1 and Wetwang 3 present an interesting biographical contrast in terms of their depositional contexts. I emphasised during the chapter the almost identical designs of these three swords, which suggest they were perhaps made in the same workshop, perhaps even by the same person or people (Gosden and Hill 2008, 11). Gosden and Hill place the production of the swords at 250BC (*ibid.*). The two Wetwang swords were then both deposited in male chariot burials containing very similar chariot fittings during the decades around 200BC (Jay *et al.* 2012). Biographically, the Kirkburn example has taken a different course, being deposited several miles away in a warrior burial after leading a far more active life than the Wetwang examples. While the Wetwang swords may have been modified, they have seen no significant damage or wear. The Kirkburn Sword, in contrast, has been damaged and subsequently repaired and modified at several different points. It's been referred to as an 'elder object' (Giles 2008, 61) and a mnemonic device (Gosden and Hill 2008, 11); an object passed down through generations and finally buried with a man many years younger. The human bone from the Kirkburn warrior burial has been dated to 360-110 cal. BC (Garrow *et al.* 2009, 117), a fairly wide date range but with a potential for the sword to have outlived several generations.

Summary

My findings support existing ideas about some swords having long biographies (Giles 2012, 168, Gosden and Hill, 10-11), and have uncovered new details of their biographies and itineraries. Swords were well-used over time and were often repaired and modified by different craftspeople to those who originally made them. There is particular evidence among the later swords from the South Cave Weapons Cache for these objects having been assembled from parts of both old and new weapons. The repairs and modification in this assemblage are also particularly obvious, representing either changes in the skillsets of craftspeople or deliberate changes in the style of repairs.

The evidence presented here suggests to me that long biographies were important in swords. As Giles suggests they were perhaps seen as 'elder objects' (2008, 61), and, as I've suggested, it seems perhaps that it was important for their long biographies to be visible. If we consider swords to have been important in genealogies and oral histories, as Gosden and Hill suggest (2008, 11) and as they were in Anglo-Saxon culture (Bunning 2013), it seems plausible that being able to see their

biographies was important in maintaining memories, and that this became more important as time progressed and memories became more distant.

7.5 Bone and Antler Objects

This section of the chapter will deal with the biographies and itineraries of worked bone and antler objects from my dataset, also including a number of additional objects from Wetwang Slack. As specified at the beginning of the chapter, this group is a much more diverse group of objects than chariot fittings and swords. Some bone objects were objects that functioned individually during the Iron Age, some were once components in larger assemblages and some are still functioning as components. The mixture of plain and patterned objects examined in this section of the chapter will allow me to look at possible differences in the treatment of plain and patterned bone and antler objects.

7.5.1 Bone and Antler Objects: An Overview

85 bone and antler objects¹⁸ were examined for this chapter, including the two antler linch pins from Wetwang Chariot burial 1, which were discussed earlier. The objects were dated to one of the two time periods used in chapter 5; 400-100BC and 100BC-AD100. 37 date to the earlier period and 20 to the later period. 17 of the objects were from the currently unpublished excavation at Wetwang Slack carried out by John Dent, meaning they do not appear in my main dataset and serve as supplementary data to the objects I looked at from Brewster's report (1980). They cannot be dated due to the current lack of available contextual information, so are all listed as being of ambiguous Iron Age or Early Roman date. They join the 11 objects from Brewster's report (1980) of ambiguous date.

The table below summarises the dates and context types of the objects discussed in this section of chapter, along with their statuses as plain or patterned. A full spreadsheet detailing each object is available in Appendix V.

¹⁸ Of all the bone and antler objects in my dataset, most are listed simply as being made from bone. A comb from Rudston Villa East Site and several tools and fragments from Wetwang/Garton Slack are designated as bone/antler. The only objects classified as being antler are three linch pins, two tines and three handles.

	400-100BC		100BC-AD100		Ambiguous Iron Age/Roman	
	Plain	Patterned	Plain	Patterned	Plain	Patterned
Funerary Contexts	29	2	5	–	–	–
Non-funerary Contexts	3	3	12	3	23	5

Figure 7.88: A table summarising the objects discussed in this chapter.

The types of objects discussed in this section are varied. The majority of them fall into the ‘implements’ purpose category used in chapter 6; needles and shuttles are present, as are knife handles, and some objects are simply classified as ‘tools’. Several toggles and sliders in the group are classified as ‘personal ornament’. A number of bone points fall into ‘weapons and defence’ (although, see the discussion of bone points below), and ‘ambiguous objects’, such as counters or discs, are also present. In total 13 objects are patterned while 72 are plain. Interestingly, the instance of pattern on bone objects correlates strongly with object type. Of the 13 patterned objects here, three were pins, four were combs, four were toggles or sliders and two were the Wetwang 1 linch pins.

During the examination of each object, the presence of five specific characteristics were noted; polishing, wear/smoothing, scratching/striations, breakage and modification. Some examples are shown in the images below. Looking at these characteristics has allowed me to make interpretations about the itineraries of the objects.



Figure 7.89: Scratches on bone point from Grimthorpe (1876, 0208.16) (H Chittock ©Trustees of the British Museum).



KINCM:1986.1826.178

Figure 7.90: A 'bone point' from Rudston East Villa showing both polishing and wear (©Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).

21 objects had highly degraded surfaces (fig. 7.91), meaning that traces of polishing, wear/smoothing and scratches/striations has been erased. 12 of these objects were broken, which may have occurred during use or after deposition (1 break may have occurred post-excavation).



Figure 7.91: An example of an object with a degraded surface, from Bell Slack (H Chittock ©Trustees of the British Museum)

Every one of the bone and antler objects with surviving or partially surviving surfaces possessed at least one of the five characteristics I listed above; polishing, wear/smoothing, scratching/striations, breakage and modification. While Appendix V contains information on the biographies and itineraries of each object, the following paragraphs will focus on certain groups of objects at different scales, forming different types of assemblage or groupset:

7.5.2 The Comb Pit (Garton Slack XI, Hull and East Riding Museum)

My focus will first turn to the bone and antler objects from a particular archaeological context, to look at the bringing together of patterned objects with differing biographies. These objects were excavated from a large, shallow pit at Garton Slack (Site XI), dubbed ‘The Comb Pit’ by its excavator, TCM Brewster (1980). The pit was found close to the Garton Slack chariot burial and was part of a small complex of pits and postholes, ringed by the faint stain of a circle, c.50ft in diameter. Brewster interprets the whole complex as a ploughed-out barrow that had once contained a mortuary enclosure (1980, 421-2).

The contents of the pit are unusual in several ways. Considering the small proportion of patterned objects being discussed in this section of the chapter, the fact that the pit contained three decorated combs and two decorated sliders is significant.



Figure.....: Comb KINCM:2006.11303.2956 from The Comb Pit (H Chittock© Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).



Figure....: Comb KINCM:2006.11303.2958 from the Comb Pit (© Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).



Figure:... Comb KINCM:2006.11303.3782 from The Comb Pit (© Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).

The three combs are all decorated with similar styles of linear pattern. Interestingly, two of the combs are decorated in identical ways (KINCM:2006.11303.2958 and KINCM:2006.11303.2956), while the third is slightly different (KINCM:2006.11303.3782). The two identical combs are unusual in Middle Iron Age Britain, where combs tend to be decorated in unique ways (Chittock 2014) and where standardised patterns are unusual across all types of material culture, as I've emphasised throughout this thesis. The execution of the patterns is quite rough, with uneven spaces between lines and some lines crossing the borders of the fields in which they are contained. The similarities in the ways each has been carried out suggest perhaps they were all made by the same craftsperson.

I examined one of the three combs at the Hull and East Riding Museum (KINCM:2006.11303.2956), and was able to view the remaining two in their cases. Significantly, while each comb had a moderate polish to its surface, there were no obvious signs of wear, as on some of the other combs I looked at, where sections of pattern had been worn down through use. The perforation of each comb also appeared unworn. Teeth were missing from two of the three combs, but the remaining teeth do not appear worn, suggesting this damage occurred either through deliberate breakage, post-deposition or as a result of excavation and storage.

Along with the three combs, two bone sliders were also deposited. Only one slider is currently present in the collections of Hull museums, but Brewster's 1980 report specified that two very similar sliders were originally present¹⁹. I examined the remaining slider during my visit to Hull. It is decorated with three bands of ring-and-dot motifs, which seem too have all been made by the same tool, possible a small compass.

¹⁹ One was found shattered, and was restored (Brewster 1980, 424), but has perhaps not survived.



Figure 7.95: Bone slider from The Comb Pit, KINCM:2006.11303.2961 (H Chittock ©Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).

The surface of the slider is slightly degraded, but patches of polish remain in places. The ring-and-dot motifs appear to be worn in places at the edges of the slider (fig. 7.96), although this may also be due to incomplete ring-and-dot motifs being part of the original pattern. One of its most interesting characteristics is a sawn slot, close to one end of the slider (fig. 7.96). A similar slot was also present on the other slider, which is now lost. Brewster (1980, 424) suggests the sliders were hair decorations, through which a pony-tail could pass, and be secured by a wedge through the slot. I'm unconvinced this would work in practice, and suggest instead that the slot was a later addition to the object, produced after the form and pattern of the slider had been completed. It cuts across the ring-and-dot motifs, and has a crude and unfinished look to it, only breaking through the inner surface of the slider along a small section of its length.



Figure 7.96: Wear and the sawed slot on the slider (H Chittock ©Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).

I've chosen to discuss the comb pit here because it contains five patterned objects, deposited together in interesting circumstances. The slider and comb I examined form two of the 13 patterned objects I looked at during research for this section of the chapter.

The three combs discussed are part of a wider group of combs from the region, a high proportion of which are patterned (four of five combs in my dataset are patterned) and in turn, these combs are part of a Britain-wide phenomenon of highly and uniquely patterned combs (see Chittock 2014). All the combs from the Comb Pit appear to have been decorated in a similar style, possibly by the same person, and two are very unusual in that they are both decorated with exactly the same pattern. The pattern of the third comb is similar but different, echoing the aesthetic I described earlier in reference to chariot gear and swords, with objects appearing conspicuously similar from a distance but conspicuously different when viewed up-close. None of the combs appears to have been used to any noticeable degree, suggesting that their purposes might have been different to those of other combs. It is possible that these combs were made specifically for deposition. In contrast, the two sliders both seem to have been used, and an attempt may have been made to modify or repurpose them.

These five objects, with various itineraries, were then brought together and deliberately deposited in a pit, the combs being carefully laid next to each other. Brewster interprets the objects as set of hair decorations (1980, 424), deposited in relation to a burial complex. I'd argue that perhaps it wasn't their similar roles that brought them together, but the fact they were unusual, patterned objects.

7.5.3 Bone and Antler Objects from Rudston Villa East Site

Having looked at bone objects from a particular context, I will now change the scale of my investigation to look at the bone and antler assemblage from one particular site, Rudston Villa East Site, and compare the biographies of patterned and plain bone objects at a site scale. This site represents the earliest phase of settlement at Rudston Villa, and dates to the first century AD (Stead 1980).

The assemblage of bone and antler objects from the site numbers 9, all of which were examined for this project. All were designated as bone objects (as opposed to antler) by their excavator (Stead 1980). The objects are detailed in the table below, which indicates the type of wear found on each on

Object Type	Patterned ?	Degraded	Polished	Worn/Smoothed	Scratched / Striated	Broken	Modified
Comb, zigzag pattern (RA.PB)	Y		X	X		X	
Bone needle (RA.FA)	N					X (new break)	
Bangle (RA.BB)	N		X	X	X		
Needle (RA.GC)	N		X	X		X	
Counter, circular marks. (RA.JN)	N			X			
Bone needle (perforated point) (RN.CJ)	N		X	X		X	
Perforated bone, netting needle/ bobbin (RN.CW)	N				X	X	Possibly a repurposed bone point.
Peg (RA.BK)	N		X	X			
Needle (RA.AJ)	N		X		X		

Figure 7.97: A table showing bone and antler objects from Rudston Villa East Site.

The table above shows that the single patterned object from the Rudston Villa East site bone assemblage is a comb, which reflects the high proportion of patterned combs from across the whole region. The comb is pictured below. It is broken across its length, and it decorated with horizontal and diagonal lines, common on combs, but executed in a more controlled manner than those on the Garton Slack combs shown above.

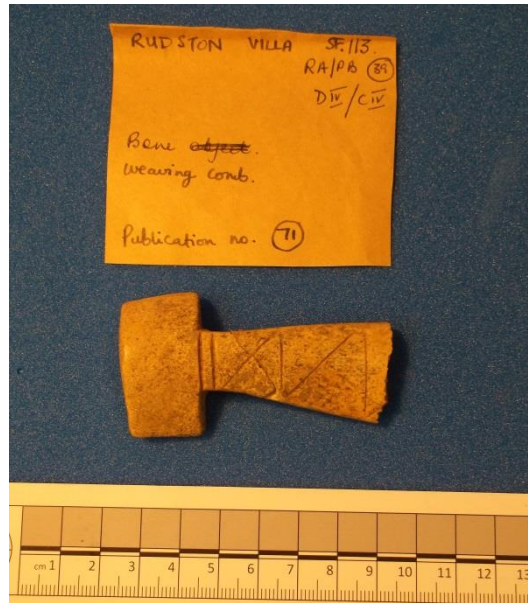


Figure 7.98: Comb from Rudston Villa East Site (H Chittock ©Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).

The pattern of the comb was, in this instance, helpful in identifying wear. The whole comb was moderately polished and sections of the incised pattern were worn down, seemingly indicating the place it was held, towards what would have been the centre of the shaft. The image below shows the wear of the comb becoming more apparent close to the point where it has broken (fig. 7.99). The break is an old break, and may either have occurred as a result of heavy use, or deliberate breakage. The other half of the comb does not appear in the report on the site (Stead 1980), suggesting it might have been removed from the site after breakage.

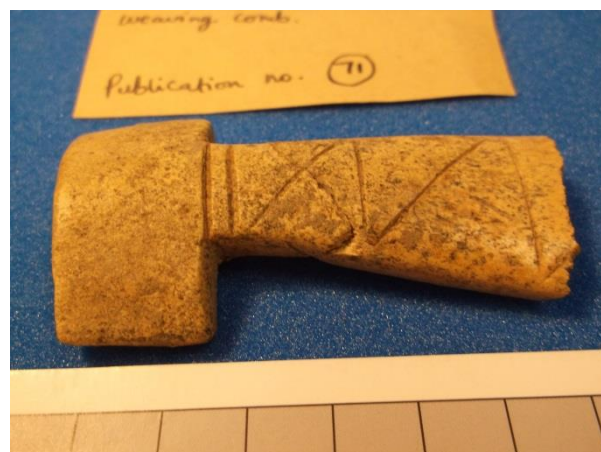


Figure 7.99: Comb from Rudston Villa East Site (H Chittock ©Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).

The plain objects from Rudston Villa East Site are a mixture of implements, such as needles, and more ambiguous objects, such as counters and a piece of perforated bone, which may be a netting needle or bobbin. All show signs of wear. A small object, classified as a needle or point (fig. 7.90) is extremely highly polished and has a perforation that has worn through completely. Similarly, one of the needles has a very wide perforation that appears to have worn through.

I suggest that the piece of perforated bone below (fig. 7.100) may be a repurposed object. It is a small bone tube with two broken ends and a hole bored all the way through both sides. The perforation is very slightly worn and striations are present close to one of the broken ends. My interpretation is that this object may be a broken bone point or similar object, repurposed using the perforations to form a new type of object. Stead (1980, 105-106) describes an object with a similar central perforation as a netting needle, although this bone object does not appear to have been worked prior to perforation, as the one below has, and its perforation is much rougher.

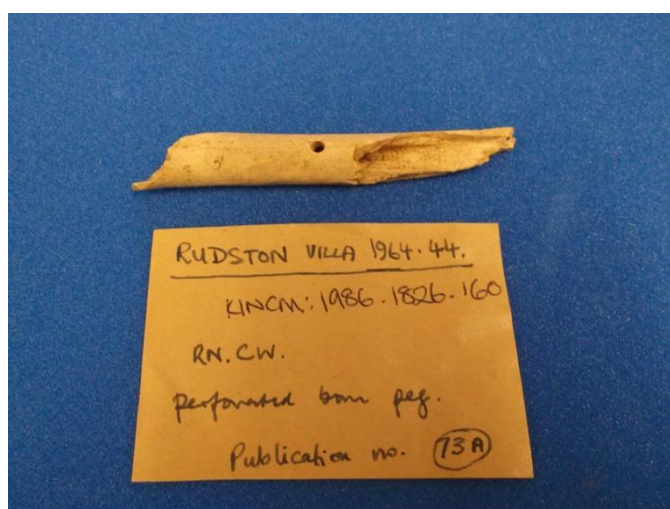


Figure 7.100: Perforated bone object (H Chittock ©Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).

The bone objects from Rudston Villa East Site were deposited in a range of locations. Across this part of the site, objects have been excavated from within ditches, pits and the curved drainage gullies of hut circles, from which several infant burials were also excavated (Stead 1980, 21). Several objects have also been found

associated with a 'chalk terrace', which post-dates the settlement occupation (Stead 1980, 23). Of the bone objects I've discussed here, the polished needle point, peg and perforated bone were all associated with the terrace. The three needles, bangle and counter were all excavated from above gullies and non-descript features. The patterned comb, interestingly, is the only bone object that can be confidently categorised as a deliberate deposition. It comes from the primary silting of a ditch (feature 63), one of the earliest features at the site, which also contained sherds of a bead-rimmed handmade jar (Stead 1980, 23). While most of the other objects could have been chance losses, the deposition of this broken comb at the bottom of a ditch, and the potential removal of the other half of the comb, suggest it was placed there deliberately.

This is significant as it perhaps shows that the single patterned object in the assemblage of bone objects here was singled out for a specific kind of deposition. Perhaps its pattern marked it out as different from the other objects I've discussed.

7.5.4 Bone Points

My scale of inquiry will change again for this section of the chapter, where I will look at bone points from across my dataset. I've chosen bone points as they make up a significant proportion of the objects I've examined during this part of the chapter. 26 objects are listed as bone points, and one as a possible bone point. One of the bone points is the highly polished object from Rudston Villa (fig. 7.90) and is in fact a different type of artefact from those usually called bone points. It will be included here nonetheless, as will a series of very thin, needle-like points from burials at Wetwang.

All of the bone points from my dataset are plain, which is important as the majority of suitable objects for investigation in this chapter are patterned, meaning that pattern has dominated the chapter. This section of the chapter will provide patterned objects with context and suggest that the biographies of plain objects may also have been important.

Bone points are typically made from the tibia of sheep-sized animals with one end sharpened to a point. The other end is commonly perforated in two places on opposite sides of the bone. The traditional interpretation of these objects is that these perforations were used to haft the points onto wooden shafts with a peg, and that

they were used as lance heads (Stead 1991, 78). Giles includes them in a discussion of ‘tools’, as opposed to categorising them as weapons, but writes that the occurrence of most bone points in East Yorkshire in speared burials along with iron spear heads suggests they probably functioned as weapons in this region (2012, 160). Those in female burials, she adds, may have been shroud pins, given their locations on the body (ibid.).

My investigations on bone points from cemeteries and settlements lead me to suggest that bone points represent not a single category of objects, but a range of different objects with different purposes. The 12 thin points from Wetwang are very different objects to the more robust perforated points, like the one pictured below. The small polished version from Rudston is also a different object. In addition, within each of these sub-categories, each object may have been used for multiple purposes.



Figure 7.101: A typical bone point from Grimthorpe, 1876,0208.14 (H Chittock © Trustees of the British Museum).

Site	No. Bone Points	Dating
Wetwang Cemetery	13	400-100BC
Garton Station	3	400-100BC
Grimthorpe	7 (plus 1 possible point)	400-100BC
Makeshift	1	100BC-AD100
Rudston Villa	1	100BC-AD100
Wetwang Settlement	1	Ambiguous IA/Roman

Figure 7.102: A table showing bone points at different sites.

The table below shows the distribution of the bone points I examined for this chapter across different sites. The majority come from graves at Wetwang, Garton Station and Grimthorpe, dating to 400-100BC. The remaining three come from a grave at Makeshift, and non-funerary contexts at Rudston Villa and Wetwang.

Examining wear on the bone points has revealed them to have been well used in various ways. Taking the group from the Grimthorpe Warrior burial, for example, a variety of scratches and striations were identified, examples of which are shown below and in figures 7.103 and 7.104. Separate marks of making and tools marks have also been identified on several examples. The variable wear on the points perhaps supports my suggestion that they might have been multipurpose objects.



Figures 7.103 (l) and 7.104 (r): Wear on 1876, 0208.14 and 1876, 0208.19, Grimthorpe (H Chittock ©Trustees of the British Museum).

In addition to wear on the shafts and points of the bone points, I also found specific patterns of wear and breakage around the perforations at the blunt ends. In four examples one of the two perforations on each bone point has worn through. The breakage of perforations, as seen on many of the other bone points, might plausibly be due to the thrusting of the point into a burial as part of the speared burial ritual (Giles 2012 158-60), however, the breaks around these four perforations appear worn, as opposed to simply snapped during a single movement, suggesting these objects had been used over periods of time and were old when buried. A bone point from The Enclosure, Rudston (Rigby 2004) (listed as a shuttle/missile point) exhibited the same pattern of breakage, despite having been deposited in a ditch as opposed to a grave.

In addition to particular wear patterns on some bone points, I have also tentatively identified several other examples that may have been modified or repurposed, in addition to the possible repurposed bone point from Rudston I described earlier (fig. 7.100) Below, a unique bone object from a burial at Wetwang/Garton Slack resembles the small bone points found in other graves here, but differs in that a section has been cut out from its length. It is possible that this object was once like the other bone points and has been modified with the cut out section. If these objects are shroud pins, as Giles suggests (2012, 160), perhaps it relates to this particular use.



Figure 7.105: Bone point from Wetwang, 2010,7.520 (H Chittock ©Hull and East Riding Museum: Hull Museums).

Three of the bone points from the Grimthorpe Warrior grave also show signs of possible modification, in the forms of small holes bored through their shafts, close

to the tips. The pale colouration of the exposed bone around the holes suggests they were made after the original bone surface had developed its patina of age and wear. It's possible that the holes were made after the points had been excavated. Stead illustrates them in his 1968 reassessment of the burial, but does not mention them (1968, 172). Two of the bone points are illustrated in the frontispiece of Mortimer's 1905 volume on East Yorkshire burials, but neither shows traces of a small hole. Within the volume, Mortimer mentions the presence of the bone points, but does not describe them in any detail (1905, 151).



Figure 7.106: Bone point from Grimthorpe 1876,0208.23 (H Chittock ©Trustees of the British Museum).

7.5.6 Bone and Antler Objects: Discussion

This section of the chapter has been devoted to discussing the biographies and itineraries of plain and patterned bone and antler objects from my dataset. The following paragraphs will pick up on some of the key points I've made.

Making Bone and Antler Objects

I've already discussed in this chapter the potential weight behind the use of particular materials during the Iron Age to make chariots fittings and swords. Bone, antler and other animal materials have, in several examples, formed parts of these composite objects. I will not revisit discussions about materiality in detail here, but will reassert the idea that bone and antler may have held direct connections to the animals they come from, or may have held special metaphorical significance in Iron

Age Britain. Although bone and antler were not rare materials, like coral, and although they probably didn't involve long-distance exchange networks, like bronze, working and using them may still have had powerful implications.

Antler, in particular, will have involved specific processes of procurement, occurring at certain times of year. It also requires soaking and boiling to make it workable (Tuohy 1999, 10-12; 15) and can exude a blood-like substance during this treatment (Maxwell, 2012, 80-81), making the overall working process involved and visually intriguing. Across my dataset, the proportions of objects listed as being made from antler, as opposed to bone, is very small. These include three antler linch pins, two sword grips, one handle and four generic tines, pieces or tools. In addition the comb from Rudston Villa East Site is described as being made from bone/antler. Five of these objects appear in non-funerary contexts and six in funerary contexts. The sparse use of antler in my dataset may indicate that it was a material reserved for specific uses, possibly holding particular power.

The Decision to Decorate

The decision to decorate specific types of bone and antler objects; combs, linch pins and items of personal ornament, reinforces the results of Chapter 6's data analysis on purpose, where I stated that certain types of pattern were useful for certain purposes. Perhaps this also says something about the purposes of combs. Where we might expect personal ornament and chariot gear to be patterned, the decision to decorate combs is unexpected. In terms of pattern within the assemblage of bone and antler objects, they seem to belong more in the category of Personal Ornament than they do with 'Implements', where I'd originally placed them and where most objects are plain. The perforations found at the butts of many combs suggest they were either worn on the person, suspended from a belt or around the neck, or were perhaps displayed in the home. It is possible that the geometric patterns found on my combs either contributed to a function as display objects, or that it assisted them in their other tasks.

Use, Modification and Repurposing

The instance of various different forms of wear on most of the bone and antler objects discussed in this chapter seems to indicate that both plain and patterned objects of all types were all used for various purposes prior to deposition. The three exceptions to this are the combs from the Garton Slack Comb Pit, which do not

appear have been used to any significant degree and may have been made for the specific purpose of deposition.

Generally, bone and antler objects tend to have been used until they wore out or broke, as shown by a number of very worn and broken bone points. This is interesting, as the animal bone used to make these objects was freely available, as is evident through the appearance of large amounts of sheep and pig bones in the Iron Age archaeological record of East Yorkshire generally (see Stead 1991 for example). Above, I offered an alternative scenario to the breakage of bone points during speared burial rituals, suggesting that they wore out in other ways. The deposition of these broken objects in graves at Grimthorpe, Garton Station and Makeshift is significant when viewed in the context of the way grave goods are generally seen, as provisioning the deceased for the afterlife. Perhaps the weapons in the Grimthorpe Warrior burial were not meant for the next life, but related to the memory of this one. An interesting element of this assemblage is the fact that several objects appear to have been modified or repurposed. The repurposing of objects seems to have been preferable to producing new objects, suggesting that these objects perhaps possessed value that had been accrued over time, through use and wear.

Summary

This section of the chapter has discussed the biographies and itineraries of a sample of bone and antler objects from my dataset. Just like the more complex composite objects I've discussed in this chapter, most of the bone and antler objects showed signs of having been well used, perhaps even modified. They had also been deposited in very specific ways, relating to their patterns.

I suggest that bone and antler objects function as part of the wider material philosophy into which chariot fittings and swords also fit, where objects accrue value through use and ownership. I will discuss this fully in the conclusion of this chapter.

7.6 Pots

The physical examination of pots has not been part of this project due to time constraints, but this section of the chapter will briefly discuss evidence for the biographies and itineraries of plain and patterned pots drawn from the ceramic sherds in my dataset and from related publications.

7.6.1 Raw Materials

The process of making pots starts with clay and temper, which can indicate the 'localness' of a vessel to the location at which it was deposited, revealing information about its itinerary. I wasn't able to obtain detailed information on the fabrics of all the sherds in my database, but have been able to access discussions of fabrics relating to some of my sites, and to the region more generally.

Rigby gives a detailed discussion of the fabrics she found during the Yorkshire Settlements Project, which uncovered mainly Early-Middle Iron Age sites but also several Middle-Late Iron Age and Early Romano-British sites (2004), giving perspective on long-term change in potting practices on the Wolds. Two fabrics dominated the assemblage as a whole; Erratic Tempered Ware (ETW) and Calcite Tempered Ware (CTW). The same is true of the vessels from the cemeteries excavated by Stead (1991) at Burton Fleming, Rudston, Garton Station and Kirkburn (Rigby in Stead 1991, 95-97), where these two temper types are also common. These added tempers are both available 'locally' to most of the sites on the Wolds, but Rigby notes that petrographic analysis of selected CTW sherds from Early-Middle Iron Age Lid-Seated Jars revealed some of the clay itself to be from a non-local source in the Vale of Pickering more than 20 km away (2004, 24-9), probably brought to the Wolds by 'itinerant potters' (*ibid.* 23). Rigby suggests that by the time the East Yorkshire cemeteries were in use, this exchange network had broken down, leading to 'family centred' production (*ibid.*), utilising local, non-distinct clays.

While ETW and CTW generally dominate the ceramic assemblages of the East Yorkshire cemeteries, however, the proportions of these two fabric types vary from site to site. While ETW is popular at the Rudston and Burton Fleming cemeteries, it is almost non-existent at cemeteries further south-west, such as Wetwang and Kirkburn. This might be due to the differing availability of tempers in different localities, or it may be a result of local cultural preferences (or both). Chronological variations in the fabric types present at the cemeteries support the argument for the choice of fabric as a cultural choice. For example, ETW vessels are found with La Tène I brooches but not with La Tène II brooches across the East Yorkshire cemeteries (Rigby in Stead 1991, 97). Chronological variation in added temper types is also present at settlement sites in East Yorkshire, and continues into the Late Iron Age. At Easington, for example, located in quite a remote position in the South East of the

county, pots from Phase 3 (Late Iron Age) are 90% stone tempered while those from Phase 4 (Late Iron Age/Romano-British) are more likely to be vesicular, indicating calcareous temper (Richardson *et al*, unpublished report).

I have argued throughout this chapter that working with particular materials might have held specific connotations in Iron Age Britain, and I argue that clay and temper also possessed their own significance. I touched on the idea that smithing in the Iron Age may have been related to certain taboos and prohibitions, as evidenced by the location of iron working sites outside settlements. The ethnographic literature often used to support this notion also identifies potting as being a craft associated with particular prohibitions, often associated with sexual intercourse, menstruation and pregnancy (e.g. Gosselain 1999). A study of potting in present-day Sub-Saharan Africa led Gosselain to suggest that potting prohibitions were governed by a 'thermodynamic philosophy' that also governed a whole range of other different activities, including hunting, food processing, war and initiation, as shown by metaphorical language referring to heat in these contexts (Gosselain 1999, 216). While exploring this notion in the context of Iron Age East Yorkshire is beyond the scope of this thesis, this literature emphasises that even the most ubiquitous materials can be incredibly powerful.

Giles suggests (2012, 133) that Middle Iron Age East Yorkshire pots may have been 'readable' in terms of clay and temper, which might have served as a way of referencing the particular places these materials had come from; places that may have been familiar or significant to the people using the pots. Wells (2012) summarises the work of Jones (2007) to point out the frequent similarities between the appearances of Later Prehistoric pots and the landscapes within which they were made. The same principle applies to the occasional non-local vessels in my dataset, scored ware fragments at Easington for example, which might have stood out as being different because of the different fabrics used to make them.

7.6.2 Design

Having considered briefly the visual significance of ceramic fabrics in Iron Age East Yorkshire, the following section of the chapter will look at the aesthetic designs of pots, contextualising them among other objects.

Chapters 4 and 5 have both mentioned the comparison often made between the fancy metalwork and plain pots, or 'shapeless jars' (Stead 1991, 100-101) of Middle Iron Age East Yorkshire (e.g. Sharples 2008, 209). The pots of the region are, indeed, generally very plain during both the Middle and Late Iron Ages (see figure 5.8 for an example); just 6.6% (400-100BC) and 5% (100BC-AD100) of the sherds in my dataset are patterned in each of my time periods respectively. Many, particularly the Middle Iron Age vessels, are thick-walled vessels, fired in open bonfires, and are generally seen as having been made with little effort or skill (Rigby 2004, 47). As Sharples (2008, 209) points out, this creates a puzzling juxtaposition when the material culture of the region is looked at holistically and the pots are compared directly to the skilfully designed and executed metalwork beside which they are often found. My findings from Chapter 7 suggested that some of the metalwork designs I looked at, on scabbards in particular, were carried out by individuals who were perhaps not part of mainstream communities in East Yorkshire, indicated by the 'crude' repair of these items by non-specialists. This suggests the pots and metalwork were made by different individuals.

In a study of ceramics from Rigby's 2004 volume, *Pots in Pits* (Chittock 2016), I argued that the existence of shapeless jars in East Yorkshire assemblages dating to as early as the Late Bronze Age and their endurance over more than a millennium into the early Roman period indicated a significant cultural tradition, as opposed to incompetent potting. As the fancier forms of the Late Bronze Age gradually died out, shapeless jars remained and by the Middle Iron Age were the pot of choice in Iron Age East Yorkshire. I argued that the lack of change and innovation in the pots of the Middle Iron Age represented adherence to an idea of what a pot 'should' look like. Details of their rough construction may actually have tangible functions. Perhaps the coarse lumps of temper protruding from the unfinished surfaces of pots allowed for the 'reading' of the sources of pots that I described in the previous section. The performance of potting at a very local level for much of the Middle-Late Iron Age, as seems to be generally indicated by the fabrics, perhaps indicates a way of enacting family or community traditions that were shared across the region.

7.6.3 Use-wear and Repair

Many of the pots in my dataset show use-wear. While I haven't been able to obtain detailed information on sherds from all of my sites, existing literature on

pottery from Iron Age East Yorkshire suggests that pots were generally well-used prior to deposition, and this is supported by examples from my dataset.

Sooty surfaces are present both on the insides and outsides of some pots, indicating they had purposes involving the heating of food over open fires. Of the 19 pots represented in my dataset from The Enclosure (Rudston), for example, 10 were reported to have sooty surfaces, sometimes on the outer surfaces and sometimes in the form of burnt on food on their interiors (Rigby 2004, 161-166), although sooting on the interiors of vessels could also indicate the practice of 'proofing' to make surfaces less absorbent (Rigby 2004, 43). Some vessels also had vesicular interiors, suggesting they held acidic substances that have reacted with their calcite temper, milk perhaps. Of the 10 vessels from East Field, 6 were sooted (Rigby 2004, 115-17), representing a similar proportion to that at The Enclosure.

The vessels placed into graves had also often been used for cooking, which was reflected by the common inclusion of lamb or pork within them. Rigby suggests some might have been made purposefully for burial, rather than other uses, due to their fragile nature, caused by low firing temperatures (Rigby in Stead 1991, 105), but Giles writes that the sooted surfaces on many suggest they had been used at least once (Giles 2012, 133).

7.6.3 Fragmentation and Deposition

As emphasised in Chapter 5, the majority of ceramics in my dataset are very fragmentary, and exist in my database simply as large groups of varied sherds. While some fragmentation will have occurred post-deposition, it has also been noted by several of the excavators of my objects that pots were broken before they entered the ground (Rigby 2004, 43, Richardson unpublished, 31). Rigby writes that none of the pots recovered during the Yorkshire Settlements Project were found whole, and that none could be restored completely by refitting. She interprets this as evidence that the pots were broken elsewhere and that the larger sherds were collected and placed into their positions (Rigby 2004, 43). At several sites, some with Middle-Late Iron Age features, she also notes that sherds were arranged in specific ways at the time of deposition (*ibid.*). Breakage might have been deliberate or accidental and Rigby suggests that sherds may have been stored at multiple locations before deposition. Similarly, the pots in graves had also been partially fragmented before burial. Giles writes that in the Great Wold Valley, a third of pots in graves were

represented by their lower bodies and bases only, and many others were chipped and damaged (2012, 133). This may have resulted from accidental damage in the grave, or from the deliberate ceremonial 'killing' of vessels, mirroring the end of the human lives their deposition was marking (Giles 2012, 133-4). The deposition of partial vessels and, in some cases, sherds (e.g. R204) suggests that pots were broken outside the grave. Perhaps those sherds that weren't deposited were kept as tokens of the deceased, or deposited at neighbouring settlement sites. The fragmentation of a pot seems to have been an important event in its itinerary. Whether deliberate or accidental, it not only signalled the end of a pot's use as a container, but also the beginning of a variety of new functions. Pots become 'partible' and different sherds went on to perform different functions in different locations.

7.6.4 Exchange

As I specified above, most of the pots in my dataset appear to have been produced locally to their findspots, or at least within the region of East Yorkshire.

There are, however, several sherds that are obvious exceptions to this rule. These sherds represent unusual, patterned examples from outside East Yorkshire, deposited on settlement sites. In each case, only a small sherd was deposited. This may mean that the rest of the pot was deposited elsewhere in East Yorkshire having been imported and then broken, or that the single sherds were brought into the region individually.

The first example of this is the occurrence of two small sherds of 1st century AD scored ware (probably refitting) from trackway 1037 at Easington (Richardson, unpublished, 10). Scored ware is a distinctive style of patterned pot from the East Midlands, dating to the mid-late Iron Age, decorated by scoring the surface with a variety of tools (Elsdon 1992). The remainder of this pot was not found anywhere else at Easington, and this is the only example of scored-ware in my dataset.

Another example comes from Rudston Villa East Site (Stead 1980), where 44% of vessels were patterned. Most are patterned with simple grooves round their shoulders, occasionally with the additions of lattices, zig-zags or scribble scrolls. A single piece of fired clay, probably a small sherd, however, bears unusual decoration, compared by Stead to Glastonbury Ware from south west Britain (1980, 107), which often carries La Tène decoration. Its pattern takes the form of a tapering scroll-type

shape contained within a border, with the background in-filled with small lines. The fabric of this small sherd is also seemingly unique, even among assemblages of Glastonbury Ware vessels and other similar vessels from the south of England (Stead 1980, 107). The location from which it was excavated is non-descript, and is described simply as over a series of gullies (Stead 1980, 172), but the rest of the vessel was not found anywhere on the site.

The deposition of these single imported sherds is significant. It might be seen as representing the specific treatment of exotic and unusual objects that had been traded over long distances and potentially curated as single sherds. A discussion of pottery assemblages across the region of northern East Anglia and the East Midlands by Hill and Horne (in Evans 2003, 180) shows that this practice is not confined to East Yorkshire. They note just two La Tène decorated sherds (one of which is most of a pot) from Wardy Hill, Cambridgeshire, a site with nearly 61,000 sherds and almost no decorated material culture. This fits into a wider pattern across these regions where small quantities of La Tène decorated pottery, usually burnished globular vessels made from uncommon fabrics, were in circulation. These rare vessels, or sherds, were sometimes curated over long periods, perhaps generations, and may have had specific uses. They are also deposited in specific ways. This scenario seems highly reminiscent of the idea of the Kirkburn Sword being passed through generations and functioning as a mnemonic device (Gosden and Hill 2008, 11), showing that it was not only metalwork that held specific power.

Several examples of single patterned sherds also exist in particular contexts at The Enclosure and East Field (Rigby 2004). It is plausible either that the deposition of single patterned sherds represents the deliberate deposition of special objects and perhaps the juxtaposition of patterned sherds against plain. It is also plausible, however, that this is simply the visible aspect of a much wider practice involving the fragmentation of pots and exchange, curation and deliberate deposition of all sherds, plain and patterned.

7.6.5 Pots: Discussion

To summarise the ideas about pots I've presented above, most East Yorkshire pots were plain, locally made vessels, with more varied, Romanised vessels beginning to arrive at some sites from the 1st century AD. I've argued that the production of plain shapeless jars at a local level over the space of a millennium constituted the

assertion of a significant local tradition, and the use of local materials may have referenced particular localities. This localness creates a contrast with the few non-local sherds from the region.

The inclusion of pots in burials demonstrates their potency as objects, but I've also pointed out subtler practices relating to the fragmentation of pots. All pots, whether in graves or non-funerary contexts, were broken when they entered the ground and I've suggested that sherds may have been curated as mementos and exchanged before being eventually deposited.

It seems that even for pots, the most ubiquitous of objects in Iron Age East Yorkshire, having a history was important, as shown by practices such as the keeping of sherds from burials and the bringing in of exotic sherds to the region. Gosden and Hill (2008, 11) have referred to the Kirkburn Sword as potentially being a mnemonic device, important in the maintenance of oral histories. Perhaps pot sherds with particular biographies served similar purposes.

7.7 Chapter Conclusion

During this chapter I've considered the biographies and itineraries of a range of different types of objects and the groupsets to which they belong. This section of the chapter will bring together the groups of objects I've discussed individually to summarise common trends in their biographies and itineraries.

7.7.1 Iron Age 'Kintsugi'

As I stated at the beginning of the chapter, I am not the first archaeologist to document the biographies of objects from Iron Age East Yorkshire. The Kirkburn sword is, famously, an object with a long biography (Stead 1991, 68; Gosden and Hill 2008, 11); an 'elder' object (Giles 2008, 61). Similarly, wear and repair to the Wetwang Village and Ferrybridge chariot fittings has led to suggestions that the vehicles had complex histories (*ibid.*). My investigation has supported these ideas, by showing that almost all the swords and chariots I looked at had evidence for wear, repair, fragmentation and reassembly. Sword scabbards had been given blatant (and, in the case of the Grimthorpe scabbard, decorative) repairs and modifications and their patterns had been added to over time by 'amateur' artists. Chariot groupsets had been similarly well-used, fragmented and reconfigured during their lives, and perhaps used

and circulated as individual components. It seems that these objects accumulated significance through the processes they went through, embodying the relations between people and materials that had led to their existences and telling the stories of these processes, before finally being deposited as parts of elaborate funerary rituals.

In including bone and antler objects, pots and swords from non-funerary contexts in my investigation I've been able to expand these ideas beyond metalwork from graves and have shown that, in fact, the same concerns for accumulating complex biographies and itineraries are evident throughout my assemblage. Many of the bone objects I examined were well-worn, despite the wide availability of bone. The Grimthorpe warrior was buried with worn bone points, for example. They were also deposited deliberately in combination with other objects, in deposits such as the Comb Pit. The practice of fragmenting and curating pot sherds in East Yorkshire shows that, even for the most ubiquitous of archaeological materials, the development of memorable biographies and itineraries was valuable.

In order to further understand the value of the patina of wear and age that these objects built up, I've turned to the Japanese art of kintsugi ("to patch with gold") or kintsukuroi ("to repair with gold"). It is the mending of broken pottery with lacquer mixed with powdered gold, silver or platinum. This type of repair creates a range of different visual effects, depending on the colour and finish of the ceramic and of the lacquer itself. Through mending with gold, a broken pot is not only restored to a functional state, but transformed into a new object with far greater value than the original, undamaged object. Mended objects acquire value via a specifically Japanese aesthetic that sees wear and defects associated with ageing as 'profound and touching' rather than flawed. This sentiment has evolved from the aesthetic ideals of wabi ("poverty and undemandingness") and sabi ("seclusion, ageing, patina and decay"), which originate in poetry and were incorporated into the art of tea during the 16th century (Iten 2008).

It is possible that the value of visible biographies and itineraries in Iron Age East Yorkshire was governed, like Kintsugi, by a particular underlying philosophy. An increase in the number and diversity of grave goods within East Yorkshire graves as individuals become older (Giles 2012, 132) could indicate that, like objects, people accumulated value or patina through skills and experiences as they aged.

I suggest that the biographies and itineraries of objects also played central roles in the production and maintenance of oral histories, as Gosden and Hill (2008, 11) have suggested in the case of the Kirkburn sword. In an illiterate society, the use of heirloom objects as mnemonic devices may have proven a valuable way of learning and transmitting stories. I argue that the fragmentation of objects and juxtaposition of components against one another, for example, represents the deliberate use of objects to create visual narratives.

7.7.2 Pattern as Patina

I argue that pattern played a key role in making the biographies and itineraries of objects visible. Firstly, the unique patterns on objects perhaps made their origins visible, distinguishing them from one another while also indicating common roots. As I've shown during this chapter, designs were made to reference each other, or the wider style they fitted into, whilst also retaining uniqueness when viewed close up. La Tène patterns were produced from an accepted lexicon of motifs by skilled practitioners, but the combinations of motifs are always unique. The same applies to other types of pattern; the geometric patterns on combs, for example²⁰. This emphasis on relations and distinctions may relate to what Giles describes as a “tension between an apparent emphasis on the community and the constant demarcation of the individual” (2012, 65) in Iron Age East Yorkshire through the use of architecture in settlements and cemeteries.

Pattern also makes it easy to identify wear on objects, as demonstrated by worn-down patterns on the Rudston comb (section 7.5.3) and on some scabbards. The differing style of the ‘wiggly lines’ on the Wetwang 3 scabbard when compared to its original decoration make these identifiable as additions. The same is true of the Kirkburn scabbard. A decorative repair on the Grimthorpe scabbard also draws attention to this modification. The swapping of components in and out of some of my groupsets is made obvious by pattern, with different designs deliberately juxtaposed against one another to create an eclectic, patchwork effect, as visible in the Comb Pit assemblage, the Garton Station terrets and the Grimthorpe shield.

I argue that pattern was patina in Iron Age East Yorkshire. It increased the visibility of the complex biographies and itineraries of objects, perhaps allowing them

²⁰ With the exception of the two identical combs from The Comb Pit.

to sit within a particular aesthetic philosophy, like kintsugi, or allowing for the creation of visual narrative linked to oral histories.

Chapter 8: What did pattern do in Iron Age East Yorkshire?

8.1 Introduction

This chapter forms the conclusion to this PhD thesis, during which I will summarise the arguments I've presented during its course and offer an answer to my research question; 'what did pattern do in Iron Age East Yorkshire?'. I will argue that pattern had multiple purposes relating to craftsmanship, use, deposition and the accumulation of visible object biographies and itineraries.

8.2 What did pattern do in Iron Age East Yorkshire?

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 of this thesis comprised the analysis of data on objects from Iron Age East Yorkshire at different scales. Chapter 5 allowed me to state that the instance and style of pattern on these objects were related to the materials they were made from, the ways they were deposited and the types of objects they were. I extended this argument in Chapter 6 to add that pattern was related to the broad purposes objects served in different spheres of activity. The analysis of object biographies and itineraries in Chapter 7 allowed me to look more closely at how the purpose of pattern evolved over time, from the point of production, through use, repair and modification to deposition. I've been able to trace the changing purposes of pattern and will discuss below the roles of pattern at different points in an object's 'life'.

8.2.1 The Decision to Decorate

The production of an object arguably starts with the selection and procurement of raw materials, and the data presented in Chapter 5 showed that the materials objects are made from played a part in dictating whether, and how, they were patterned. For example, scratched patterns were found only on chalk and La Tène patterns were found only on bronze. This has been a major advantage of looking at objects made from all types of materials during this project. It has allowed me to confirm that, while archaeologists have become wary of projecting modern material categories onto prehistoric assemblages, the trends in my dataset do appear to support the idea that similar material divisions did exist in Iron Age East Yorkshire.

As I discussed in Chapter 5, the decision to make certain kinds of objects from certain materials is influenced both by the 'physical' properties and affordances of materials, and the intended functions of the objects, which need to align for an object to work. The materials chosen to make the objects in my dataset reflect, on many

levels, the purposes of the objects. For example iron is a good material with which to make a sword blade or spear head, and ceramic is a good material from which to form a container.

‘Practical’ considerations like these are also tempered with decisions relating to the visual and culturally contingent properties of materials. These properties, combined with the availability of certain materials, perhaps dictate specific choices of materials where functional objects could have been made from a range of materials. These decisions also relate to pattern itself and the reasons why, for example, La Tène pattern is only found on bronze in my dataset, even though it is possible to produce it in a whole range of media. I’ve argued that we might see this series of choices as a craftsperson functioning within the bounds of what Andrew Fitzpatrick terms ‘appropriate’ (1997, 80) materials for certain objects and ‘appropriate’ decoration for certain materials. Considering the relationship between instance and style of pattern and the purposes of objects shown in Chapter 6, we might also see them as the harnessing of useful characteristics, which were intended to aid the functioning of an object.

The likelihood that many objects made from organic materials, such as leather and wood, existed in Iron Age East Yorkshire, but have not survived in the archaeological record, must also be considered here. As reported by Stead (1991), many of the swords from graves in my dataset had scabbards made from wood. There is every chance they were decorated with similar patterns to the bronze examples I discussed in Chapter 7 (a La Tène decorated wooden bowl was recovered from Glastonbury Lake Village), but patterned, possibly painted wood and patterned bronze produce two very different overall visual effects.

As I’ve explored during Chapters 5 - 7, my analysis has uncovered a complex picture, where the initial decision to decorate was influenced by a balance of different factors:

- The appropriateness and usefulness of certain materials for making certain objects.
- The availability of particular materials.
- The usefulness of pattern in certain intended purposes.
- The appropriateness of certain patterns on certain materials.

This complex picture shows that pattern could be seen as a way of fulfilling expectations of what certain objects should be like in Iron Age East Yorkshire; a way of adhering to existing ideas about which objects and materials *should* be patterned and which patterns were useful for which purposes. The change in decorative practices over time that I illustrated in Chapters 5 and 6 shows the gradual shift of these traditions.

8.2.2 The Processes of Design and Patterning

My investigations have also led me to consider the processes of designing and patterning from the perspectives of craftspeople. As I mentioned above, the practice of patterning certain objects and materials in certain ways represents the working of craftspeople within certain norms (whether or not it was craftspeople who decided to decorate). Experimentation and creativity, however, are also visible within the patterns I've examined.

In Chapter 7 I examined sets of terrets from Wetwang Village, Wetwang 2 and Garton Slack. Each set is both conspicuously similar and conspicuously different in design from the others. They exist as a family of objects, referencing each other, perhaps indicating a common source. Simultaneously they have been given design features that mark each set as different from the others when studied in detail. The same could be said for the scabbards from Wetwang 1 and 3 and Kirkburn, all of which share many overall design features and all of which have slightly different La Tène pattern snaking along the lengths of their scabbards. The production of objects that are designed around a common framework, but given features that make them unique, seems to be a key feature of Early Celtic Art across Britain. Garrow *et al.* (2009, 111) have emphasised the uniqueness of Early Celtic Art designs, writing that motifs are rarely used in the same combination. The fact that the motifs themselves, as illustrated by Fox in his *Grammar of Early Celtic Ornament*, for example (1958, 147-8), are used again and again, however, demonstrates that designers were acting within a set of 'rules'.

The skills involved in designing and producing patterns based around this Early Celtic Art framework, my analysis suggests, were not universally accessible. I highlighted in Chapter 7 the 'crude' execution of decoration on the repaired section of the front plate of the Kirkburn Sword, when compared to the main part of the scabbard (Stead 2006, 184), and noted similar phenomena on other swords. I've

suggested that this replacement decoration was carried out by a craftsperson who did not possess the skills of working within the Early Celtic Art framework or the knowledge of the ‘correct’ motifs.

Interestingly, the idea of an esoteric set of skills relating to the design of La Tène style pattern is not something that I’ve identified in the other categories of pattern I’ve looked at, which may be down to subtleties in the design process that I’ve simply been unable to pick up on during this project. Ring-and-dot pattern, for example, is found on a small proportion of objects from my dataset, but the performance of this pattern using compasses means it has not been possible to identify skilled and unskilled execution. The rough execution of the geometric patterns on the Garton Slack combs might indicate the work of a novice, but the ‘grammar’ of motifs in this style is less specific, simply consisting of diagonal and horizontal lines, making it more difficult to identify skill. A similar idea of design tradition might be seen in the ceramics of the region, however, which are very plain and uniform. I’ve written previously about the remarkable survival of this particular tradition over many centuries (Chittock 2016) and it seems that potters, just like the designers of metalwork, were complying with ideas about how certain objects should look.

The idea of a specific, Britain-wide Early Celtic design skillset raises a question about how and where these skills were learned and taught. Although the idea of ‘schools’ of metalworking (e.g. Fox 1958) is seen as outdated, perhaps this notion should be reconsidered. It is plausible that the ‘families’ of similar objects I mentioned above were designed and made by the same individuals or sets of craftspeople, akin to the schools and workshops discussed in the past.

The question of metalworking schools is beyond the scope of this thesis, but the issues discussed here do feed into the answer to my research question; what did pattern do in Iron Age East Yorkshire? The performance of pattern involved interactions with materials and tools, sometimes in experimental ways. Craftspeople were playing with forms, motifs and techniques. My findings have shown that, for the producers of La Tène patterns, this process also involved the deployment of certain design principles; to produce objects that were unique, yet which sat within an accepted framework. The metaphor of language has been applied to Early Celtic pattern at many points during the past century. Fox writes about ‘grammar’ (1958),

while recent work by Garrow and Gosden (2012, 326) refers to the ‘reading’ of designs, for example. To use this metaphor myself, Early Celtic Art in Britain was a language that not everyone in Iron Age Britain could speak and comprehend, but that those without these specific abilities could still appreciate and experience. So the process of patterning allowed craftspeople with the right knowledge to practise within specific design principles, setting them apart from others but still allowing them to communicate in certain ways.

My observations regarding the craftsmanship and design of pattern are relevant to the arts/crafts dichotomy I highlighted in Chapter 2; a distinction between decorated metal and non-metal objects based on archaeological perceptions of a hierarchy of skill levels involved in production. I’ve deconstructed the distinction by holistically examining plain and patterned objects of all types and have suggested that, rather than differing levels of skill relating to the working of different materials, there are different types of skill related to different types of pattern.

8.2.3 The Deployment of Pattern

As shown in Chapter 6, the instance and style of pattern were related to the broad types of purposes that objects fulfilled. During Chapter 6 I defined the concept of purpose, incorporating Fox’s ideas about purpose and augmenting them to view purpose as dynamic and layered, and also encompassing the purposes that objects fulfil when they are deposited.

Pattern performed a range of roles relating to the wider purposes of objects; it was not only decorative, but useful. It may have been an expression of identity; Fox (1958) sees pattern as relating to ‘personal display’ and the expression of beauty or chiefly status. Pattern may also relate to the projection of other aspects of identity; gender, community affiliations, age or perhaps the expression of individuality, considering the emphasis sometimes placed on the individual in Iron Age East Yorkshire (Giles 2012, 65). The high frequency of patterned personal ornaments such as brooches and toggles in my dataset (see Chapter 5), worn visibly on the body, supports this idea. Personal ornaments are important depositions in graves during the Middle Iron Age and later take on a different form of importance, and different patterns, in the Late Iron Age, appearing in high numbers in the PAS dataset.

Pattern may also have been deployed in a Gellian sense; using confusing visuals to produce psychological effects in viewers, such as fear (Gell 1992). Gell

himself describes the use of patterns in ‘psychological warfare’ (1992, 43) and, while Giles describes the dazzling effects of the overall appearances of Iron Age weaponry in battle, she points out that the intricate patterns on scabbards, for example, are best appreciated up close rather than in the context of hand-to-hand combat. She argues that decorated weapons had visual power because those encountering them in battle already had an understanding of their complex, maze-like patterns, derived from seeing them in other social contexts (2008, 69). This notion supports my argument that some chariot fittings were made to be seen up-close outside the context of the chariot assemblage as individual components, as well as belonging to the chariot groupset. Although Giles includes chariots in her discussion of ‘martial objects’ (2008), several archaeologists disagree that they were involved in conflict, as I’ve discussed (e.g. Stead 1991, Hill 2002, Sharples 2008). Perhaps the Gellian effects of these objects were intended for deployment in personal contemplative situations rather than in warfare, and perhaps the desired effect was not fear, but other emotions or states of mind. The same may be true of any of my objects, martial or not.

8.2.4 The Accumulation of Pattern

Chapter 7 looked at the biographies and itineraries of a range of objects and concluded that the accumulation of object biographies was important in Iron Age East Yorkshire, adding value and significance to both plain and patterned objects. Many different types of objects had long biographies. Wear, repair and modification were evident on scabbards and chariot fittings, supporting previous assertions about the long biographies of certain examples of these types of objects (e.g. Gosden and Hill 2008, 11, Giles 2012, Gosden and Garrow 2012, Giles 2008, 60-61). Bone objects and pots also showed evidence for long biographies, indicating that it wasn’t only metalwork that was specifically curated over time, but a range of object types.

I’ve suggested that pattern was important in the process of developing long, visible biographies. Pattern emphasises the patchwork nature of many of my composite objects with different patterns juxtaposing different components against one another, the Grimthorpe shield being a particularly good example of this. Pattern may have marked components out as being from different sources. Perhaps it even made those sources identifiable. Pattern, in the cases of bronze and bone objects, also becomes worn over time, providing an indication of objects that have been handled over long periods. In the contexts of pots and sherds, the few non-local patterned

sherds in my dataset stand out as originating from localities outside East Yorkshire, providing clues about their itineraries.

Considering what pattern did in the contexts of object biographies, I've argued that it functioned as a mnemonic and provided the starting point for oral histories, allowing people to tell the stories of where objects had come from, what they'd done and who they'd been related to. Gosden and Hill (2008, 11) suggest this may be the case for the Kirkburn sword, and I've shown it can be extended to cover other object types.

8.2.5 The Deposition of Patterned Objects

The analyses of Chapters 5, 6 and 7 have all shown that pattern was related to the purposes fulfilled by the deposition of objects. Chapter 5 showed the changing focus for the deposition of patterned objects, from graves to other forms of deposition, and the changing styles of pattern that accompanied this change, illustrating the relevance of pattern to different depositional practices.

The consideration of what pattern, and indeed the objects it is found on, did during and after deposition is complex. Giles has emphasised the dramatic arena of the funerary rite as a stage for patterned objects (2012), and non-funerary deposition may have been just as exciting. Patterned objects may have been used for dramatic effect in these situations, but may also have had other roles post-deposition. Grave goods might be seen as reflections of what the deceased had achieved during life, and may also have functioned as provisioning the deceased with belongings for the afterlife, allowing them to complete particular tasks. Similarly, the deposition of objects in non-funerary contexts, such as pits and ditches, may relate either to past or future biographies. I've argued that all the accumulation of complex biographies was important across many different types of object in Middle- Late Iron Age East Yorkshire, which makes the purposeful deposition of objects significant, particularly for old objects, as it represents a major change in direction of that object's history.

8.2.6 What did pattern do?

As may have been expected, the answer to my research question is not singular or clear-cut. I've summarised the many facets of what pattern did in Iron Age East Yorkshire above. These can be distilled into three key effects:

- 1) Pattern allowed craftspeople to play with form, tools and materials in experimental ways whilst also complying with traditional expectations. In the case of La Tène style pattern, this process also involved practising within established, esoteric design rules, providing a form of mediating the communication of designs to non-craftspeople.
- 2) Pattern was made for a range of intended purposes, which contributed to the functioning of objects in different spheres of activity. These purposes included display, the projection of identities, psychological warfare, contemplation and deposition.
- 3) Pattern contributed to the visible accumulation of biographies and itineraries on objects, which allowed their sources and stories to be visible to those who viewed them, and provided mnemonic devices for oral histories.

8.3 Looking further afield

As Chapter 4 highlighted, East Yorkshire has often been seen as being home to a distinctive regional culture during the Iron Age, due to the dominance of the 'Arras culture' burial rite in understandings of the region. It could be said that producing another thesis that focuses specifically on East Yorkshire simply serves to reinforce this idea, but my holistic approach to archaeological evidence has allowed me to identify subtle links with other regions. I argue that East Yorkshire, while the centre point for its distinctive burial rite, was also the home of other traditions, centring on other localities, at different scales and at different times. The paragraphs below briefly summarise my thoughts on the wider cultural connections this thesis has revealed, which highlight areas in which further study could be pursued.

8.3.1 Britain-wide art styles

Some of the patterns I've discussed during this thesis fit into fit into style present over very wide geographical areas. I've discussed at length the British and Continental connections alluded to by variations of La Tène art spread across Europe, as well as the local peculiarities that demonstrate that this art did not exist as a simple group of objects. In terms of pattern, La Tène style is not the only type of pattern in my dataset that has a wide geographical distribution outside East Yorkshire. Notably, the geometric patterns found on combs; in particular those consisting of diagonal lines zig-zagging up and down combs or intersecting in X shapes, are found on examples across Britain (see Tuohy 1999), often forming the

basis for other geometric patterns or infilling. Could this specific type of pattern be evidence for communication between craftspeople at different levels across wide distances, or for shared ideas relating to the appropriateness and usefulness of certain patterns and materials? I raised in Chapter 7 the issue of schools or workshops of craftspeople, which was a popular topic for study during the mid-20th century in the context of metalwork, but is now considered outdated. Perhaps returning to this issue with a more inclusive approach to material culture may aid understandings.

8.3.2 Biographical traditions at different scales

During this thesis, I've highlighted overlapping, regional-scale traditions relating to the biographies and itineraries of objects. During the Late Iron Age, for example, East Yorkshire was home to both a northern tradition of the deposition of swords in significant, natural places, and an eastern tradition of the curation of rare patterned pot sherds. I also suggest that the importance of visible object biographies and itineraries during the Iron Age was not confined to East Yorkshire, but is evident in assemblages from different parts of Britain. I've mentioned Garrow and Gosden's description of sword scabbards from across Britain (2012, 128-134), many of which have potential evidence for similar practices of modification and perhaps even fragmentation and reassembly that I found on my swords. Indeed, Stead's catalogue of British and Irish Iron Age swords and scabbards (2006) contains tantalising evidence for scabbard biographies, although they were not Stead's focus. There are other examples of famous British Early Celtic Art objects and assemblages with visible biographical stories. Mary Davis's work on the Polden Hill hoard has shown that pattern was inscribed onto some of its objects after a black patina had already formed on their bronze surfaces (2014, 103). A decorative crescentic plaque from a watery deposit at Llyn Cerrig Bach has a variety of different sized and oddly spaced rivet holes; perhaps it was attached to several different backings, like the Grimthorpe Shield. The Grotesque torc from Snettisham has famously been repaired, suggesting it saw much wear; perhaps it too was an 'elder' object. These brief examples suggest that a concern for visible biographies and itineraries on Early Celtic Art objects, and perhaps the stories attached to them, was not confined to East Yorkshire, and I propose that wider studies of the biographies and itineraries of Iron Age objects may prove fruitful.

8.4 Chapter Conclusion

As a holistic study of objects from a modern region of Britain this thesis is, in some ways, open-ended. The possibilities of what lies just outside the sample of objects I included in my database, both spatially and temporally, are tantalising. In concentrating on the objects from one small region of Britain, however, I've been able to offer highly detailed insights into decorative practices across the full assemblage of surviving materials. Comparing different object types and materials from different context types has, in many cases, allowed trends to become clear, making my holistic approach to objects a success.

By answering the question 'what did pattern do?' in section 8.2, I've been able to update Fox's threefold purpose of Celtic Art, by offering a threefold purpose of Iron Age pattern. Fox's threefold purpose encompassed the decoration of "functional things" relating to the household and female appearances; of "elaborately garnished war panoply" and of the chieftain's halls for the purpose of display and prestige (Fox 1958, xxvii). By extending my study across the material assemblage I've been able to expand on these ideas and conclude that pattern allowed craftspeople to express themselves in particular ways, contributed to the purposes of objects (which include Fox's three purposes), and to the accumulation of visible object biographies and itineraries. I've shown that contextualising Early Celtic Art objects within the wider assemblage has increased understandings of both groups of objects.

Appendix I: Sites included in my database

Acklam, North Yorkshire (Yorkshire Museum)

Dates

300-100BC (Celtic Art Database)

Site Description

A sword burial, also containing a baluster style bone toggle. The sword is an iron blade with no surviving scabbard, bent to an angle of about 150 degrees. Dent (1983) reported traces of wood on the blade, suggesting it was once contained within a wooden scabbard.

Excavation Details

Discovered by military metal detectorists in 1980.

Bibliography

Dent 1983, Stead 2006

Argam Lane, Rudston (British Museum)

Dates

400-100BC.

Site Description

Burials R190-208; a relatively small group of inhumations, bounded on the south by a pair of ditches that formed a droveway. All burials were north-south orientated, and eight were aligned with the ditches. These southern burials appear not to have ditches, but these may simply have not survived. Amongst the square barrows was a single ring ditch containing no burial. A large Roman quarry occupied an area to the west of the burials.

Excavation

Excavated in 1976 as part of Ian Stead's investigation of cemeteries in East Yorkshire (1991).

Bibliography

Stead 1991.

Arras (British Museum/ Yorkshire Museum)

Dates

400-100BC (Celtic Art Database)

Excavation

Excavated between 1815 and 1817 by local gentry, . Stead returned in 1959 to carry out geophysics, identifying square ditches around the barrows, and excavated a further 2 barrows.

Site Description

A Middle Iron Age square barrow cemetery. Details of the original excavation were either partially recorded or have been partially lost. Three chariot burials were excavated, along with an unspecified number of other barrows.

Bibliography

Stillingfleet 1847, Giles 2012, 10-11, Stead 1979.

Bell Slack, Burton Fleming (British Museum)

Dates

400-100BC, 100BC-AD100

Site Description

A cemetery consisting of 42 burials (Burials BF23-64). The barrows are not arranged in rows, but are generally aligned with the droveway that forms the focus for the later droveway settlement (see below), and which follows the contours of the valley. The barrows were generally well-spaced, but became a network to the north of the cemetery, which continued beyond the excavated area (Stead 1991, 17). Burials BF62 and 63 were members of the latter group of east-west orientated burials, as found at Makeshift.

Excavation

Excavated as part of Stead's investigation of East Yorkshire cemeteries (1991).

Bibliography

Stead 1991.

Bell Slack Ladder Settlement (British Museum)

Dates

100BC-AD100 (Late Iron Age- Romano-British)

Site Description

An extensive droveway settlement, 1.7km long, crossing two groups of square barrows. The objects from this site consist mainly of pottery, and large amounts of animal bone were also recovered.

Excavation

This site overlays Bell Slack cemetery and was excavated in 1977 as part of Stead's investigation of East Yorkshire cemeteries.

Bibliography

Little has been written about this site, but it is referred to in Stead's 1991 publication (1991, 17).

Beverley Chariot Burial (British Museum)

Dates

400-100BC

Site Description

A group of chariot fittings, including wheel fragments and two iron bridle bits.

Excavation

Excavated by Greenwell during the 19th century.

Bibliography

Stead 1979

Bugthorpe (British Museum)

Dates

Pre-100BC (Celtic Art Database)

Excavation

Discovered during the latter 19th century during the drainage of a field.

Site Description

A single sword found with two bronze discs. The original report does not mention human remains, but later accounts mention an interment (Stead 2006, 187).

Bibliography

Stead 2006; Thurnham 1871; Wood 1860.

Cawthorn Camps, North Yorkshire (tyre in Yorkshire Museum)

Dates

400-100BC

Excavation

Details unknown, latter 19th century.

Site Description

An intact chariot burial, containing the corroded remains of tyres and fragmented bridle bits. A tyre is present in Yorkshire Museum. The other fittings may not have survived.

Bibliography

Stead 1965.

Cowlam (British Museum)

Dates

Pre-300BC (Celtic Art Database).

Excavation

Excavated by Greenwell, during the latter 19th century. Stead returned to the area during the 1908s.

Site Description

A small square barrow cemetery.

Bibliography

Stead 1989 ; 1991.

Danes' Graves (British Museum, Yorkshire Museum, Hull and East Riding Museum)

Dates

400-100BC.

Excavation

First excavated by a group from Kilham parish in 1721. Six more barrows were opened by Thurnham and Proctor in 1849 and a further 14 by Greenwell in 1984. Greenwell then joined with Mortimer and Thomas Boynton to excavate 53 more barrows between 1897 and 1898, and Mortimer continued alone, excavating a further 26 more graves between 1899 and 1909.

Site Description

A large square barrow cemetery (the remains of over 4000 barrows have been identified by aerial photography), including one chariot burial.

Bibliography

Mortimer 1905; Giles 2012, 10-17.

Easington (East Riding of Yorkshire Museums Service)

Dates

The dating of the overall site is divided into 6 phases : 1) Late Bronze Age, 2) Iron Age, 3) Late Iron Age, 4) Late Iron Age/Early Roman, 5) Roman, 6) Early Medieval. My database includes objects from phases 2-5. Phase 5 has been included, as the settlement never 'Romanises', in the way that some others in the region do.

Site Description

A multi period site, including a funerary landscape of Late Bronze Age, Late Iron Age and Roman cremations, and Roman and Early Medieval Inhumations. A Late Iron Age ladder settlement was also established here during the 1st century BC and was restructured at least twice before its abandonment in the 3rd century AD. A lack of 'Romanised' objects and structures at the site leads Richardson to suggest that this community continued to live Pre-Conquest style lives until the time of its abandonment. Given the isolated location of the site close to the point of the Spurn Head spit, it is easy to see how the take up of a 'Romanised' lifestyle did not occur here, as it did elsewhere in East Yorkshire.

Excavation

An open area excavation took place here in advance of the construction of a natural gas receiving facility after archaeological remains were identified by geophysical survey. Excavation was carried out by Archaeological Services WYAS, funded by Statoil, co-ordinated by RSK ENSR Environment Ltd and Monitored by Humber Archaeology Partnership. The site archive has been deposited with the East Riding of Yorkshire Museum Service at Sewerby Hall (Accession no. 2011/1).

Bibliography

Richardson 2011, Richardson unpublished report accessed through the ADS.

East Field, Burton Agnes Enclosure A (British Museum)

Dates

100BC-AD100

Excavation

Excavated by Rigby between 1988 and 1992 as part of the British Museum Yorkshire Settlements Project. A section of the enclosure ditch was excavated, but the features within were not.

Site Description

A late Iron Age, sub-rectangular ditched enclosure built next to a trackway, situated in an area with many Early Iron pits and two Early Iron Age enclosures.

Bibliography

Rigby 2004

Eastburn (Hull Museums)

Dates

400-100BC

Excavation

A rescue excavation at an airfield during expansion ahead of the Second World War.

Site Description

A barrow cemetery. Some of the barrows may have been circular, rather than square, but detailed records were not kept.

Bibliography

Shepperd 1939.

Ferrybridge/Ferry Fryston Chariot Burial (Wakefield Museums. Display in Castleford Museum)

Dates

200-150BC (Celtic Art Database).

Excavation

Discovered and excavated during 2003 as part of large-scale excavations ahead of the upgrade of the A1 between Darrington and Dishforth in Yorkshire by Oxford Archaeology. West Yorkshire Archaeological Services also undertook an earlier phase of the excavation. The landscape uncovered included Iron Age settlement, a Bronze Age archaer burial and a Medieval village, as well as the Ferrbridge chariot burial.

Site Description

A single intact chariot burial within a square ditched enclosure. Grave goods included a possible shield and an involuted brooch, along with the chariot itself.

Bibliography

Brown *et al.* 2007.

Garton Station (British Museum)

Dates

380-190 cal.BC (Garrow *et al.* 2009)

Site Description

A cemetery consisting of ten burials (GS 1-10), including one cart burial. The features excavated were very variable. Nine small barrows (five square and four round) all contained Middle Iron Age burials. The four round examples all contained 'speared corpe' burials. Of four larger barrows, only one contained a central Iron Age grave,

the cart burial. Another contained three Anglian graves, while the other two were empty (Stead 1991, 17).

Excavation

Excavated during 1985-6 by Stead as part of his investigation of East Yorkshire cemeteries (1991).

Bibliography

Stead 1991

Grimthorpe (British Museum)

Dates

360-160 cal.BC (Garrow *et al.* 2009)

Excavation

Excavated in 1868 by John Mortimer.

Site Description

The burial known as The Grimthorpe Warrior was found within an earlier hillfort.

Bibliography

Mortimer 1869, 1905, Stead 1968.

Hunmanby (Hull and East Riding Museum)

Dates

400-100BC

Excavation

Discovered during a land slip.

Site Description

Single chariot burial.

Kirkburn (British Museum)

Dates

400-100BC, 100BC-AD100

Site Description

Two groups of barrows were excavated in a large field. The first group was located in the centre of the field and included a cart burial (K5), and three smaller square barrows. K3 and 4 were roughly circular, and K3 included a single cause way across each of their ditches. An Anglian burial (K1) was also found in the barrow of the cart burial. A undated quarry and associated ditch were also found in this area. The

second group of features was located in the north-west corner of the field. A grave (K9) radiocarbon dated to a Bronze Age date was found in the centre of a large oval enclosure, the ditch of which contained a single sherd of Neolithic pottery. A second, large square enclosure cuts one corner of the oval enclosure, and is thought to be Bronze Age. Two ring ditches containing horses were found within the oval enclosure and these were dated to the 1st or early 2nd century AD. An additional ring ditch and four more square barrows were located in the vicinity (Stead 1991, 23-27).

One burial at Kirkburn was of the later east-west orientated group.

Excavation

Excavated in 1987 as part of Ian Stead's investigation of East Yorkshire cemeteries (1991).

Bibliography

Stead 1991; Stead 2006 (Kirkburn sword), Garrow *et al.* 2009 (dating).

Makeshift (British Museum)

Dating

400-100BC, 100BC-AD100

Site Description

A large cemetery located between Rudston and Burton Fleming, centring on a field known as Makeshift, containing burials R1-189. The shapes, sizes and spacing of barrows varied across different areas of the site. As explained in chapter 5, two distinct phases of burial are present at this site. Most graves are orientated north-south, as is typical of Middle Iron Age burials from East Yorkshire, but 54 burials at Makeshift were orientated east-west. The east-west burials commonly contained weapons and iron tools, as opposed to the pots and brooches common in north-south graves, and pork instead of lamb. Based on stratigraphy and on the dating of certain grave goods, Stead proposes that the east-west graves represent a later group of burials (Stead 1991, 35-6).

Excavation

Excavated by Ian Stead as part of his excavation of cemeteries in Rudston and Burton Fleming (1991). Six sample areas were excavated. 154 barrows were excavated. 16 were not uncovered to the extent where a central burial could be uncovered and in 11, no central grave had survived. Some burials were excavated from barrow ditches.

Bibliography

Stead 1991.

Melton (OnSite Archaeology)

Dates

3rd Millennium BC – Medieval period. Phase 3B is 1st C BC–1st C AD.

Excavation

Excavations associated with a road scheme on the A63 at Melton, East Yorkshire, carried out by OnSite Archaeology and funded by the Highways Agency.

Site Description

A multi-period landscape with sites and features dating from between the 3rd millennium BC and the Medieval period. Many features of the 1st millennium BC are of generic dates, due to the undiagnostic later prehistoric pot found within them. The Late Iron Age phase, 3B consists of a ladder settlement with structures, pits and boundaries. The principle roundhouse had fallen out of use by the mid-1st century BC. A single square barrow, containing a female burial was located close to the settlement, although the central grave didn't align with the square ditch, interestingly. A Coritauvi gold stater (AD10-40) in the upper fill of the ditch of the grave suggests a date later than the main burial tradition in East Yorkshire.

Bibliography

Fenton-Thomas 2011

Middleton-on-the Wold (Hull and East Riding Museum)

Dates

400-100BC

Excavation

Discovered during the construction of a railway in the latter 19th century.

Site Description

A probable chariot burial. A single linch pin and a quantity of bones and rusted iron were given to Mortimer.

Bibliography

Stead 1965.

North Grimston, North Yorkshire (Hull and East Riding Museum)

Dates

Non-anthropoid word 50BC-AD50 (Celtic Art Database)

Excavation

Accidentally found in 1902.

Site Description

An isolated 'warrior burial' containing male remains with two swords, one of which has a distinctive anthropoid hilt, and fragments of shield fittings.

Bibliography

Mortimer 1905.

Opposite Argam Lane, Burton Fleming (British Museum)

Dates

400-100BC

Site Description

A group of 22 square barrows (Burials BF1-22), all containing central graves, aligned in two rows parallel with the Gypsy Race (a water course). Aerial photographs show a pit alignment crossing the group of barrows to the south of the excavated area and Stead suggests this may be Roman (1991, 17).

Excavation

Excavated as part of Ian Stead's investigation of East Yorkshire cemeteries (1991).

Bibliography

Stead 1991.

Pexton Moor, North Yorkshire (Yorkshire Museum)

Dates

400-100BC

Excavation

A tyre was discovered under a small barrow in 1911, and the rest of the barrow was excavated in 1935.

Site Description

An intact chariot burial. Surviving components are a bridle bit, two nave hoops and one wheel.

Bibliography

Stead 1959.

Rudston Villa East Site (Hull and East Riding Museum)

Dates

100BC-AD100 (and later). Roundhouses, ditches and pits dating to the first century AD and a ditch and bank and associated chalk terrace post-dating these.

Site Description

Rudston Villa East Site is the first phase of occupation of Rudston Villa, a substantial complex of Roman buildings. Like many Roman settlements in East Yorkshire its origins lie in the late Iron Age, and the earliest occupation here dates to the first century AD. East Site consists of a series of six circular huts, represented by drainage gullies, four of which may have been occupied simultaneously. Pits containing animal bones were also present, as were larger straight ditches. Four infant burials belong to this phase of occupation. The majority of finds come from within or above the gullies and ditches, while several are associated with a ditch, bank and chalk terrace that post-date this phase of activity.

Excavation

The site was discovered in 1933 when a mosaic was uncovered through ploughing. A.M. Woodward of Sheffield University supervised two seasons of excavation in 1933 and 34 and during his third season in 1935, Kenneth Steer took over and oversaw two further seasons in 1936 and 1937. In 1962 the finds and mosaics from the site were gifted by the landowner, Henry Robson to Hull Museums and in 1963 the mosaics were displayed for the public. One stipulation in the agreement to move the mosaics to the museum was that the site should be fully excavated at the expense of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments and Ian Stead began this work in 1962. Stead's excavations took place during 1962-66, 1970 and 1972 and following his move to the British Museum in 1974, he decided to publish the results.

Bibliography

Stead 1980.

Sewerby Cottage Farm (OnSite Archaeology)

Dates

Neolithic, Late Iron Age and Early Romano-British.

Excavation

Excavated by On-Site Archaeology between 1999 and 2004 ahead of a residential housing development.

Site Description

Excavations uncovered a rare Neolithic settlement and Late Iron Age activity, which included the enclosure of land by boundaries. A Late Iron Age square barrow contained a dagger and a settlement built up nearby. Late Iron Age settlement evidence included crop driers and other agricultural processing evidence, and was occupied until the 2nd or early 3rd century AD. The site was later reoccupied during the Anglo-Saxon period.

Bibliography

Fenton-Thomas 2009

South Cave (Beverley Treasure House)

Dates

c. AD70

Excavation

Discovered by metal detectorists in 2002 and excavated by the Humber Archaeological Partnership.

Site Description

A hoard consisting of five sword in scabbards, 33 spearheads and a number of Dressel 20 amphora sherds, buried in a pit close to the boundary of a Late Iron Age hilltop enclosure.

Bibliography

Powell in prep.

The Enclosure, Rudston (British Museum)

Dates

100BC-AD100 (several features also AD100-200)

Excavation

Excavated by Rigby as part of the British Museum Yorkshire Settlements Project between 1988 and 1991. Two sections of enclosure ditch and one of the ring ditch were excavated, along with 4 pits.

Site Description

A rectangular enclosure, 90x64m, with a ring ditch inside, measuring 18m in diameter.

Bibliography

Rigby 2004

Wetwang/Garton Slack (Hull and East Riding Museum)

Dates

Neolithic – Roman.

Excavation

The site was discovered in 1849 – 52 during the construction of a railway, when workers uncovered 'British weapons and burials' (Brewster 1980, 1). The first formal excavation was carried out by John Mortimer, who excavated Barrow 37 of his series between 1865 and 71 (ref). During 1963 quarrying work recommenced on the site and, following the discovery of burials the East Riding Archaeological Research Committee began excavations in 1965. The committee carried out rescue excavations, led by T.C.M. Brewster, for the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments in advance of major gravel extraction. In 1969 it was decided the area should be scheduled and totally excavated in advance of any further gravel extraction but at this point the East Riding Archaeological Research Committee withdrew direction and funding and work continued until 1975 at a reduced rate due to lack of funds (Brewster 1980, I-IV).

Brewster excavated 35 separate sites in the slack, numbered Garton Slack I and II-XXXI and Wetwang Slack I-V, and his report discusses each one individually, though he does also discuss certain aspects of the site as a whole.

After 1975 the Humberside Archaeological Committee took over the excavation and administration of the site, with John Dent as the field director. Excavations continued until 1981 (Dent 1984).

Site Description

This site, or series of sites, is located in a broad, shallow valley known locally as a 'slack, situated between the villages of Wetwang and Garton. Due to the nature of the excavation (see below), large parts of the slack were totally excavated, revealing Neolithic evidence, including a long barrow; Bronze Age graves; an Iron Age square barrow cemetery, including a chariot burial, a large Middle Iron Age open settlement and Late Iron Age and Roman occupation, including a deep Roman Well.

Bibliography

Despite it being such an important site, Wetwang/Garton Slack has never been published as a single site, although a Historic England funded project to carry out this work is currently underway at the University of Bradford and the Hull and East Riding Museum. Brewster's report exists as a microfiche (Brewster 1980) and it is from

this that I have taken information on the objects from the site. Dent's MPhil thesis on the graves he excavated at Wetwang Slack is also available online (Dent 1984).

Wetwang Village (British Museum)

Dates

355-110 cal.BC (Garrow *et al* 2009).

Site Description

This site consists of a single chariot burial, containing the body of a mature woman. Along with the metal fittings from the chariots, the burial also contained an iron mirror, and a number of small blue glass beads.

The burial is located on the east side of the village of Wetwang, on a prominent hill overlooking Wetwang Slack and the three chariot burials excavated by John Dent in 1984. JD Hill remarks that this hilltop position is unusual for Iron Age burials in East Yorkshire (Hill 2002, 410).

Excavation

This burial was discovered during the excavation of a Medieval manorial complex ahead of the construction of a housing estate in 2001. It was excavated by staff from the British Museum and Guildhouse Consultancy with funding from English Heritage.

Bibliography

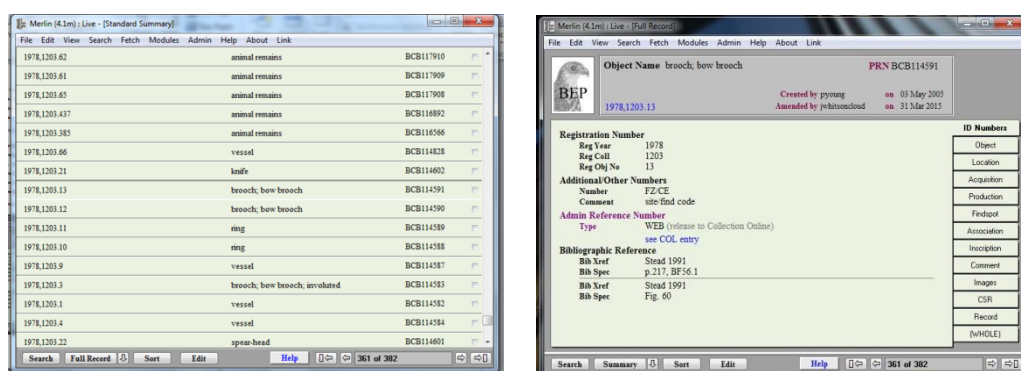
Hill 2001; 2002.

Appendix II: Collecting and Collating Data

Producing the database for this project has involved a process of integrating existing information from many different sources, as the sites listed above have been excavated by a number of different archaeologists and data has been recorded and stored in many different ways. Whilst much of my data collection has involved manually extracting data from written reports, I was able to export directly data from the British Museum database (Merlin) and the PAS database. These two methods of data collection will be explained briefly below.

Objects in the British Museum

Data on objects held by the British Museum were taken from Merlin, the British Museum digital database. Data on Merlin appears in a number of ways. The images below show both the Summary view, which appears as a list, and Full Record view, where all the information stored about each object in Merlin can be accessed.



Figures 5.8 and 5.9: Merlin Summary view (L) and Full Record view (R).

Merlin has been used to export data on all the relevant objects from each site directly to an Excel spreadsheet. It is possible to select the fields to appear in exported spreadsheets in Merlin (as there are many possibilities). The fields selected to appear in the spreadsheet for this project are shown in the images below.

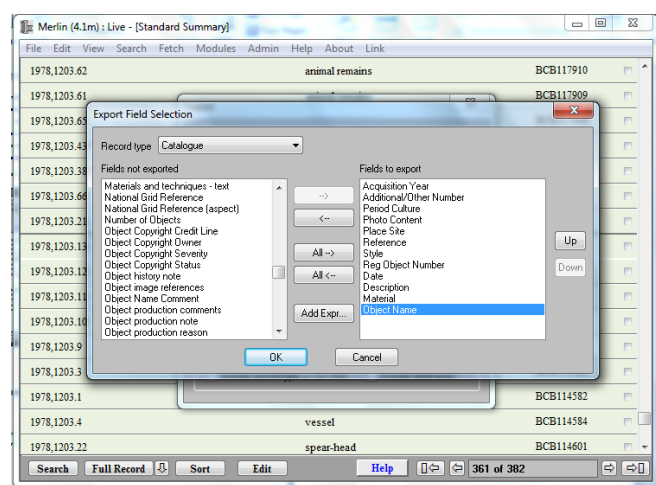


Figure 5.10: Fields selected to appear in the Excel spreadsheet for British Museum objects.

B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M					
Acquisitor	Reg	Objec	Additional/	Date	Object	Nar	Material	Description	Period	Cul	Photo	Con	Place	Site	Reference	Style
1990	HA/FE		347		human	ske	human	bor	Human	ski	Iron	Age		Pit 22		
1990	HA/DA		346		human	ske	human	bor	Human	ski	Iron	Age		North ditch,	Barrow C	
1990	HA/BQ		345		human	ske	human	bor	Human	ski	Iron	Age		Pit 20		
1990	HA/GK		341		animal	renr	mammal	b	Animal	ren	Iron	Age		Pit HA29		
1990	HA/GH		339		animal	renr	mammal	b	Animal	ren	Iron	Age		Pit HA29		
1990	HA/GD		335		animal	renr	mammal	b	Animal	ren	Iron	Age		Pit HA29		
1990	HA/GC		334		animal	renr	mammal	b	Animal	ren	Iron	Age		Pit HA29		
1990	HA/FZ		331		animal	renr	mammal	b	Animal	ren	Iron	Age		Pit HA29		
1990	HA/FL		319		animal	renr	mammal	b	Animal	ren	Iron	Age		Pit HA29		
1990	HA/GA		333		animal	renr	mammal	b	Animal	ren	Iron	Age		Pit HA31		
1990	HA/FZ		332		animal	renr	mammal	b	Animal	ren	Iron	Age		Pit HA31		
1990	HA/FS		325		animal	renr	mammal	b	Animal	ren	Iron	Age		Pit HA26		
1990	HA/FQ		323		animal	renr	mammal	b	Animal	ren	Iron	Age		Pit HA26		
1990	HA/FJ		317		animal	renr	mammal	b	Animal	ren	Iron	Age		Pit HA26		
1990	HA/FH		316		animal	renr	mammal	b	Animal	ren	Iron	Age		Pit HA26		
1990	HA/EP		306		animal	renr	mammal	b	Animal	ren	Iron	Age		Pit HA26		
1990	HA/EK		305		animal	renr	mammal	b	Animal	ren	Iron	Age		Pit HA26		
1990	HA/EJ		304		animal	renr	mammal	b	Animal	ren	Iron	Age		Pit HA26		
1990	HA/EH		303		animal	renr	mammal	b	Animal	ren	Iron	Age		Pit HA26		
1990	HA/DJ		285		animal	renr	mammal	b	Animal	ren	Iron	Age		Pit HA26		
1990	HA/GJ		340		animal	renr	mammal	b	Animal	ren	Iron	Age		Pit HA25		

Figure 5.11: The Excel spread sheet directly exported from Merlin.

The following fields have been added for the purpose of this project, where the information exists:

Pattern?

Colour?

Style

Use-wear

The information in these additional fields has been obtained through reference to images within Merlin (not all objects in Merlin have images, but they are all described in text. Those with pattern tend to have images). Description and images in published literature (e.g. Stead 1991) has also been used to verify and augment information within the existing fields. The British Museum Celtic Art Database has also been used as a source of extra information on metal objects. Decorative styles (e.g. vegetal, ring-and-dot, cordoning) have been noted individually.

It must be noted that for the cemetery sites that make up part of the BM collection of Iron Age East Yorkshire material, the search results include a high proportion of human remains. Animal remains and geological samples are also present at many BM sites. These are being noted in the database so that the accession numbers are accounted for, but not recorded in detail, as it is only necessary to record information on man-made or worked objects for this project. Search results also often include non-Iron Age material or more general Later Prehistoric material, which again will be noted for the same reason, but not described in detail or analysed as part of my dataset.

Objects from The Portable Antiquities Scheme

As with the British Museum data, the Portable Antiquities Scheme online database has been used to export the relevant data to an Excel spread sheet. The image below shows the search terms and results, and the resulting spread sheet.

Figure 5.12: Search results from the PAS database.

Clipboard	Font	Alignment	Number	Styles													
B01																	
	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S
1	old_findID	secuid	objecttype	classification	subClass	quantity	otherRef	smRef	TID	broadperiod	fromdate	todate	periodFrom	subperiod	periodTo	subperiod	culture
2	YORYM-2	PAS5432	TOGGLE			1				IRON AGE	-100	150	IRON AGE	Late	ROMAN		
3	YORYM-4	PAS5432	UNIDENTIFIED OBJECT			1				IRON AGE	-200	43	IRON AGE				
4	YORYM-4	PAS53E4	HARNESSE FITTING			1				IRON AGE	-400	-100	IRON AGE				
5	PUBLIC-0	PAS53E0	POT			1				IRON AGE	-300	410	IRON AGE	Late	ROMAN	Early	
6	NLM-370	PAS5373	STRAP F	Strap union		1	NLM25358			IRON AGE	-100	42	IRON AGE	Late	IRON AGE	Late	
7	YORYM-7	PAS5357	STRAP FITTING			1				IRON AGE	-100	100	IRON AGE	Late	ROMAN		
8	YORYM-6	PAS5356	COSMETIC PESTLE			1				IRON AGE	-100	200	IRON AGE		ROMAN		
9	YORYM-7	PAS5371	BROOCH	Colchester		1				IRON AGE	-25	60	IRON AGE		ROMAN		
10	YORYM-7	PAS5307	TOGGLE			1				IRON AGE	-100	100	IRON AGE	Late	ROMAN		
11	YORYM-7	PAS5307	UNIDENTIFIED OBJECT			1				IRON AGE	-100	150	IRON AGE	Late	ROMAN		
12	YORYM-7	PAS5307	HARNESSE	Terret		1				IRON AGE	-100	150	IRON AGE	Late	ROMAN		
13	YORYM-6	PAS5306	BROOCH	La Tene I		1				IRON AGE	-400	-200	IRON AGE				
14	DUR-36C1	PAS5303	BROOCH	Alesia		1				IRON AGE							
15	PUBLIC-7	PAS5257	MOUNT			1				IRON AGE	-300	100	IRON AGE	Late	ROMAN	Early	
16	YORYM-6	PAS5256	BROOCH	Colchester		1				IRON AGE	-25	75	IRON AGE	Late	ROMAN	Early	
17	YORYM-6	PAS5256	COIN			1				IRON AGE	-200	-100	IRON AGE				
18	YORYM-6	PAS524E	COIN	HOARD		5		2013735		IRON AGE							
19	YORYM-6	PAS524D	VESSEL			1				IRON AGE	-800	-100	IRON AGE	Early	IRON AGE	Late	
20	YORYM-6	PAS520C	COIN			1				IRON AGE	-45	-10	IRON AGE				
21	YORYM-6	PAS51F8	COIN			1				IRON AGE	-50	-20	IRON AGE				
22	YORYM-6	PAS51F6	TOGGLE			1				IRON AGE	-400	42	IRON AGE	Middle	IRON AGE	Late	
23	YORYM-6	PAS51ED	COIN			1				IRON AGE	15	40	IRON AGE	Middle	IRON AGE	Late	
24	YORYM-6	PAS51ED	BROOCH	Colchester (one-pile)		1				IRON AGE	25	75	IRON AGE	Late	ROMAN	Early	
25	YORYM-2	PAS51D2	TOGGLE			1				IRON AGE	-400	43	IRON AGE	Middle	IRON AGE	Late	
26	YORYM-2	PAS51D3	TOGGLE			1				IRON AGE	-300	43	IRON AGE	Middle	IRON AGE	Late	
27	YORYM-6	PAS51C5	SPINULE	VHORI		1				IRON AGE	-800	410	IRON AGE	Early	IRON AGE		
28	YORYM-6	PAS51C8	MOUNT			1				IRON AGE	-120	80	IRON AGE				
29	YORYM-6	PAS51C9	STRAP FITTING			1				IRON AGE	-100	100	IRON AGE				
30	LANCUM	PAS51A5	FOB			1				IRON AGE	-100	200	IRON AGE	Late	ROMAN	Middle	
31	LANCUM	PAS51504	VESSEL			1				IRON AGE	-800	410	IRON AGE	Early	ROMAN	Late	
32	YORYM-6	PAS5146	COIN			1				IRON AGE	-50	-30	IRON AGE				
33	YORYM-6	PAS513F1	MIRROR			1				IRON AGE	-800	-100	IRON AGE				
34	YORYM-7	PAS5127E	MOUNT	Vessel		1				IRON AGE	43	410	ROMAN	Early	MEDIEVA	Late	

Figure 5.13: An example of an Excel spread exported from the PAS.

Unlike with Merlin, there is not an option to select the specific fields/variables that will appear in the exported spread sheet, so all the fields present within the database appeared initially. There are 66 of these fields, many of which are not directly relevant to this project. These have all been retained, but the majority have been removed from the working database. Those to appear here relate primarily to the objects, rather than the circumstances of finding and recording and will be as follows: id, uri, old_findID, secuid, objecttype, quantity, broadperiod, fromdate, todate, periodFromName, subperiodFrom, periodToName, subperiodTo, description, parish, fourFigure, imagedir, created, updated.

As with the British Museum data, the following fields have also been added for the purpose of this project:

Pattern?

Colour?

Style

Use-wear

A review of the dating of objects within the section of my dataset taken from the Portable Antiquities Scheme, is included within chapter 5 (or 4?) along with a consideration of the specific biases associated with the use of this material. This review will aim to increase the precision of vague dates, through comparison with other objects outside the PAS database and with existing typologies, and characterise the assemblage as a whole.

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