

## Burials with Weapons in Iron Age Britain

By John Ralph Collis, Sheffield

Male burials accompanied by weapons – sword, shield, spear, knife and exceptionally helmet – are a regular feature in the Early and Middle la Tène inhumation cemeteries from the Marne to Slovakia. In Britain however, cemeteries of this period are rare, and warrior burials are completely unknown. Late la Tène cemeteries are more widespread in southern England, but nowhere does the regular burial rite include weapons as grave-goods. In fact until recently only a dozen indisputable burials with weapons were recorded, and so the discovery of three new burials in Hampshire and Dorset provides a useful opportunity to consider these warrior burials in their cultural and chronological context, as well as to publish one, that from Owslebury, for the first time.

### Burial Rites

We must first consider the normal burial rites that occur in such cemeteries as we know. These fall into three main groups (*fig. 1*):

#### 1. The Arras rite<sup>1</sup>

Only in the very restricted area of the eastern Wolds in Yorkshire are burials found which are comparable with the Early and Middle la Tène cemeteries of central Europe, and then only in a few exotic characteristics. The burial rite is crouched inhumation under a small low barrow. Usually there are no grave-goods, but coarse plain pottery vessels, brooches and bracelets turn up sporadically. The occurrence of square ditched enclosures around individual barrows, of cart burials, and of three-linked horse bits show specific affinities with the Marne, but most characteristics are purely local. The burials may start in la Tène Ib (Cowlam), but the majority are later, and Eastburn, the only cemetery containing burials with weapons, is probably Late la Tène.

#### 2. The Aylesford-Swarling rite<sup>2</sup>

In south-east England, from Hampshire in the west, to Cambridge in the north, occur Late la Tène flat cremation cemeteries similar to those in contemporary northern Gaul. Ratios of urned and unurned cremations vary from cemetery to cemetery, and rarely extended inhumations are found, as at St. Albans, or tumulus burials, at Lexden and Hurstbourne Tarrant. Pottery vessels occur in almost every grave, and brooches are not uncommon. The richest burials also include imported bronze vessels, Roman wine amphorae and fire-dogs. The group starts late in the first century B.C. and continues into the Roman period, and is intimately associated with the oppida as at St. Albans<sup>3</sup> and Colchester.

<sup>1</sup> I. M. Stead, *The la Tène Cultures of Eastern Yorkshire* (1965).

<sup>2</sup> A. Birchall, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 31, 1965, 241 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Stead, *Antiquity* 43, 1969, 49 ff.



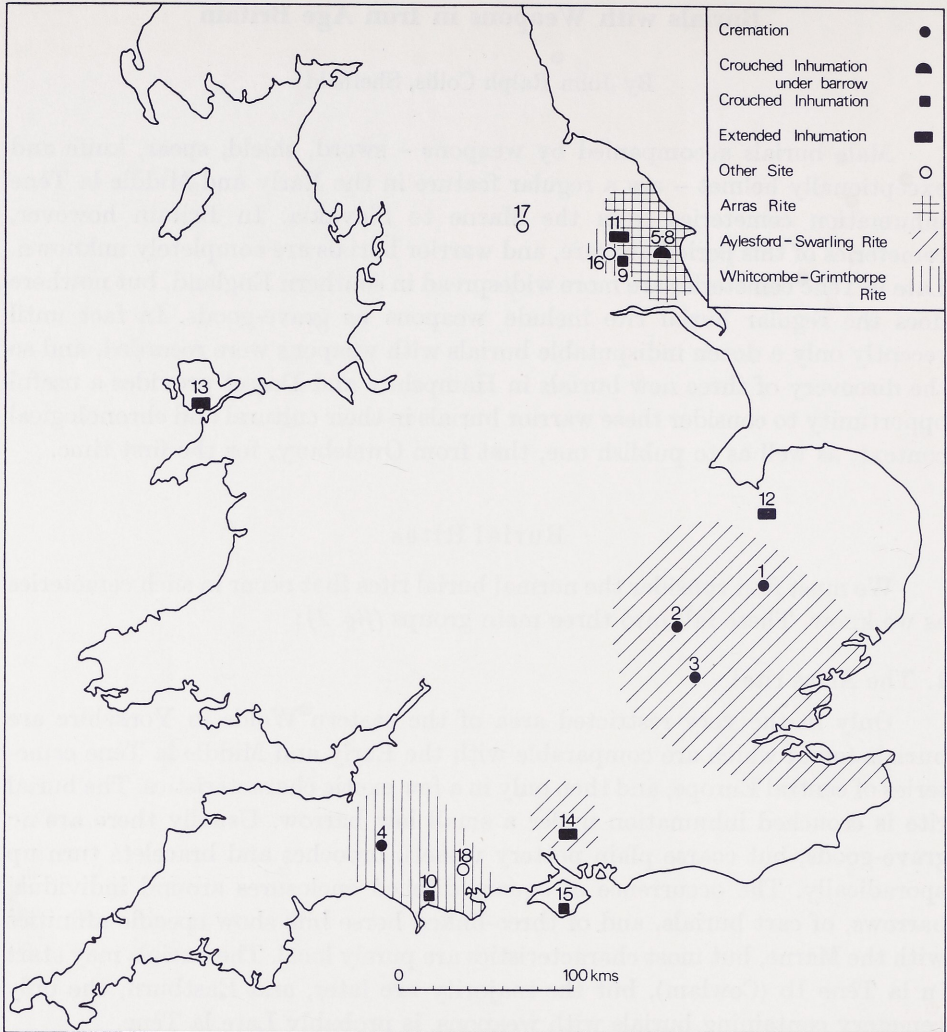


Fig. 1. Map of burial rites and warrior burials in Britain.

### 3. The Whitcombe-Grimthorpe rite<sup>4</sup>

The burial rite of crouched inhumation without a barrow is found sporadically in western and northern England. The largest group of burials is centred on Dorset and Somerset, and is to be associated with the historical tribe of Durotriges. Well known cemetery sites include Jordan Hill near Weymouth and the war cemetery at Maiden Castle, but more recently excavated sites include Whitcombe in Dorset and Christon<sup>5</sup> in Somerset. Pottery accessory vessels form the main grave-goods, up to two or three vessels in each grave. The burials are contemporary with the final stages of the hill forts. Rarely cremations occur as at Ham Hill.

<sup>4</sup> J. W. Brailsford, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 24, 1958, 101 ff.

<sup>5</sup> P. J. Fowler, *Arch. Review* 5, 1970, 8.



The Grimthorpe burials<sup>6</sup> are very similar, though pottery vessels do not occur, probably due to the generally insignificant part pottery plays in the Iron Age cultures of northern Britain. Geographically these burials are totally distinct from the Arras group, being confined to the western slopes of the Wolds. Again dateable finds are of Late la Tène character. The only well documented cemetery, at Grimthorpe, lay within an earlier hill fort.

Other isolated burials with various rites occur, such as the crouched inhumations in cists at Harlyn Bay, Cornwall<sup>7</sup>, or those from Mount Batten, Plymouth<sup>8</sup>. Mention must also be made of the sword and chape, from Ebberston<sup>9</sup> in Yorkshire, supposedly found with bones. If this was indeed an inhumation, it is the only warrior burial dating to Hallstatt C in Britain – the bronze sword is of Gündlingen type, and the chape is pouch-shaped. Otherwise, all the burials listed below belong to the Late la Tène or early Roman periods.

### List of burials

The burials containing weapons are listed according to burial rite. The letters and numbers following the site name form the reference to the National Grid of the Ordnance Survey. The museum where the finds have been deposited, a list of the major grave-goods and the context of the burial are then given. The data is summarized in *table 1*.

#### Cremation burials

1. Snailwell, Cambridgeshire. TL 645675. Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge. – T. C. Lethbridge, *Proc. Cambridge Antiqu. Soc.* 47, 1953, 25ff. This rich burial contained three Roman amphorae and thirteen other vessels, mainly Gallo-Belgic wares, a spiral bronze bracelet with zoomorphic terminals, a bronze bowl, a buckle, bone toggles, and a triangular iron knife. The cremated bones were placed on a wooden litter. A 'high conical' shield boss was the only weapon in the grave. The burial, which must date to a decade or so before the Roman conquest, was an isolated discovery.
2. Stanfordsbury, Northamptonshire. TL 148412. Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge. – Sir Henry Dryden, *Publications of the Cambridge Arch. Soc.* 1–8, 1845; C. F. Fox, *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (1923). The surviving finds include an amphora (originally six), three samian cups of Claudian date, a bronze jug (Eggers 124–125), a bronze patella (Eggers 137–138), two iron fire dogs, a tripod and spits, a bone flute and some gaming pieces. A bronze boss with a central point resembles that from Snailwell, though it lacks the flange round the base. A second rich burial was found nearby.
3. Welwyn Garden City, Hertfordshire. TL 254131. British Museum. – I. M. Stead, *Archaeologia* 101, 1967, 1ff.

<sup>6</sup> Stead, *op. cit.* (note 1).

<sup>7</sup> O. G. S. Crawford, *The Antiqu. Journal* 1, 1921, 283.

<sup>8</sup> P. J. Clarke, *Proc. Devon Arch. Soc.* 29, 1971, 137ff.

<sup>9</sup> J. D. Cowen, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 33, 1967, 377ff.



Iron Age Warrior Burials in Britain			BURIAL RITE	CEMETERY	WEAPONS	GRAVE GOODS
●	Definite		Cremation Inhumation, Crouched, Barrow Inhumation, Crouched, Flat Inhumation, Extended	Cremation Barrow Flat Inhumation	Long Sword Anthropoid Sword Short Sword Spear Shield	Belt - Hook Buckle Sword Rings Discs Studs Pottery
○	Doubtful					
?	Unknown					
1	SNAILWELL	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	●			
2	STANFORDBURY	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	●			●
3	WELWYN GARDEN CITY	HERTFORDSHIRE	●	●		○
4	HAM HILL	SOMERSET	●		●	● ● ● ● ● ●
5	EASTBURN 7	YORKSHIRE	●	●		
6	EASTBURN 8	YORKSHIRE	●	●	●	
7	EASTBURN 11	YORKSHIRE	●	●		○
8	EASTBURN 12	YORKSHIRE	●	●		○
9	GRIMTHORPE	YORKSHIRE	●	●	●	● ● ● ● ● ●
10	WHITCOMBE	DORSET	●	●	●	●
11	NORTH GRIMSTON	YORKSHIRE	●		● ● ● ● ● ●	○ ● ● ● ● ●
12	SHOULDHAM	NORFOLK	●		●	
13	GELLINIOG WEN	ANGLESEY	●		●	○
14	OWSLEBURY	HAMPSHIRE	●	●	● ● ● ● ● ●	● ● ● ● ● ●
15	ST. LAWRENCE	ISLE OF WIGHT	○		● ● ● ● ● ●	● ● ● ● ● ●
16	BUGTHORPE	YORKSHIRE	?		● ● ● ● ● ●	● ● ● ● ● ●
17	CLOTHERHOLME	YORKSHIRE	?		● ● ● ● ● ●	

Table 1. List of warrior burials.

The grave-goods of this rich cremation burial included five amphorae, thirty-six vessels (none are Gallo-Belgic), a silver cup, a bronze strainer, a bronze dish, a triangular iron knife and twenty-four glass gaming pieces. There was also a rectangular wooden board with a central iron boss. Stead suggested this board was associated with the gaming pieces, but in view of the shields at Stanfordbury and Snailwell, the interpretation as a shield must be considered. A vague parallel for the boss occurs at Bránov, okres Rakovník, Bohemia (J. Filip, *Keltové ve střední Evropě* [1956] fig. 101). The cremation was that of a man about twenty-five years of age. The burial was part of a cemetery, the other burials containing only single vessels.

4. Ham Hill, Somerset. ST 478170. Taunton Museum. - R. H. Walter, *The Antiquary Journal* 3, 1923, 149f.

The cremation was found in a shallow hole lined with chalk, and sealed with clay. The dagger had an anthropoid hilt with shale discs forming the grip, and was in a sheath of tinned bronze. Two bronze rings were presumably for suspension. Other grave-goods include a bronze buckle, an iron arrow-head, several flat- or dome-headed studs, an iron adze-head, a strip of bronze border, and some plain and decorated sherds, which no longer survive. The grave lay inside a hill fort.



## Crouched inhumations under barrows

5.-8. Eastburn, Yorkshire. TA 007564. Hull Museum. - T. Sheppard, *The Yorkshire Arch. Journal* 34, 1938, 35ff.; I. M. Stead, *The la Tène Cultures of Eastern Yorkshire* (1965) *passim*.

5. Eastburn 7: The only grave-good was an iron spear.
6. Eastburn 8: The inhumation was accompanied by a short pointed iron sword.
7. Eastburn 11: A short length of bronze tube has been compared with the two tubes from the Grimthorpe burial which seem to be covers for the central spina on the shield.
8. Eastburn 12: This contained a similar bronze tube.

These burials formed part of an Arras cemetery of crouched inhumations under small barrows, defined by ring ditches. Most of the other graves had no grave-goods, but bracelets are of Late la Tène type.

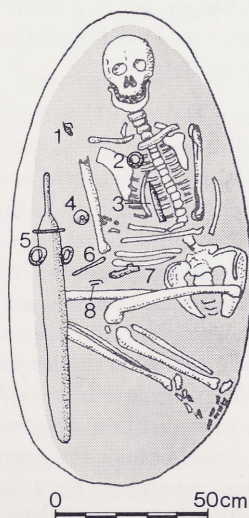
## Crouched inhumations

9. Grimthorpe, Yorkshire. SE 816535. British Museum. - J. R. Mortimer, *Forty Years Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire* (1905); I. M. Stead, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 34, 1968, 148ff.

This inhumation of a young man formed part of a small cemetery of five burials inside the remains of an earlier hill fort. None of the others produced grave-goods. The weapons were a small iron spear, the bronze fittings from a wooden shield, and an iron sword with a scabbard with a bronze chape and edgings. There were also sixteen bone points, a bronze disc, a bronze pin with a chalk bead and two bronze studs.

Fig. 2. Plan of the burial from Whitcombe, Dorset. Scale 1:25.

- 1 Bronze fibula
- 2 Circular belthook
- 3 Iron spearhead
- 4 Circular lump of chalk
- 5 Iron sword
- 6 Iron tool
- 7 Iron hammer
- 8 Broken bronze object



10. Whitcombe, Dorset. SY 711881. County Museum, Dorchester. - G. M. Aitken and I. M. Stead, *Proc. Dorset Natural Hist. and Arch. Soc.* (forthcoming).



This crouched inhumation (*fig. 2*) formed part of a small cemetery of similar burials, mainly without grave-goods, though one produced a samian vessel. A small settlement lay around, and there was also a military Roman tombstone and a stone building. The grave-goods consisted of:

(a) a bronze fibula of Middle la Tène construction; (b) a circular belthook of bronze; (c) an iron spearhead; (d) a circular lump of chalk with a hole; (e) a broad iron sword with wooden scabbard, bronze guard and two iron suspension rings; (f) a broken iron tool of unknown use; (g) an iron hammer; (h) a broken bronze object of unknown purpose.

#### Extended inhumations

11. North Grimston, Yorkshire. SE 829669. Hull Museum. – J. R. Mortimer, *Forty Years Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire* (1905) 354ff.

The inhumation lay with its head to the south, in a shallow grave. A pig skeleton lay on the left. Two swords were found, one short with a bronze anthropoid hilt, the other long, with bell-shaped hilt and an iron scabbard. Fragments of two bronze tubes (one with rivets) similar to those from Grimthorpe may come from a shield. Two iron suspension rings, a circular belt-hook similar to that from Owslebury, but lacking the wings, an amber ring and part of a jet ring were the other grave-goods.

12. Shouldham, Norfolk. TF 684086. Norwich Castle Museum. – R. R. Clarke and C. F. C. Hawkes, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 21, 1955, 198ff.

The iron sword with bronze anthropoid hilt was found lying across the chest of an extended inhumation. No other grave-goods are recorded.

13. Gelliniog Wen, Anglesey. SH 459658. National Museum of Wales, Cardiff. – H. Hughes, *Arch. Cambrensis* 9, 1909, 256ff.

The inhumation lay in a stone cist with its head to the west. The long iron sword had an iron scabbard, and there is also a fragmentary iron ring, perhaps from a belt suspension.

14. Owslebury, Hants. SU 525246. Hampshire Museum Service. – J. R. Collis, *The Antiqu. Journal* 48, 1968, 18ff.; 50, 1970, 246ff.

This burial (No. 39) was of a man aged between 40–50 years<sup>10</sup>. He lay extended on his back with his head to the north (*fig. 3*) inside a small rectangular enclosure. There was a thin film of charcoal, including one charred cereal grain, around the bones. The grave-goods (*fig. 4*) consisted of:

(a) A spear with iron blade, iron ferrule, and a piece of bronze strip wrapped round the shaft. The point of the spear had been thrust into the side of the grave, but the ferrule was found at the knees, suggesting the spear was too long for the grave, and had been broken in two (*fig. 4, 1*).

(b) An iron sword in a wooden scabbard with leather binding (*fig. 4, 2*).

(c) Two bronze rings for connecting the baldrick to the strap from which the sword was suspended (*fig. 4, 3, 4*).

(d) A belthook for the baldrick, of tinned or silvered bronze (*fig. 4, 5*). Several

<sup>10</sup> Based on a report by Dr. C. Wells, Norwich.



similar examples are known from England (Hod Hill<sup>11</sup> Hengistbury Head<sup>12</sup> as well as burials mentioned above), but this one is unique in having projections or 'wings' on either side of the button. This specific type has been discussed by J. Werner<sup>13</sup>, and the map (*fig. 5*) is based on his list. I have also added a number of examples (see appendix). The character of the object suggests it is a continental import, and Mr. M. Spratling also tells me that there is no other definite example of la Tène metal work with tinning in a pre-Roman context in England.

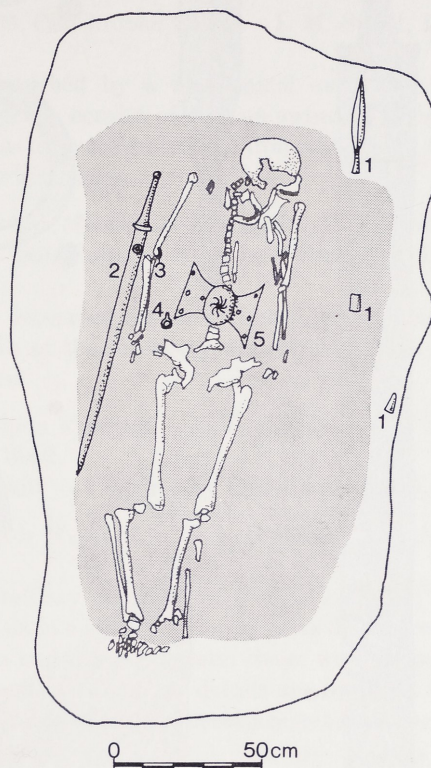


Fig. 3. Plan of the burial 39 from Owslebury, Hants. Scale 1:25.

- 1 Iron spearhead, ferrula and bronze strip
- 2 Iron sword
- 3 Bronze rings from sword belt
- 4 Silvered bronze belt hook
- 5 Bronze shield boss

(e) A wooden shield with a bronze boss<sup>14</sup> (*fig. 4, 6a-c*). Unfortunately no trace of the outline of the shield was observed, but pieces of wood were preserved under the boss, suggesting it was made from three vertical planks about 13 mm thick. One fragment which has been examined could not be identified, but its highly compressed appearance suggests it may be bark. The boss is of bronze as is normal on British examples. In shape it is a cross between the 'butterfly' shape of the late Middle la Tène strip examples, and the circular Late la Tène type with a central point. It is made from a single piece of bronze sheet, beaten into shape, though the point has been filled up by the addition of a small circular disc. It was nailed

<sup>11</sup> Brailsford, Hod Hill 1. *Antiquities from Hod Hill in the Durden Collection* (1962).

<sup>12</sup> J. P. Bushe Fox, *Excavations at Hengistbury Head, Hampshire, in 1911-12*. *Reports Research Comm. Soc. Antiqu. of London* 3 (1915).

<sup>13</sup> J. Werner, in: *Festschrift M. Hell* (1961) 143 ff.

<sup>14</sup> I am grateful to Dr. G. Ritchie for his comments on the shield, and Miss R. Jones for inspecting the wood.





Fig. 4. Owslebury, Hants. Grave goods from burial 39. 1 Iron spearhead. 2 Iron sword with traces of wooden scabbard. 3. 4 Bronze rings from sword belt. 5 Silvered bronze belt-hook. 6 Bronze shield boss; a. b vertical and side views; c. d crescent shaped bronze objects from shield; e example of the eight bronze studs from the shield boss. 1. 2 scale 1:5; 3-5. 6e scale 1:2; 6a-d scale 1:3.



to the shield by means of bronze studs (*fig. 4, 6e*). The top and bottom of the boss have been hollowed to fit over the central spina, and flush with the flanges were two crescent shaped fittings with milled edges (*fig. 4, 6c, d*), which strengthen projecting flanges on the boss, but whose function is unclear. The burial was the earliest in a small cremation cemetery of Late la Tène to early Roman date – the latest burial is Hadrianic. It belongs to a small farming settlement.

#### Unknown rites

15. St. Lawrence, Isle of Wight. SZ 533765. Carisbrooke Castle. – I. M. Stead, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 35, 1967, 351 ff.  
The inhumation burial had been disturbed by a mechanical excavator, but appeared to be crouched. The grave-goods consist of an iron sword in a sheath with a bronze guard, an iron shield boss with other strips of iron which may have formed fittings, an iron disc and three iron rings.
16. Bugthorpe, Yorkshire. SE 773580. British Museum. – S. Piggott, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 16, 1950, 1 ff.; I. M. Stead, *The la Tène Cultures of Eastern Yorkshire* (1965) *passim*.  
The finds consist of an iron sword in a decorated bronze scabbard, two enamelled discs and two bronze studs. No details of the discovery are recorded, but contemporary writers refer to it as a burial.
17. Clothholme, Yorkshire. SE 2872. Ripon Museum. – R. R. Clarke and C. F. C. Hawkes, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 21, 1955, 198 ff.  
This iron sword with iron anthropoid hilt was reportedly found with bones.
18. Spettisbury, Dorset. ST 916019. British Museum. – C. A. Gresham, *The Arch. Journal* 96, 1939, 114 ff.  
During 1857–58 the construction of a railway impinged on a small Iron Age fort. In one pit the remains of 80–90 skeletons in a state of disorder were discovered. A sword, spears, two fibulae, a cauldron and other domestic items were found. A second find of forty skeletons was found, of which no details are recorded. The finds apparently date to the Roman Conquest, and are certainly not from regular burials.

#### Discussion

As stated before, with the doubtful exception of Ebberston, all the warrior burials contain Late la Tène objects. The chronology for swords, shields and spears is at present so difficult that little can be gained from them, even in attempting to establish relative chronology. Owslebury must rank amongst the earliest burials. From its position it must be the earliest grave in the cemetery, while the cremation in the centre of the adjacent enclosure contains early Late la Tène pottery, pre-dating the appearance of Gallo-Belgic wares on the site. The beginning of the Late la Tène in southern England is marked by the adoption of wheel-turned pottery. At Hengistbury Head<sup>15</sup> at least, this must date to the mid first century B.C., as early Dressel I amphorae<sup>16</sup> occur and graphite-coated

<sup>15</sup> Bushe Fox, *loc. cit.* (note 12).

<sup>16</sup> D. Peacock, in: M. Jesson and D. Hill, *The Iron Age and its Hill Forts*. Papers presented to Sir Mortimer Wheeler (1972) 161–188.



pottery identical to that from a Caesarian context at Petit Celland<sup>17</sup>. The earliest wheel-turned pottery at Owslebury closely resembles some of the Hengistbury finds, and one transitional Middle to Late la Tène pit has produced an amphora fragment. On these grounds the warrior burial should date to about the mid first century B.C., if not earlier. The belt-hook from the grave can independently give some clue as to date – the general context on the continent seems to be Caesarean to Augustan. Whitcombe, with its Middle la Tène brooch is also likely to be early. The presence of a belt-hook is apparently an early feature (Owslebury, Whitcombe and North Grimston), while later graves usually contain a buckle (Snailwell, Ham Hill). Welwyn Garden City is also relatively early – the rich pottery finds included no Gallo-Belgic types, and it presumably dates to the last quarter of the first century B.C. Definitely late in date are Snailwell which contained Gallo-Belgic wares, and dates to about the time of the Roman conquest, and Standfordbury with its Claudian samian vessels. Thus in general, one can suggest that the inhumations all belong to the second half of the first century B.C., the cremations to the late first century B.C. and first century A.D.

Cremation and crouched inhumation are regular burial rites in Britain, but other than the warrior burials, extended inhumation is virtually unknown, further emphasizing the exceptional nature of these burials. It is strange that the Aylesford-Swarling burials of 'free' Britain should not contain weapons, while the almost identical burials of 'occupied' Gaul do so quite regularly. Even in the blatantly military context of the 'war cemetery' at Maiden Castle<sup>18</sup> the one weapon found was a Roman ballista bolt embedded in a dead man's spine. The only other 'weapon' in the cemetery (called an 'axe' by the excavator) is in fact a triangular knife, such as was found at Snailwell and Welwyn Garden City, in cremation burials at Owslebury and St. Albans<sup>19</sup>, as well as on the continent e.g. Lipenice, Prague<sup>20</sup>. It is certainly not a warlike object.

Five of the graves, Owslebury, St. Lawrence, Whitcombe, Grimthorpe and North Grimstone are of warriors buried with full equipment. The sword is the most vital item and was suspended by means of a leather strap which passed through a hook on the back of the scabbard, and this was attached to the belt proper by means of two rings of bronze or iron. The 'belt' may have been a baldrick, with the sword scabbard suspended over the right shoulder. In the only two graves with belt fittings where the position of the sword has been accurately planned (Owslebury and Whitcombe) it was found by the right shoulder rather than at the waist. S. Piggott<sup>21</sup> has independently suggested that the sword was slung on the back, as some of the late scabbards bear the suspension loop in the centre of the scabbard rather than at the top. The belts

<sup>17</sup> R. E. M. Wheeler and K. Richardson, *The Hill Forts of Northern France*. Reports Research Comm. Soc. Antiqu. of London 19 (1957).

<sup>18</sup> Wheeler, Maiden Castle. Reports Research Comm. Soc. Antiqu. of London 12 (1943).

<sup>19</sup> Stead, personal communication.

<sup>20</sup> K. Motyková-Šneidrová, *Die Anfänge der Römischen Kaiserzeit in Böhmen*. Fontes Archaeologicae Pragenses 6 (1963).

<sup>21</sup> S. Piggott, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 16, 1950, 1 ff.



were fastened by metal hooks, whose position in the graves again suggests a baldrick.

The shield was also a necessity, and its absence at Whitcombe is surprising, unless it was purely organic and has totally disappeared. The other four all contain evidence for the rectangular or oval shield with central spine of traditionally 'Celtic' type. The spear is an optional, though regular addition, but the Owslebury example seems more like a pike than a throwing spear. North Grimstone has a dagger, but knives are totally absent. We know little about dress – the brooch from Whitcombe is exceptional, for fibulae do not become common in Britain until the first century A.D. and British fashions differed strongly from those of the continent. What the enigmatic 'discs' are, or the bone points from Grimthorpe, is far from clear.

The rest of the burials contain only certain items of warrior gear. Ham Hill with its dagger and possible shield, Gelliniog Wen, Shouldham and Eastburn 8 with their swords, and Eastburn 7 with its spear seem comprehensible to us, but burials simply with shields (Stanfordbury, Snailwell and Welwyn Garden City) or perhaps only shield fittings (Eastburn 11 and 12) suggest some greater significance. It is worth recalling the contemporary cemetery of Grossromstedt<sup>22</sup> in which similar 'illogical' groupings of war-gear in graves recurred with such regularity, that they may have symbolized position in a military hierarchy, independant of the social hierarchy signified by domestic goods.

It is obvious in the cases of the four cremations that we are dealing with individuals of high social status. Three contained imported amphorae and other pottery, and it is of interest that all four cremations produced pottery, while none of the inhumations did. The occurrence of tools in the graves at Ham Hill and Whitcombe suggest craftsmen of some sort. Generally we know little of the associated settlements. At Owslebury we are clearly dealing with a farming settlement with about three nuclear families, who were relatively well-off, but still by no means exceptional to judge from aerial photographs of similar settlements in Hampshire. At Whitcombe and Grimthorpe and perhaps at Welwyn Garden City as well, we also seem to be dealing with small social units.

### Summary

Only fifteen fully authenticated Iron Age warrior burials have been found in Britain. About the middle of the first century B.C., the burial rite of inhumation with weapons was adopted by the rich peasant farmers of Wessex and Yorkshire. These contain complete sets of equipment, but elsewhere burials with single weapons occur. A small number of rich cremation burials of the first century A.D. have also produced weapons, but usually only a shield<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> R. Hachmann, *Arch. Geographica* 5, 1956, 7ff.

<sup>23</sup> I would like to thank Mrs. G. M. Aitken and Dr. I. Stead for information about the Whitcombe burial in advance of publication, and Mr. M. Spratling and Dr. G. Ritchie for discussions about the grave-goods from Owslebury. Drawings of the Owslebury finds are by Mr. R. Moule, and Mr. R. Turner, technician in the Dept. of History at the University of Exeter, drew the maps and diagrams.



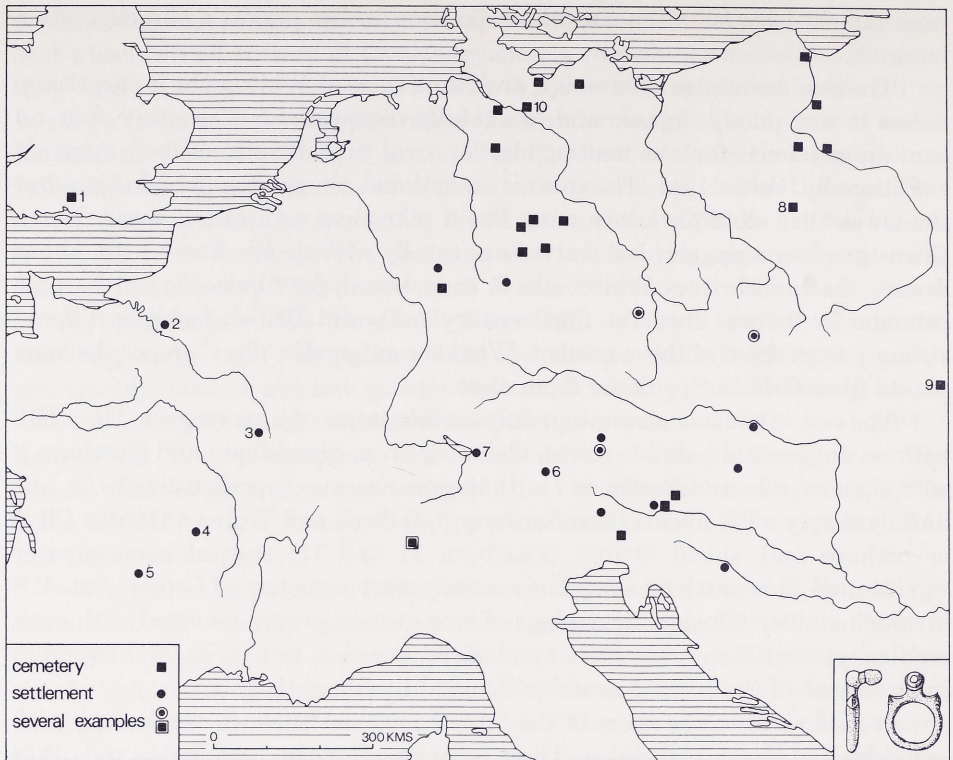


Fig. 5. Distribution of winged belt-hooks. See Appendix below.

## Appendix

### List of winged belt-hooks

The map *fig. 5* is based on the list published by J. Werner (Festschrift M. Hell [1961] 159f.), and I have not repeated his list here. The additions are based on my own research, and, for central Europe, on information sent to me by Dr. M. Menke.

1. Owslebury, Hants, England. – See above p. 126ff. *fig. 4, 5*.
2. Guiry-Gadancourt, Seine-et-Oise, France. A bronze example from a Roman villa site. – P.-H. Mitard, *Gallia* 18, 1960, 163ff. with *fig. 24*.
3. Alesia, Côte d'Or, France. A bronze example from the oppidum. Museum, Dijon.
4. Clermont-Ferrand, Puy du Dôme, France. A bronze example from the Roman town. Museum, Clermont-Ferrand.
5. Puy du Tour, Corrèze, France. A decorated bronze example from the hill fort. – A. Murat, *Ogam* 14, 1962, 85ff.
6. Himmelreich bei Wattens, Tirol, Austria. Three bronze examples from the Raetian settlement. – K. Sinnhuber, *Die Altertümer vom "Himmelreich" bei Wattens*. *Schlern-Schriften* 60 (1949) 24f. pl. 4, below 8–10.
7. Bludenz-Unterstein, Vorarlberg, Austria. – Sinnhuber, *loc. cit.* 79 with note 49.
8. Wesółky, pow. Kalicz, Poland. From cremation burials 4 and 20 A. – I. i. K. Dąbrowscy, *Cmentarzysko z okresów późnolateńskiego i wpływów rzymskich w Wesółkach, pow. Kalicz* (1967) 15ff. *fig. 8, 15* and 29f. *fig. 25, 14*.



9. Zemplín, okres Trebišov, Slovakia. From a grave with Dacian pottery. – Unpublished.
10. Hornbek, Kr. Herzogtum Lauenburg, Schleswig-Holstein, Germany. From cremation grave 219. – A. Rangs-Borchling, Das Urnengräberfeld von Hornbek in Holstein. Offa-Bücher 18 (1963) Taf. 27.

## Die Grabung am inneren Wall im Oppidum von Kelheim im Jahre 1971

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Über erste Untersuchungen im Innenraum des Oppidums Alkimoennis bei Kelheim 1964 ist vor vier Jahren in dieser Zeitschrift berichtet worden. Sie waren veranlaßt durch den bevorstehenden Bau des Rhein-Main-Donau-Kanals, der große Teile des siedlungsgünstigen Geländes am Nordfuß des Michelsberges im Altmühltal zu überschütten drohte. Einzelne Baggerschnitte ergaben damals geringe Siedlungsspuren in dem Gebiet hinter dem inneren Wall des Oppidums, die wegen der Aufarbeitung und Zerstörung der alten Oberfläche jedoch auch bei großflächiger Aufdeckung keine Ergebnisse für die Bebauung erwarten ließen. Für den vollständig unter dem Kanal verschwindenden Randwall entlang dem alten Altmühlufer erbrachten sie, daß er als einfach aufgeschütteter Erddamm keine Befestigungsfunktion hatte, sondern offenbar als Hochwasserdamm angelegt worden war<sup>1</sup>.

Die weitere archäologische Erforschung des Oppidums in diesem Zusammenhang konnte sich demnach auf die Befestigungsanlagen beschränken. Ihr Ziel mußte auf die Klärung der Bauart des äußeren und des inneren Walles gerichtet sein, d. h. der Stadtmauern, die als Abschnittswälle jeweils vom nördlichen Steilufer der Donau bis zum südlichen Uferrand der Altmühl führen. Von ihnen fallen nach dem heutigen Erhaltungszustand vom inneren Wall rund 100 m, vom äußeren Wall<sup>2</sup> – der früher zur Auffüllung eines toten Altmühlarmes hier schon weitgehend abgetragen wurde – noch etwa 10 m in den vom Kanal in Anspruch genommenen Bereich. Bei der Grabung 1971 wurde der innere Wall des Oppidums untersucht (*Abb. 1*, Schnitt 6)<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Germania 47, 1969, 91 ff. mit Plan Beilage 6.

<sup>2</sup> Die Ergebnisse einer Notgrabung am äußeren Wall auf der Hochfläche 1970, die bei der Verbreiterung und Verlegung der Straße von Kelheim nach Hienheim durchgeführt wurde (vgl. *Abb. 1*, Schnitt 5), werden in Zusammenhang mit der für 1972 geplanten Untersuchung des äußeren Walles im Altmühltal vorgelegt werden.

<sup>3</sup> Grabung vom 3. 5.–13. 8. 1971; die örtliche Leitung lag in den Händen von Herrn Oberwerkmeister W. Titze, LfD. München. – Wie schon die Untersuchungen von 1964 wurde auch diese Grabung durch die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft finanziert, wofür wir ihr und ihrem Referenten, Herrn Dr. W. Treue, sehr zu danken haben. Für einen Zuschuß sind wir ebenfalls Herrn Direktor Dr. Fuchs von der RMD zu Dank verpflichtet.