4
Ceremonial Practice and Mortuary Ritual

Old customs O I love the sound
However simple they may be
What ere wi time has sanction found
Is welcome & clear to me

John Clare, The Shepherd's Calendar: December

4.1 The forms and uses of monuments

The modest scale and changing character of the monuments at Raunds are a reminder of the intimacies of people's lives as they built and used this landscape. There was no preconceived intention or master plan behind its long-term development, no grandiose vision obediently reproduced by generation after generation of peoples. Instead, the history of the river valley is characterised by more fleeting occasions of concretization, or short-term episodes during which the beliefs and practices of society were realised through specific projects of construction and use. The monuments themselves, as built exemplars of a 'world view', resonated with the conventions, mythologies and religious opinions of those involved in creating these places, while those who subsequently encountered them were actively engaged and orientated by their physicality. Yet this was an open-ended and discursive process as monuments were periodically abandoned, modified or superseded. The result was not so much an enduring framework by which the living world was understood as a spatial resource manipulated according to the changing priorities, interests and aspirations of local people.

The physical form of the monuments provides an insight into the changing social agendas of those occupying the river valley. A focus on their spatial properties, particularly the ways in which their various architectural components may have orientated experience, provides the most obvious means by which to study the ontology, or mode of being, implicit in these works. But this is a problematic exercise. It is necessary to acknowledge that there may be little correlation between the importance of an event to those taking part in it, and its surviving signature. Durable objects remain visible, and so naturally figure prominently in the archaeological interpretation of a monument, but this can lend them a disproportionate weight of importance. A festival at which a hundred people prayed, danced, sang and offered sacrifices for a week may have left no trace other than enhanced phosphate levels; a funeral attended by six for the space of half a day may have left a grave and a set of grave goods.

4.1.1 The early 4th millennium

There is every indication that people had ceased to live at the West Cotton confluence by the time the first monuments were built, and that the rest of the excavated area was not occupied at all until after they had gone out of use. An early cut-off point for the debris of living is reinforced by the scarcity of Mildenhall Ware among the Neolithic Bowl pottery, which is almost all plain, sometimes with Grimston Ware characteristics (Tomalin SS3.8.4). The cessation of everyday occupation may suggest that the area had acquired new meanings and significance at the onset of the Neolithic. The builders and users of the monuments would have come to them in the course of herding their stock and for specific events, but these visits resulted in no more than a handful of perceptible acts of construction, modification and deposition, some of them minuscule, over as much as 500 years. The frequency, scales, rhythms and characters of any invisible episodes can only be guessed at.

The monuments constructed in the first few centuries of the 4th millennium may have provided a common focus, or sequence of public symbols, around which the local community could unite (3.2.4). This would certainly explain the closeness of the north part of the Turf Mound and the Long Mound, which were both aligned on the same space, an area that may have owed its significance to already historical events in

the long-used settlement at West Cotton. Along with the Avenue and Long Barrow, these early monuments mark the course of the Nene, and each lay at or near a confluence of the river with a tributary (Fig 1.4). The marking of what must have been a natural routeway strongly suggests that contemporary practices involved movement along the terrace, between and beyond the monuments. The freshly built mounds at West Cotton could have focused the attention of those arriving at the confluence and then moving further along this pathway, even if their slight size – the north end of the Turf Mound is likely to have stood to only about 1m, and the highest part of the Long Mound to about 1.25m – made them relatively inconspicuous except at close quarters. The parallel fences on the top of the Turf Mound would have accentuated the alignment and formed a semi-enclosed space. People inside this space might have been able, depending on the height of the fences, to see or be seen only along a north-east/south-west corridor, one end of which focused on the space at the north-east end of the Long Mound.

There is little to indicate the intensity and character of activity at each site, although episodes of burning are revealed at three of the four early monuments. The Turf Mound fences may not have stood for long, as each of two successive pairs was burnt *in situ*, as was at least some of the burnt material in the hollows of the Avenue. The same might be true of nine stakes in the gully on top of the Long Mound. The role of fire in contemporary ceremony is little discussed, although there is widespread evidence for it. The burning of mortuary structures, such as those at Street House, Cleveland (Vyner 1984, 159–61), or Kilham, Yorkshire (Manby 1976a, 119–23), before they were sealed beneath mounds would have provided moments of spectacle and drama at the end of particular stages in the use of the sites. So, too, would the firing of probably later monuments, such as the façade at Grendon, Northamptonshire (Gibson and McCormick 1985, 37–8), and a palisaded enclosure subsequently covered by an oval barrow at Maxey, Cambridgeshire (Pryor *et al* 1985, 62–5, 234). The oak chamber of the Haddenham long barrow, and the human remains inside it, seem to have burnt less spectacularly – slowly and at a relatively low temperature, clamped down by the already-present mound (Evans and Hodder 2006). It is likely, in other words, that the destructive and transforming power of fire, sometimes invoked in attempts to interpret the burning of artefacts (eg Larsson 2000, 609–10) or the practice of cremation (eg Brück 2001, 155), may have been at least as expressive when applied to monuments themselves. That it was intrinsic to the life cycle of many of these 4th-millennium sites, as well as some of the contemporary 'timber halls' (G Barclay *et al* 2002; J Thomas 1996b, 9), is the more understandable when we consider how recorded cosmologies attribute to it the power to both purify and renew the world (Eliade 1989, 87–8, 123).

Similar concerns – if rather different practices – are reflected in the already burnt earth and wood placed in the gully of the Raunds Long Mound. It may have formed part of a pattern represented more fully at the Etton causewayed enclosure, where it was possible to identify both the fire sites and the features in which material from them was placed. Areas of reddened gravel subsoil with high magnetic susceptibility testify to intense burning on the ground. One especially, in the east of the enclosure, was so large (almost 1,000m^2) as to suggest that the fires were burnt there intermittently throughout the Early Neolithic use of the site, generating the magnetically enhanced soil, charcoal and highly burnt animal bone deposited in pits and ditches in the same area of the interior (Challands 1998; Pryor 1998a, 355). Burnt material was also regularly placed in the segments of the Haddenham causewayed enclosure (Hodder and Evans forthcoming). The burial of this material and the widespread deposition of already burnt material in Neolithic pits (J Thomas 1999, 64), suggest that the symbolic properties of fire were also inherent in its leftovers, the remains being used to make particular statements, or to transform meanings and roles. The importance now attached to fire may be connected to the contemporary adoption of lifeways in which land clearance had become more frequent and more extensive, even a process central to ordered social life.

The monuments would have been highly visible when freshly built or modified, but these spells would have been brief. The Avenue, exiguous from the first, would rapidly have become a series of slight, silted hollows. The unrevetted Turf Mound and the east and east-centre of the Long Mound would have merged inconspicuously into

their settings once grass and herbs had grown on them and regrown around them. By the time the hurdle revetment of the west and centre of the Long Mound had decayed and the mound sides had weathered into a smooth, vegetated slope, it would have been even more part of the surrounding pasture. Even the application of a layer of gravelly loam and the subsequent cutting of a gully around the mound would have left it a rapidly revegetated earthen monument. There may therefore have been little need for them to be visually impressive in the intervals between events. This is a characteristic that they share with smaller Neolithic monuments elsewhere in the Nene valley, many of which were covered by only slight mounds, if any, and would have been marked by small stone or wooden uprights, spreads of earth or stones, and sometimes successive surrounding ditches, before being sealed. These are summarised in Table 4.1 for ease of reference, as several are not available in widely accessible publications. The diverse and uncommon forms of the early Raunds monuments find an echo here too, as the range of smaller structures along the valley seems idiosyncratic and unconstrained. Many of the smaller monuments are imprecisely dated, especially in their initial phases, and some are only dubiously Neolithic (Table 4.1). Collectively, however, they highlight a local capacity for the creation of original, small-scale structures, in contrast to the more stereotyped plans of the causewayed enclosures in the valley.

The Long Barrow was broadly contemporary. Its freestanding timber façade would have certainly been visually imposing and these features are often regarded as 'front' ends. The location of the façade, at the north-east end of the features pre-dating the mound, might suggest that people approached from the direction of the other early monuments. While one can only speculate, perhaps this journey commenced at West Cotton, as people congregated around the Turf Mound and Long Mound, built as they were in the living space of now distant generations. People might then have gone past the Avenue, maybe the oldest of the monuments, its denuded scoops and hollows only adding to its perceived age, to arrive finally at the Long Barrow, a type of monument normally associated with ancestral veneration. This was a route that resonated with past activities and events – it possessed a temporal 'depth' or history; the encounter with each monument itself an act of remembrance. Through the journey, a narrative could be told, which established and maintained social linkages and relations, especially if it was part of a ceremonial cycle for the circulation of human bone (4.2.1). The spatial story may have also created and sustained intimacy with the surrounding landscape, best illustrated by the façade that preceded the Long Barrow. There is much persuasion in the suggestion of C Evans *et al* (1999) that, in the 4th millennium, the use of large timbers of a size exceeding structural need might indicate the bringing of trees (which would long have been central to the concerns, myths and beliefs of forest-dwellers) into the monuments of a new dispensation. Such considerations might extend to a section of oak trunk worked with an adze and placed inverted in a pit cut into the ditch of an oval barrow at Eynesbury, Cambridgeshire, at a much later date – in the late 3rd or 2nd millennium Cal BC (C Ellis 2004). And they apply with particular force to the main part of the chamber of the Haddenham long barrow, which was essentially built from a single oak, with bark and sapwood to the exterior, so that the dead in the chamber, and the living who occasionally penetrated there, were inside a tree (Evans and Hodder 2006).

The greater monumentality of the Long Barrow at Raunds may be partly explained by its being the destination of this suggested ceremonial routeway. Its façade, standing as much as 2.50m high and built of trunks as much as 0.80m across (SS1.4), would certainly have provided an impressive backdrop to what could have been the final stage of this journey, drawing people to a specific point and separating them from the probably contemporary limestone cist beyond, which may have been used for the temporary storage of human remains (4.2.1). If such a massive feature would 'stage manage' or orchestrate experience, then the same could be said of the subsequent remodelling of the monument. The erection of the mound, estimated to be between 1.10m to 1.70m in height, would more effectively impress upon and mediate perception than either the Long Mound or the northern part of the Turf Mound. Even its revetment of split oak timbers perhaps 0.12m across, would have been a wooden wall on a different scale from the light, probably hurdle-built revetment of the centre and west of the Long Mound, and would have lasted for longer, retaining the original sharp, rectilin-

Table 4.1 Summary of funerary, ceremonial and possibly ceremonial sites of 4th millennium Cal BC or possibly 4th millennium Cal BC date in the Nene valley, excluding those at Raunds

Phasing, where employed, follows that of original reports. Sites are listed from south-west (upstream) to north-east(downstream) and are plotted in Figure 1.1 and/or Figure 5.10.

Site	*NGR*	*Description*	*Later use*	*Source(s)*
Flore	SP 6380 6130	Two possible long barrows: ovoid cropmark enclosures, 15m apart, both oriented roughly E-W. 1 continuous, *c* 61m × 26m, 1 open at W end with ditches converging to a causeway at E end, *c* 41m × 18m.		Northamptonshire SMR 7070/0/1; 7070/0/2
	SP 6480 6181	Possible long barrow: 2 parallel cropmark ditches each up to 7m wide, *c* 36m long and 21m apart, oriented roughly E-W.	Ring ditch within 100m, curvilinear enclosure within 200m	Northamptonshire SMR 7069/0/1
Stowe-Nine-Churches	SP 6483 5726	Possible long or oval barrow: oval cropmark enclosure 26m × 14m, oriented SW-NE.		Northamptonshire SMR 806/0/1; RCHME 1981, 179
Harpole	SP 7059 6247	Possible long or oval barrow: ovoid cropmark enclosure, *c* 35m × 21m, oriented NW-SE with single gap at SE end.	Embedded in enclosures and droves of ?Iron Age settlement	Northamptonshire SMR 4622/0/0
Dallington	SP 7254 6350	Causewayed enclosure, 1–2 circuits.	Possible henge, more-or-less central to monument	Keevill 1992; Oswald *et al* 2001, fig 3.4, 153
Briar Hill	SP 7362 5923	Causewayed enclosure. Extensively excavated. Three circuits, multiple recuts. No bone preservation, deposition of human and animal remains inferred from comparable sites. Neolithic Bowl pottery, blade-based flint industry, axeheads of non-local stone, especially Group VI, grinding equipment of local rocks, carbonised wheat, barley, hazelnut shell, other wild plants. Radiocarbon dates problematic, but some, combined with artefacts and with analogy with comparable sites, point to construction in early 4th millennium. Last Neolithic recuts perhaps as late as *c* 3000 Cal BC. Small amounts of Peterborough Ware in upper ditch fills and a pit cut into silted ditch.	Horseshoe-shaped continuous post setting in interior, containing Grooved Ware and charcoal dated to mid 3rd millennium Cal BC, aligned with slot and post row. Pits and postholes, some of the latter apparently forming a structure, cut into silted enclosure ditches at least up to mid 2nd millennium Cal BC, one with Beaker pottery, several with burnt material MBA cremation cemetery between inner and middle ditch	Bamford 1985
Hardingstone	SP 7690 5902	Possible cursus: rectilinear cropmark enclosure 30m wide and at least 130m long with squared corners at surviving S end and parallel sides, running S-N at right-angles to Nene from valley side down onto terrace where it is truncated by former quarry. Could have been over 500m long if it originally continued to or almost to the river.	S terminal incorporated in ?later field system	Northamptonshire SMR ap_id 044800020001
Grendon, area A	SP 8718 6161	Subrectangular enclosure 86m × 17m, defined by ditch up to 0.40m deep with lateral entrance. Pre-dated an Iron Age enclosure and had a fill more like those of early Bronze Age ring ditches on the site than those of later features. Otherwise undated.	?Early Bronze Age barrow IV immediately to E	Jackson 1995, 13, fig 8; Gibson 1995, 28
Grendon, area B, ring ditch III	SP 8728 6163	Small ring ditch, 10m internal diameter, surviving to 0.50m deep, surrounding unaccompanied inhumation of adult. A few cattle scapula fragments may have come from burial or have been introduced during machine-clearance. Undated, but cut by ditches of early Bronze Age barrow.	Double-ditched early Bronze Age barrow built over and eccentric to ring ditch	Gibson and McCormick 1985, 26–31
Grendon, area C, ring ditch V	SP 8736 6186	1. At least 3 postholes, 1 containing oak charcoal dated to 3960–3540 Cal BC (4950±80 BP; HAR-1498), 1 containing 2 sherds in fabric similar to that of Neolithic Bowl pottery from site. 2 pits, 1 containing ?caprine calcaneum fragment and 5 sherds in fabric similar to that of Neolithic Bowl pottery from site, the other containing cattle tibia, carpal and 2 horncores of different sizes with frontal fragments, pig ulna and	Two successive ring ditches probably reflect two successive enlargements of Neolithic monument after Beaker pottery had come into use.	Gibson and McCormick 1985, 35–8, 46–64, mf 7–9, 13, 25–32, 37–38; Jordan *et al* 1994, 66

Site	*NGR*	*Description*	*Later use*	*Source(s)*
Grendon, area C, ring ditch V (*continued*)		tooth and red deer antler, perhaps also an ambiguously labelled human occipital fragment, all surrounded by 26 sherds from at least 2 Bowls, 1 of them decorated (P7 and P49 in original report). 2. Pits and postholes covered by mound or surrounded by bank dug from U-plan ditch open to north-east, enclosing area 18m × 17m. Ditch silted bilaterally with lenses of earth and gravel, incorporating blackthorn twig and mature oak charcoal dated to 3710–3030 Cal BC (4700±130 BP; HAR-1497), followed by cleaner gravel from mound or bank. Finds from ditch fills as a whole (neither layers nor depths specified) include human occipital fragment, various cattle bones (some butchered), smaller quantities of pig and caprine bones, including fragments of a goat skull with horns, 20 sherds Neolithic Bowl (including P22, P25, P35, P38 in original report), 3 joining base fragments plain Beaker or small urn (P51 in original report), small amount of struck flint from blade-based industry. 3. Post-built façade with central entrance built across open end of 'U'. Eventually burnt. Oak charcoal from bedding trench dated to 3090–2670 Cal BC (4280±70 BP; HAR-1495). Finds from façade trench include small quantities of cattle, caprine and pig bone, 13 sherds Neolithic Bowl (including P8, P13, P14 and P46 in original report), and something of a concentration of struck flint. Fragmentary leaf arrowhead (F78 in original report) came from just outside entrance. Mature oak in the samples may have made some dates misleadingly old. The sample for the most recent (HAR-1495) should have been a post of the façade, burnt *in situ* and hence a *terminus post quem* for its construction. This is rather late for the associated assemblage and suggests that monument may have longer history, with earlier Neolithic material redeposited in façade trench, as it was in subsequent barrow ditches.		
Grendon, area B, mortuary enclosure	SP 8757 6208	1. Crouched burial of mature adult male (insufficient collagen for ^{14}C date), in ovoid grave central to continuous ditched trapezoid enclosure 11.10m × 6.40m, of irregular width and depth. Surrounded by second, more substantial, continuous trapezoid enclosure 19.50m × 16m, also of irregular depth and width. Small quantities of struck flint (inc serrated blade and unretouched blades), burnt flint and cattle bone in ditches. 2 postholes, respectively just outside NW and NE corners of inner enclosure 2. Grave cut into angle of silted outer ditch containing tightly crouched adult skeleton. Date of 1530–1320 Cal BC (3180±40 BP; Beta-131546) a minimum one because of collagen degradation. Outer ditch 6m N of burial cut by pit containing aurochs humerus fragment. *Terminus ante quem* provided by aurochs bone as well as by date on skeleton, since the species became extinct in Britain during the 2nd millennium.	Grooved Ware pit 50m to SE, round barrows within 300m to NE and SW	Last 2005
Grendon, Long Lodge Farm	SP 8762 6195	Rectangular enclosure of variable width and depth (max 2m wide and 0.35m deep), with rounded corners, 116m × 27m, oriented N–S. Openings at both ends of E side. Only finds were cattle horncore fragment in terminal by SE entrance and single flint blade from elsewhere in ditch. Single pit in interior contained Neolithic Bowl pottery and flint flake. 3–4 early/middle Neolithic pits within 15m of enclosure.	Round barrows within 100m to NE	Last 2005

Site	*NGR*	*Description*	*Later use*	*Source(s)*
Aldwincle, site 1	SP 9965 8035	1. Roughly rectangular enclosure, *c* 13.50m × 10.50m, formed by 3 slight, irregular ditches. Within enclosure were 3 pairs of ?structural postholes aligned on N ditch, other possible postholes, 1 with Neolithic Bowl rim (fig 19:4 in original report), pit containing 4 sherds of Neolithic Bowl (inc fig 19:2–3 in original publication). Struck flint from these and other contexts mainly Mesolithic. 2. Irregular horseshoe-planned inner ditch cut around first enclosure, truncating it. Probable external bank, probable recut in SE. Red deer antler fragments in W butt. Short, straight length of ditch in open end of horseshoe, with charcoal layer *c* 0.30m from base, derived from interior. Charcoal from this layer ('three bags combined'), identified as oak at least 100 mm in diameter, dated to 3520–3020 Cal BC (4560±70 BP; HAR-1411). 2 central D-shaped pits *c* 1.20m across, surviving to almost 1m deep, and set 1.7m apart, without postpipes or packing, aligned more-or-less on long axis of area surrounded by inner ditch. Any central deposit possibly removed by medieval plough furrow. Neolithic Bowl rim sherd from 1 of them (fig 19:1 in original publication). 3. 2nd pair of postpits, on same scale as first, eccentric to area enclosed by inner ditch, one of them cutting earlier pit, both with postpipes and packing, bracketing 2 adult male skeletons, 1 articulated, 1 disarticulated, probably post-dating central ?postpits and earlier postholes. Antler pick apparently buried by upcast. Gravel upcast from these possibly present in fill of 1 of 1st pair. Possibly other post pairs. 4. Limestone spread in central area, some directly over skeletons, some extending over silted phase 1 and phase 2 ditches. Linear cluster of intercutting pits outside and impinging on W butt of inner ditch. 1 Neolithic Bowl wall sherd (fig 19:5 in original publication). All central features lay within phase 1 enclosure and, while not all contemporary with each other, may have preceded the phase 2 ditch. Date from ditch could be *terminus post quem*.	Shallow recut along outer edge of NW side of inner ditch More regular, subpolygonal outer ditch around monument. Fired clay, Peterborough ware in blocks of dark earth in lower fill, probably derived from surrounding topsoil. Nearby Beaker and early Bronze Age barrows. Scattered cremations	Jackson 1976, 13–30, 56; Jordan *et al* 1994, 3–4
Aldwincle, site 3	SP 9960 8030	Ring ditch of subpolygonal plan, *c* 27m internal diameter, no hint of earthwork. Six decorated sherds, 1 possibly of Peterborough Ware, in middle ditch fill. Possible internal stake circle. Slightly eccentric grave-like feature with bone pin and stain of ?wooden object. Hearth and a few other pits in central area, including 3 with burnt or charcoal-flecked earth, 1 with a Neolithic Bowl body sherd. 2 fragmentary leaf arrowheads from ploughsoil near centre. Pit cut into partly silted ditch, sides reddened by fire, dark and ashy lower fill. Numerous sherds from one Mortlake Ware bowl (fig 19:15 in original report), 2 from another.		Jackson 1976, 34–37, 47, 55, 60
Aldwincle, site 4	TL 0009 8041	Ring ditch *c* 22m diameter, possible external bank. Probably disarticulated human bones recovered from ditch during machine-cutting of trial trench. ?Neolithic Bowl rim fragment, a few indeterminate sherds, small amount of struck flint. Pit either preceding ditch or dug into side of it, containing badly preserved skull of young ?female under 2 sandstone slabs. Grave-like pit in similar relation to ditch, containing a number of similar sandstone slabs. Skull and probably disarticulated bones suggest Neolithic date.		Jackson 1976, 38–41, 47, 55

Site	*NGR*	*Description*	*Later use*	*Source(s)*
Southwick	TL 0410 9296	Causewayed enclosure, 2 circuits, adjacent ?mortuary enclosure.	Early Bronze Age burial with Cu alloy dagger between inner and outer ditch	Hadnam 1973a; Hadnam 1973b; Pryor 1998a, 379; Oswald *et al* 2001; fig 8.10, 153 Chapman 1997a
Tansor Crossroads	TL 0570 9017	South-east segment (*c* 20%) of monument excavated. Ploughed-down, no surviving mound. 1. Probably rectangular enclosure, perhaps *c* 25–28m × 20m, façade defined by slot, convex in plan, in-turned at probable central entrance, side defined by row of pits, deepest near façade. Internal pits, slots and postholes, largest pit (F167) containing Mortlake Ware, charcoal, charred hazelnut shells (some in base of Mortlake bowl). Oak heartwood (?from mature timbers) and hazel charcoal from lower fill, beneath pottery, dated to 3660–3340 Cal BC (4720± 90 BP; Beta-84660). Slight blade-based flint industry concentrated in central area. 2. F167 and slight hollow surrounding it sealed by clay layer. Façade removed. Lateral pits backfilled & sealed with clay where deepest, then replaced with new row of pits and slots. 3. Lateral pits and slots recut at least twice; a little possibly Beaker pottery in upper fills. 3 pits within enclosure containing possibly Beaker sherds, 2 of them with much charcoal. Oak heartwood from 1 dated to 2250–1650 Cal BC (3610±90BP; Beta-84659). F167 tentatively interpreted as former posthole of dismantled mortuary structure, perhaps like post pairs at Aldwincle site 1. Mortlake Ware at interface of 2 fills mid-way in fill may have been deposited before or after this event.	Covered by ditched round barrow. Beaker and early Bronze Age sherds in upper fills. Subsequent recutting and remodelling. Middle–late Bronze Age charcoal, ashy soils and burnt pebbles in part of ditch (pyre debris?). Post-mound knapping One other, unexcavated round barrow nearby	
Elton, Dog Kennel Field F25	TL 0878 9260	1. Subpolygonal ditched enclosure *c* 16m × 14m, with SW entrance, ?backfilled 2. Recut with NE entrance. Finds concentrated either side of new entrance: plain Neolithic Bowl pottery, blade-based industry, small fragments of burnt and unburnt bone. 3. Recut of *c* 1/3 of circuit.	Within Bronze Age field system Within Bronze Age field system	French 1994b, 20–23, 37–39, 46–50, 54 French 1994b, 23–24,
Elton, Dog Kennel Field F48	TL 0876 9253	Isolated subcircular pit 65m S of enclosure, 2.1m × 1.2m and surviving to 0.15m deep, containing badly preserved semi-articulated and disarticulated remains of at least 4 adults and 1 child and small quantity of struck flint, some blade-like. Disarticulation and presence of struck flint suggest Neolithic date, but struck flint was collected from superficial contexts in this area (fig 25 of original report), so that artefacts in pit could have been redeposited.		51–53, 187
Elton, Dog Kennel Field	TL 0884 9256	Deliberately laid spread of gravel cobbles, *c* 16m × 6m, with remnant of possible kerb, damaged by medieval plough furrow and other later activity. Possibly associated postholes. Undated. Tentatively interpreted as badly ploughed-down Neolithic cairn with post-built façade. Pits with Mortlake Ware nearby.	Within Bronze Age field system	French 1994b, 21–26, 171–3
Fotheringhay	TL 0753 9417	Enclosure 52m × 34m with straight, parallel sides and convex ends, oriented NE–SW, single central entrance in SW end.	NE end intersects with ring ditch. Other ring ditches in immediate vicinity	Northamptonshire SMR 2681/0/0; RCHME 1975, fig 50: 5 (there shown as egg-shaped)

Site	*NGR*	*Description*	*Later use*	*Source(s)*
Upton	TF 0998 0058	Cropmark causewayed enclosure, 2 circuits.		Oswald *et al* 2001, fig 3.2, 150
Orton Meadows, OLB2	TL 1641 9700	1. Linear zone *c* 7m × 1.50m defined by wooden fence or alignment on 1 side, limestone setting on other, limestone upright at SW end. Possible wooden façade at NE end. Bones of 2 adults, 1 adolescent/young adult, 2 children, only 1 child certainly fully articulated. 3 complete, inverted Grimston style bowls close to upright. Exiguous blade-based flint industry. 2. Burial zone covered by oval barrow 10.50m × 6m, raised from two opposed, curved ditches, with narrow gap at SW end and wide one at NE. Exiguous blade-based flint industry. 3. Recuts in ditches. 4. Grave cut through possible façade trench at NE end of monument, beyond mound, aligned on burial zone, perhaps marked by post. Crouched, articulated skeleton of man placed on stone paving in rectangular depression in base. Covered with sand and gravel, then more stone, then soil. Skeleton dated to 3650–3370 Cal BC (4741±43 BP; UB-3246). Second burial zone *c* 8m × 2m established in NE end of silted SE barrow ditch. Bracketed by 2 large axial postholes *c* 3.5m apart, holding planks or stone slabs, incomplete remains of a woman placed in SE posthole, possibly after upright removed. 2 divergent slots NE of axial postholes. Slots succeeded by façade of stone slabs and stone paving laid along alignment. Remains of 8 individuals in varying degrees of articulation placed on paving, including 3 females, 1 male, 3 children. All covered with further limestone. One skeleton dated to 3660–3340 Cal BC (4713±84 BP; UB-3248). Stone slab in NE posthole. Two further inverted bowls, this time with internally fluted rims. Exiguous blade-based flint industry. 5. Cairn built over NE end of 2nd alignment.	3 early Bronze Age inhumations cut into 2nd Neolithic burial zone. Ovoid ditched barrow built over entire Neolithic monument. Further early Bronze Age burials. Post-mound knapping Early Bronze Age barrow built nearby Possibly within Bronze Age field system	Makreth forthcoming
Fengate	TL 204 992	Inhumation apparently associated with small, worn polished axe. Found during gravel quarrying in or before 1935.		RCHME 1969, 6
Fengate, Vicarage Farm linear ditches	TL 209 994	Two slight ditches, *c* 2m apart, parallel for most of their length of >60m, converging at 1 end. Pre-Iron Age, otherwise undated, but on the same NE-SW alignment as the four Neolithic features listed below. Flake from Group VI axehead in nearby Iron Age pit.	Within Bronze Age field system, as were all the Fengate sites listed below	Pryor 1984, 7–10; Pryor 1988
Fengate, site 11	TL 213 993	Rectangular enclosure, 50m × 30m, probably with internal bank, surrounded by ditch *c* 3m wide and 0.70m deep, with angular corners. Exiguous blade-based flint industry.	2 hearths cut into silted ditch, 1 with Beaker pottery. Also postholes, and ?round house, flake-based flint industry, all probably early Bronze Age	Pryor 1993a
Fengate, Padholme Road	TL 215 990	Discontinuous, irregular, gully-like linear features enclosing quadrangular area *c* 7m × 8.5m and containing Neolithic Bowl pottery, blade-based flint industry including single-piece sickle, flake from Group VI axehead, limestone pounder, jet bead. Wood from possible corner posthole dated to 3330–2890 Cal BC (4395±50 BP; GaK-4197), wood from a lateral gully to 3950–3640 Cal BC (4960±64 BP; GaK-4196). Originally interpreted as bedding trenches of house, later seen as ceremonial.		Pryor 1974a; Pryor 1988

Site	*NGR*	*Description*	*Later use*	*Source(s)*
Fengate, Cat's Water subsite	TL 216 990	Trench-like grave, 4m × 2m, containing, from SW to NE, crouched, articulated skeleton of 25–30-year-old male; badly preserved skeleton of infant; disarticulated and semi-disarticulated bones of 25–30-year-old female and 8–10-year-old-child, mixed together. Leaf arrowhead beneath sternum of male. One broken flint flake in grave fill. Remains of all four individuals seemed to have been buried and covered over in single event, with no trace of silting. No evidence for recutting or for ditch or mound.		Pryor 1984, 19–27
Fengate, Cat's Water excavations 1990, area 2	TL 217 989	Ring ditch 14.20m × 14m with narrow causeway in S. Small penannular gully < 3m in diameter cut into inner edge of ditch in N suggests that there was no internal earthwork. Also in interior were curvilinear gully and possible pits or postholes. Blade-like flake, utilised flake and retouched flake, all fresh, from main ring ditch. Peterborough or Mildenhall Ware sherd from nearby pit.		Pryor 2001a, 45–47, 250, 318–19
Fengate, Cat's Water excavations 1997, trench 6	TL 217 988	Post-built quadrangular structure, *c* 8m × 5m, on gravel knoll on fen edge, 500m SE of Padholme Road structure. Neolithic Bowl pottery in one posthole. At least some posts probably removed rather than left to rot *in situ*. More substantial pits or postholes outside NE side, one containing Mortlake Ware, one containing Fengate Ware.		Pryor 1998b, 78; Pyror 2001a, 47–50; Pryor 2001b, 64–65

ear form of the mound.

It seems likely that the construction of the Long Barrow's mound was a transformation in the role of the site, even if the location of the cist in its low end meant that the feature remained accessible. The removal of the façade implies that activity in front of the barrow was no longer orientated with respect to this feature. What was created was a fundamentally different experience for those who looked upon this location, the focus of attention being the solid and relatively durable earthen mound that sealed, and possibly commemorated, the site's original significance. This can perhaps be understood as an attempt to sever the connection with the site's original use, to place it beyond the present, making it a symbol that would last forever. It certainly appears that, once it was built, its events may have been small-scale and intermittent. The colours and materials of the completed barrow, with grass and herbs growing above the wooden revetment, would have blended in with the clearing and the surrounding trees: and there seems to have been no attempt to maintain the visibility of the mound after scrubby woodland had grown around it and probably over it before the middle of the 4th millennium (Wiltshire SS4.2; Robinson SS4.3.1).

The apparently minimal funerary role of the Long Barrow emphasises that burial is likely to have been only one of numerous functions for such monuments. Not only did some lack burials, most familiarly in the case of Horslip, Beckhampton Road, and South Street, Wiltshire (Ashbee *et al* 1979), but, even when human remains were present, the areas containing them were minuscule in proportion to the total size of the mounds. The act of construction and the creation of a theatre for a gamut of subsequent ceremonial acts (Barrett 1994, 52–5) may have been at least as significant as burial alone.

4.1.2 The mid- to late 4th millennium

As the 4th millennium progressed, the Long Mound and the Long Barrow came to be used in comparable ways. The deposition of artefacts and food remains in the secondary fills of the Long Barrow ditches is comparable to the deposition of similar material in hollows flanking part of the Long Mound. The fact that the hollows first had to be dug at the Long Mound might suggest that it

was being made more like a long barrow. There is no hint of surrounding settlement, and the generally small size of the Peterborough Ware vessels in both suggests that they were used for eating and drinking rather than for cooking or storage, which might denote extended occupation (Tomalin SS3.8.4). It is noteworthy that the Long Mound would have retained its original inconspicuous earthen or vegetated appearance. If the large quantities of gravel in red-brown sandy clay excavated from the lower parts of the hollows had been applied to the mound it would have become far more conspicuous. None was. The upcast must have been used beyond the monument, possibly to improve the footing of those approaching the mound.

The deposition of artefacts and food remains at both monuments, and the semi-segregation of different materials in the Long Barrow ditches (Figs 3.37–9), all echo wider practices. J Evans (1990) has drawn attention to the association of Peterborough Ware and evidence for regenerated woodland in the ditches of Early Neolithic mounds as far apart as Giants' Hills II, Skendleby, Lincolnshire; South Street, Wiltshire; and Maiden Castle, Dorset. People seem to have visited these monuments when they were surrounded or covered by trees and scrub, and to have stayed there long enough to eat, drink, knap flint and deposit the material they had used and generated without having any effect on the surrounding vegetation. This activity was specific to the monuments and did not extend over the surrounding areas: 'It was probably the sporadic but intensive use of the ditches for ceremonial or ritual in woodland … it was not habitation or agriculture' (J Evans 1990, 114). An apparent exception to this pattern is Ash Hill, Swinhope, Lincolnshire, where open-country molluscs were recovered from a small pit or hollow that lay just outside a long barrow and contained Mortlake Ware, Beaker and struck flint (Phillips and Thomas 1989; Thew 1989, 109). The pit, however, was at most 0.11m deep and was immediately beneath the modern ploughsoil, from which the molluscs may have been intrusive. A sherd of Peterborough Ware was also recovered from an upper layer in one of the barrow ditches (H Healey *et al* 1989, 85), the mollusca from which reflected scrubby woodland with patches of more open ground (Thew 1989, fig 7.3: context 66).

It is not certain that the Redlands Farm Long Barrow was wooded when Peterborough Ware and related material were deposited there. However, the juxtaposition of the early stages of regeneration in the top of the waterlogged deposits and the Peterborough Ware assemblage in the immediately overlying layers does strongly suggest that it was. The concentration of Peterborough Ware in the ditch butts at the 'front' end of a barrow recurs at Thickthorn Down, Dorset (Barrett *et al* 1991, fig 2.11; Drew and Piggott 1936a, 84–5), where Kennard's (1936, 95) early molluscan analysis suggests that scrub or woodland may also have obtained. The uneven distribution of pottery and struck flint between the two ditch butts of the Long Barrow echoes patterns of exclusion and association more often seen in primary deposits in long barrow ditches (J Thomas 1999, 78–80), but also in the later phase ditches of the broadly contemporary oval barrow at Barrow Hills, Radley (A Barclay and Halpin 1999, 23–5, fig 3.2; R Bradley 1992). It is surely significant that Peterborough Ware, developed as it is from the Early Neolithic Bowl tradition, should figure so consistently at these earlier Neolithic monuments, a consideration that extends to its recurrence in and outside chambered tombs, as at the West Kennet long barrow (Piggott 1962). A contrast at Raunds between the deposition of cultural material at existing monuments and its near-absence from the primary phases of new ones conforms to J Thomas' suggested association of Peterborough Ware with human remains and already old monuments (1999, 111).

The new monuments (the Long Enclosure, the Causewayed Ring Ditch and perhaps the Southern Enclosure) were not simply different in form from the earlier ones. They would, when newly built, have stood out against the surrounding vegetation by the light, reflective gravel and sand of their banks and ditches, and, if built on open ground, as seems likely (3.3.3), would have been clearly visible from the valley sides. The construction of enclosures rather than mounded sites may be at least partly explained by their location in extensive clearings, where elevation was no longer necessary to mark out particular locations as 'special' or different from the surrounding landscape. The Long Enclosure would have further formalised movement along the terrace between the West Cotton confluence and Turf Mound, reinforcing the south-west/north-east alignment of the earlier monuments (Figs 3.64, 3.118). Furthermore, while the other new monuments were

not exactly on the same axis, they nonetheless mark out a straight route along the valley bottom. Walking upstream would bring people to the Causewayed Ring Ditch, and, if they continued past the Avenue, they would arrive at the Southern Enclosure. Any such routeway was therefore steeped in history, its course established centuries earlier. In this sense, the innovation of the later 4th millennium represents more a reworking of established principles and practices than a complete break with the past, as is further borne out by the shared linear design of these monuments. Such continuity matches the deposition of Peterborough Ware in the older Long Barrow and Long Mound, but not in the Turf Mound and Avenue – monuments that, as already noted, lie directly on the route between West Cotton and the Southern Enclosure.

These developments may reflect a more widespread later 4th-millennium phenomenon of formally demarcating corridors across landscapes (J Harding 1999, 34; Last 1999, 88). This was best expressed by the cursus monuments of this period, and while these are scarce or absent along the Nene, the Long Enclosure at Raunds can be regarded as part of the same monumental tradition (3.3.3). There is a further connection in the location of the Long Enclosure and the Southern Enclosure at two successive confluences of the Nene with tributary streams, echoing a pattern common to cursus monuments and smaller linear enclosures. The spatial relations between cursus monuments and watercourses are diverse, and may express a sense of linear movement along both rivers and earthworks (A Barclay and Hey 1999). Linear monuments of all sizes were sometimes parallel to streams and rivers, sometimes at right angles to them, and occasionally continued across them, as the Long Enclosure may have done (A Barclay and Hey 1999, figs 6.1–3; J Harding 1999, fig 3.1; Malim 1999, figs 7.1–3; 2000, figs 8.1–2, 8.13, 8.16). To Brophy (2000, 54), these spatial relationships were of symbolic importance: the monuments, he suggests, were, like the rivers, connected to 'fertility, purity, cleanliness'. This would certainly explain a further element of this tradition – the close association between many cursus monuments and broadly contemporary funerary monuments (J Harding 1999, 35). While the latter are absent from Raunds, it is noticeable that Barrow 6, sited on approximately the same axis as the Long Enclosure, covered a human burial dating to the later 4th millennium, and a cremation burial of comparable date lay on the same axis between the Long Enclosure and the Causewayed Ring Ditch (4.2.1; Fig 3.118: F47087).

These new monuments were the foci for intermittent short-term events. A single episode in the early use of the Long Enclosure may be fossilised in a small oval pit or posthole near the centre of the north terminal, cut through the primary ditch fills into the natural sand and gravel, and sealed by the upper fills (Fig 3.41: F2163). It suggests the insertion of a post soon after the monument was built and its removal shortly afterwards, perhaps to emphasise the axis of the monument and of the others with which it was aligned for the duration of a single event or episode. A freestanding single post could have had a great many functions. It may have guided movement to and through the monuments; it may have been carved, painted or hung with objects; its shadow may have marked time; it may have served to form sight lines for astronomical or other observation. Such short-lived, event-related markers figured in the use of other contemporary monuments. For example, in the late 4th-/early 3rd-millennium oval barrow at Barrow Hills, Radley, Oxfordshire, posts were set in successive ditches at varying stages in their silting, only to be removed again (R Bradley 1992, 128–32). Between the middle and outer ditches of the perhaps coeval Barford henge in Warwickshire was a cluster of three flat-bottomed posthole-like features up to 1m in diameter. Two intercut, and all three seemed to date from different stages in the cutting and silting of the adjacent ditches (Oswald 1967, 10, figs 3, 5). Successive posts may thus have been erected in roughly the same place at different times in the life of the monument, suggesting the re-enactment of a recurrent event. From this perspective, the possibility – raised by disparate radiocarbon dates – that stakes may have been intermittently burnt in the gully of the Long Mound through most of the 4th millennium and perhaps into the 3rd (3.2.3), becomes marginally less implausible.

Short-lived events may also be reflected in rapid reworkings of the Causewayed Ring Ditch, where, within the limitations of radiocarbon dating, there was no detectable interval between the digging-out of a timber setting, the backfilling of the ditch, and the excavation of a recut in the backfill. This echoes the repeated remodellings of hengiform monuments in the Etton area on the lower Welland, where they have prompted the view that the making and repeated

remaking of the monuments may have been a means of establishing their importance in the landscape (Pryor 1995, 105). In the undated Southern Enclosure, which may on morphological grounds have been contemporary with the Long Enclosure, the lack of structural coherence among the postholes, the replacement of some by others, and the uneven incidence in them of charcoal would be consistent with intermittent, repeated use of the interior corresponding to repeated recuts of the ditch (Figs 3.49–50). The burning of at least one of the internal posts, and the culmination of these episodes in a conflagration that left the silts in ditch tops and probably the soils of the interior and the surrounding area reddened and burnt, strongly suggests that fire and ceremony were still closely allied.

4.1.3 The early to mid-3rd millennium

The construction of the Causewayed Ring Ditch in the latter half of the 4th millennium represents the appearance of a new architectural form. This was the first ring-shaped monument built at Raunds and, when considered alongside similar sites elsewhere, may reflect the growing popularity of digging out circular and generally continuous ditches (J Harding 1998, 216). The poorly dated ovoid Ditched Enclosure at Raunds is another possible expression of this architectural repertoire (Fig 3.59). These architectural resources and practices may have even developed into the henges of the 3rd millennium, perhaps including an uninvestigated 70m-diameter circular cropmark on the terrace (Fig 3.63) and the Cotton 'Henge' located approximately 600m to the east of the West Cotton confluence. The probable absence of an entrance from this second monument would make it an extremely unusual henge, but the possible existence of a mound within its inner ditch is certainly reminiscent of Balfarg Riding School, in eastern Scotland, where an early 3rd-millennium enclosure surrounds an earlier round mound (G Barclay and Russell-White 1993). Other possible parallels include Duggleby Howe, in eastern Yorkshire, where a large circular enclosure surrounds a later Neolithic 'Great Barrow' (Kinnes *et al* 1983), and Maes Howe, in Orkney, where a ditch and external bank, built early in the 3rd millennium, enclose the passage grave (Renfrew 1979, 31–8; C Richards 1992, 448). If the Cotton 'Henge' was similarly constructed during the early 3rd millennium, it illustrates the importance now placed on creating circular monumental foci.

The extent to which the valley bottom routeway retained its earlier significance at this time depends on the now irresoluble dates of the cropmark enclosure and of the Ditched Enclosure, the construction of which, on the south-west/north-east axis of the Turf Mound and the Long Enclosure, indicates yet another attempt to draw attention to the West Cotton confluence. There is certainly evidence for the partial regeneration of woodland and a dearth of contemporary artefacts (3.4.3). The siting of the Cotton 'Henge', elevated as it is on a south-facing slope overlooking the Cotton Brook, may have been a deliberate attempt to physically avoid and spatially supersede the older foci in the valley. The 'Henge' allowed a view over West Cotton, emphasising to those gathered within its perimeter that there had indeed been a shift in both beliefs and practices.

4.1.4 The late 3rd and early 2nd millennia

Development of round barrows

This period saw the deliberate reuse and transformation of places whose social importance had been established over a thousand years earlier. This is illustrated by acts of burial and artefact deposition and pit digging at the Long Mound, Turf Mound, Avenue and Long Barrow (4.1.3; Figs 3.64, 3.119), and also by the siting of round barrows. The importance of the West Cotton confluence was reinstated by the construction of at least five round barrows and ring ditches along the alignment of the Turf Mound and Long Enclosure. Deliberate acts of historical reclamation were also evident further upstream, where the Segmented Ditch Circle was built over the south-west end of the Avenue, which must by then have survived as barely visible shallow hollows, and the axis of the Redlands Farm Long Barrow was extended by Barrows 7 and 8 to the north-east and an unexcavated barrow to the south-west.

It has been argued that the construction of round barrows reflects the development of new social priorities (3.6). Both their frequency and their size suggest that families, or other close-knit social groupings, were now involved in creating their own monumental foci, a process that saw people returning to and transforming these sites. Mound-building was seldom the first event, and it is sometimes possible to posit a prelude

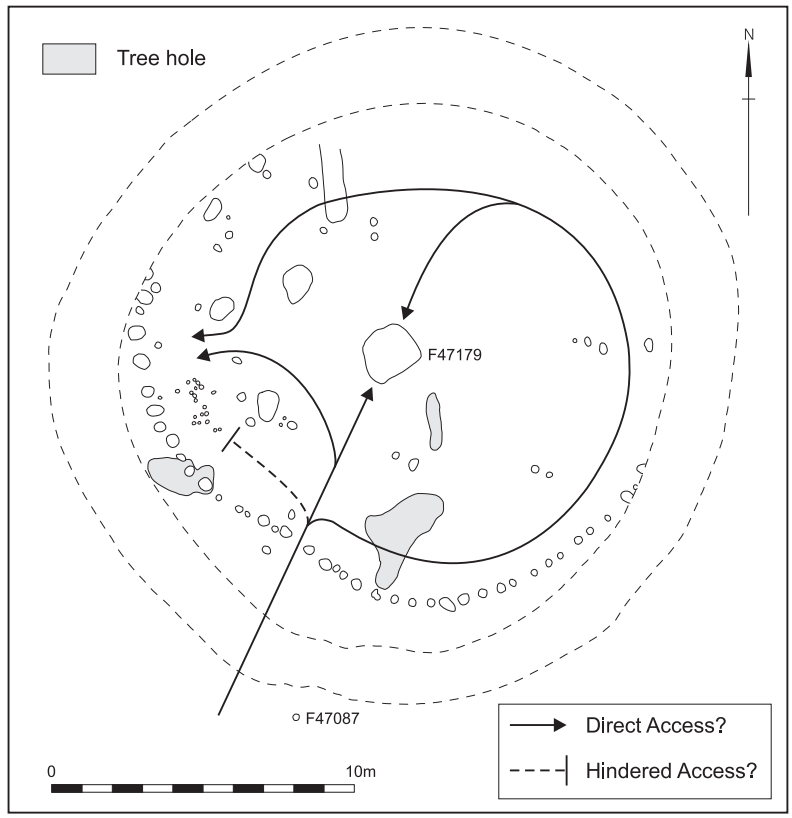
of some years before earthwork construction, especially at Barrows 3 and 5, where timber settings preceded the mounds. These settings had many features in common with substantial, sometimes unditched, freestanding timber circles (Gibson 1998). Both included posts of 0.20m or more in diameter and would have been more robust than the stake circles that underlie many barrows, such as those at Little Duke Farm, Deeping St Nicholas, Lincolnshire; or Barnack (Donaldson 1977, 203) and Tallington (W Simpson 1976, 226–7), in the Welland valley; or at Sproxton, Leicestershire (Clay 1981, 5–6). These, like others elsewhere in Britain (Lynch and Wadell 1993), were made up of slender, pointed stakes seldom more than 0.10m in diameter.

But why were these timber settings constructed and how did they relate to the later mounds? Barrett (1988, 38–9) sees such features as intrinsic to funerary practice, usually enclosing a single central burial pit, and it has even been suggested that substantial timber poles or uprights acted as memorials to the recent dead (Pitts 2000, 257–8). If they were indeed part of the interaction between the mourners and the grave, a process described as the 'making of the dead' (Barrett 1994, 115), then any interpretation of the ways in which such settings were used depends very much on how and where it was possible to move between the timbers. Even the narrowest space between posts or stakes in most circles would have been passable, at a pinch, but movement may have been restricted by custom or by physical barriers. The uprights may have been linked into walls or screens by planking, wattles or, more temporarily, by skins or textiles. An attempt is made in Panel 4.1 to reconstruct patterns of movement from the plans of the Raunds settings, on the premise that even passable obstacles may deflect movement, and direct it along easier paths, as has been done by Pollard (1992, 222–5) and Gibson (1998, 83–90).

Panel 4.1 Possible patterns of movement through the post- and stake-settings beneath Barrows 5 and 3

Barrow 5

The setting here was truncated by the inner ditch and, on the evidence of a total lack of postpipes, had been dismantled before the ditch was cut or the mound was built. It is impossible to tell whether the primary central feature – with its Wessex/Middle Rhine Beaker and barbed-and-tanged arrowheads (Fig 4.5: F47179) – was an integral part of the setting or post-dated it. The salient features of the incomplete plan might be read as follows. A possible entrance, consisting of a relatively wide gap flanked on the west by an inner and an outer post close to the centre of a flattened length of the circuit, gave onto the long-established axis of monuments along the terrace, in the middle of which lay the setting. The axial location of this entrance suggests that there might have been a corresponding one in the vanished north-eastern side. Passage between the two might have been direct or, especially if F47179 was already present, might have followed an aisle between the periphery and the centre, marked by several pairs of posts, most of them set radially to the circuit. If so, anticlockwise movement seems more likely, as, to the west of the entrance, the aisle was filled with a cluster of



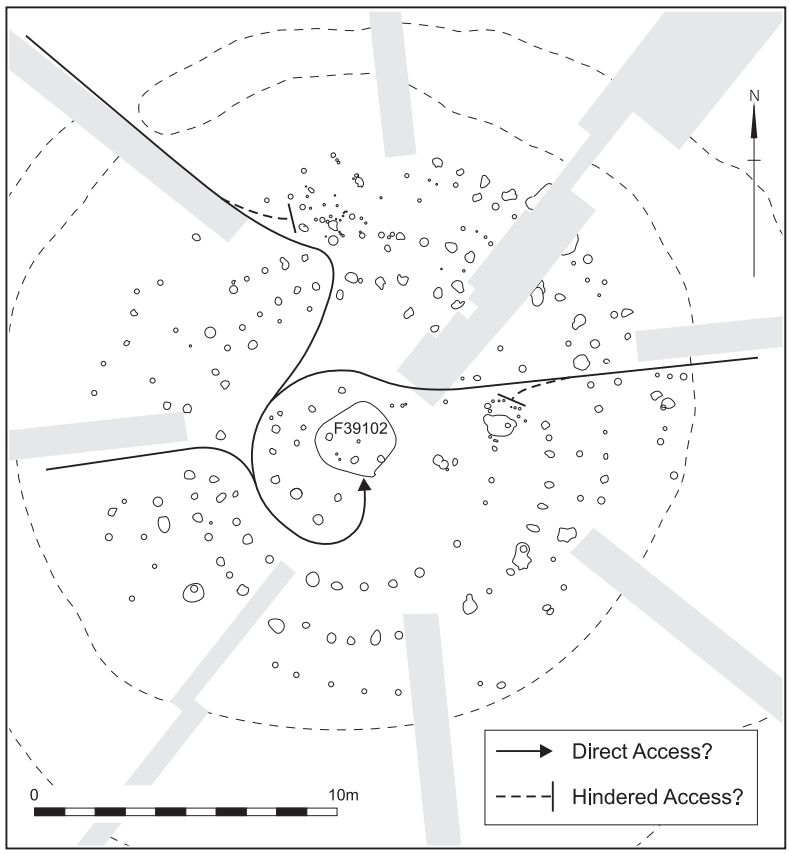
Possible paths among Barrow 5 posts and stakes.

postholes and stakeholes. The west side might have been a focus of activity. It was here that post pairs give way to a short inner arc of posts; the posts of the circuit tended to be larger and there was an unpatterned scatter of pits and postholes, such as might have been generated in the course of a series of separate events.

Barrow 3

Here the time scale might have been longer. Postpipes and stakepipes, some of them inclined, show that almost all the posts and stakes had rotted *in situ* by the time the barrow mound was built, except for some peripheral ones that were visible in the body of the mound and must have post-dated the rest. If the rings were indeed laid out from six slightly different centres, as has been suggested (Rault SS1.14), there is an argument for consecutive construction. Alternatively, not all of the 'rings' may ever have been complete circles. The central feature was already infilled by the time posts were set into it, and a date of 2140–1740 Cal BC (3590±70 BP; OxA-3051) on oak charcoal from one of the postholes cutting it suggests that the timber settings may date from shortly before the barrow was built. The following interpretation assumes that most of the posts and stakes were standing at the same time.

A row of three postholes extending outwards from the periphery at a point slightly north of east could mark the outer end of a straight corridor, leading to an open, post-free area north of the central feature. On the south side of this corridor, two short rows of posts and stakes could have screened off a pit and blocked passage between two of the inner circles, encouraging movement forwards into the space north of the central feature. Hence, it would have been possible to go around the central post cluster and up to the south side of the feature itself. In the north-west, another cluster of posts and stakes spanned the gap between the outermost ring and the next. Whether or not the outermost ring had been built when these timbers were standing, they would have encouraged movement anticlockwise between rings or towards the space north of the central feature. They aligned with the north-east side of the only surviving causeway across the inner ditch, which may not have existed when they were extant, as the ditch and the settings were not concentric. If the ditch post-dated the cluster, the causeway might have perpetuated the location of the earlier entrance.



Possible paths among Barrow 3 posts and stakes.

It is impossible to tell whether the central features at both Barrows 3 and 5 were integral to the surrounding timber settings, but their location certainly suggests this. At Barrow 5, the circle of closely set stakes and posts would, when complete, have created a more-or-less totally enclosed space around the feature – an inner region at least partly hidden from the outside world. The shallow pit gave every impression of having held a burial, although no human remains were actually present (Fig 4.5). If the feature had indeed been dug for a funeral, then the timber circle would have created a special and private place for all involved. Even its very construction may have united the bereaved in an act of commemoration. Barrow 3 is more complex, not just in terms of its timber settings, but because the irregular central feature gives no indication of its

original use. But despite this, it is again possible to envisage a partly open inner sanctum in which a small number of people could congregate, separated from the outside world by what to the enclosed viewer may have seemed like a forest of posts and stakes. Hence, the timber settings at Barrows 3 and 5 could have focused attention on the ceremonies with which the initial use of these sites were associated. The importance of these locales, and perhaps the people with whom they were connected, may be borne out by the probability that the Barrow 5 corpse – which, on the evidence of the surviving artefacts may have been the earliest Beaker burial at Raunds – was disinterred.

Even without timber settings, some other late 3rd-/early 2nd-millennium barrows in the region also had a protracted pre-mound history. At Barnack, in the Welland valley, the gravel-cut first ditch was backfilled almost as soon as it was dug, after an infant burial had been placed on its base. This would not have left enough material to build a mound, so that the initial monument may have consisted of a slight bank and the backfilled ditch – with or without the 'primary' burial, which was eccentric to the inner ditch (Donaldson 1977, 199, 209, 225). On the site of barrow 1 at Etton Landscape site 15, downstream from Barnack, a 'flat' cemetery of ten inhumations, some successive, seems to have developed before the mound was built (French and Pryor 2005). Given histories like these, the remarkable stone and bone cairn of Barrow 1 at Raunds may have stood exposed for some time before the inner ditch was dug and a mound built over it; a post or stake would have stood on the site of Barrow 4; and the first funerary stage of Barrow 6 may have consisted of a shallow ditch with a slight bank surrounding a central grave, a pit near the ditch edge (Fig 3.71: F199), and a post set in the ditch base nearby (Fig 3.71: F3199). In this open state, the sites would have been accessible and may have been the scene of observances different from those that would have been practised after they were mounded over. Moreover, the diversity of these initial features is noticeable and suggests considerable invention on the part of the builders. It may even be that their form in some way reflected the social persona of the celebrated individual or the bereaved. Some indication of the time that may have elapsed before any mound was built is provided by French's (1994a, 109) estimate of 10 to 20 years for the decay of stakes forming multiple concentric circles around the primary burial at Little Duke Farm, Deeping St Nicholas, Lincolnshire.

Nor need all pre-mound elements have been built ones. In the open landscapes of the late 3rd and early 2nd millennium at Raunds, some monuments may have been built around trees or on the sites of them. The primary burials of Barrows 1 and 6 were both cut through the edges of treeholes that were central to the inner ditches of the monuments (Figs 3.71, 3.96). An eccentric feature cut by the central grave of Barrow 9 may also have been a treethrow hole (Fig 3.112). The tree at the centre of Barrow 6 would have been little more than a sapling, assuming that its branches had a similar spread to its roots, which occupied an area approximately 1.60m across (Fig 4.1). It is unclear whether it was still standing when the grave was cut. If so, it ceased to grow soon afterwards, as there was none of the disturbance to the grave that spreading roots would have caused. The tree at the centre of Barrow 1 would have been larger, its roots occupying an area of about 3.0m × 1m, and it had fallen before the grave was cut, as the hole had the crescentic plan of a treethrow in contrast to the subcircular plan of the Barrow 6 treehole, and was visible only in a lower horizon of the buried soil while the grave was visible in its surface (Fig 3.102). If the central position of treeholes and possible treeholes in these monuments was other than fortuitous, these last two must have been remembered for years, and possibly for decades.

At first sight, their location indeed seems fortuitous. Treeholes of diverse dates were, after all, found wherever the alluvium was removed from the palaeosol. But the Barrow 1 and Barrow 6 treeholes were more central to the first ditches of those monuments than the primary burials were themselves (Figs 3.71, 3.96). The single most persuasive argument for design rather than accident in their relation to the barrows is provided by 'Seahenge', at Holme-next-the-Sea in Norfolk (Brennand and Taylor 2003; Pryor 2001b). Here, the setting of the upturned base of a fallen oak, carefully trimmed and debarked, at the centre of an elliptical timber palisade, all but one timber of which was set with the bark to the exterior (like the walls of the Haddenham chamber long before),

leaves no doubt that one tree had considerable significance for a population living in eastern England at the time when the first stages of the Raunds barrows were being built. A combination of dendrochronology and radiocarbon dating places the felling of the Holme timbers in the spring or early summer of 2049 BC (Groves 2003). If this tree was important, others may also have been.

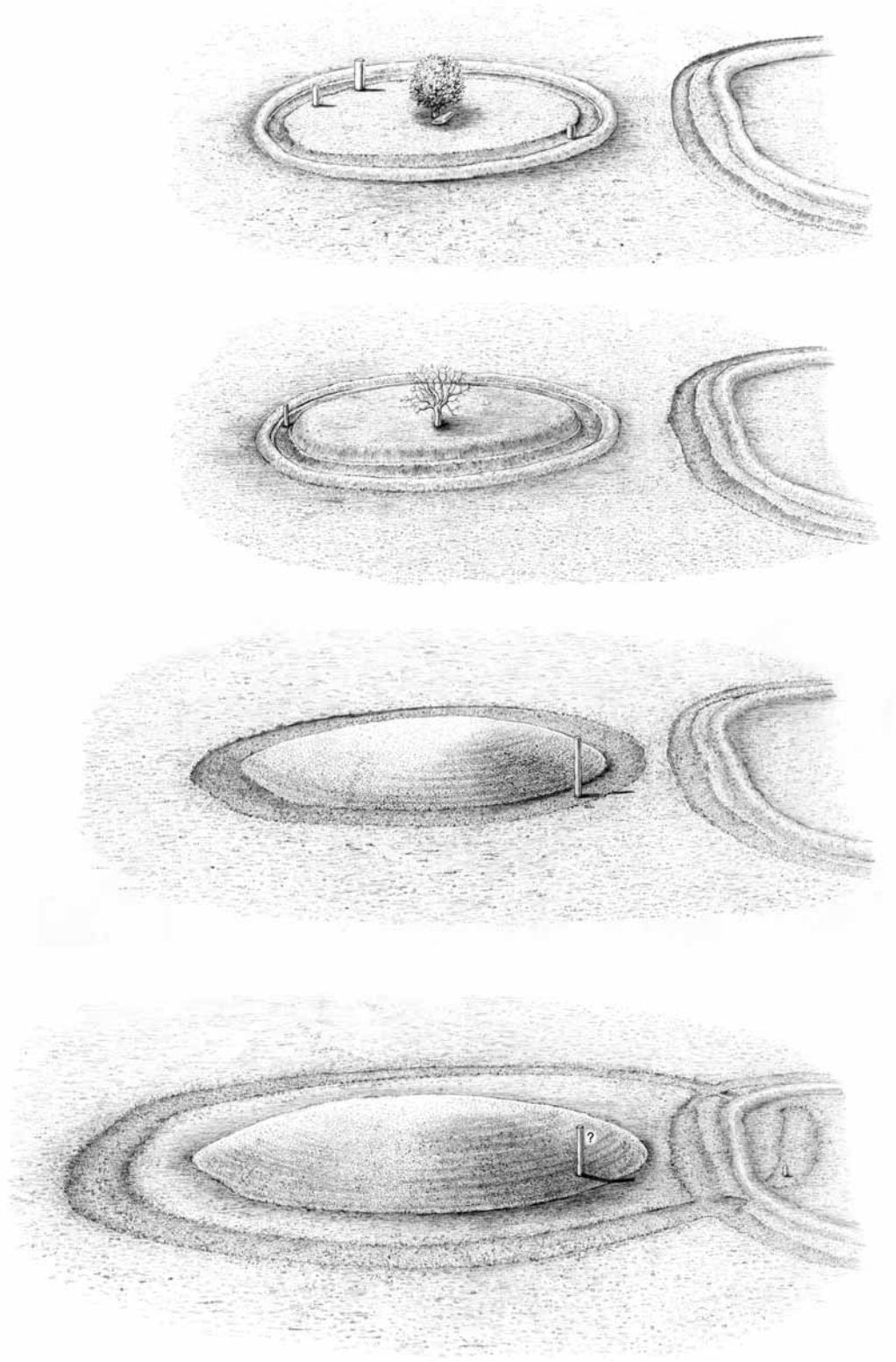


Figure 4.1
Barrow 6. Reconstructions showing posts and stakes likely to have been standing at successive stages.

One would expect arboreal beliefs and practices among a population for whom trees were important as a renewable source of raw materials, fuel, food and almost certainly less visible products, such as medicines. Trees (as Brennand and Taylor point out) could have played a prominent part in perceptions of the natural world, and may also have been expressions of social and cultural identity. The probability is heightened by the widespread ascription of symbolic value to trees in both pre-industrial and industrial societies. Their properties of longevity, regeneration and strength, their branching structure, and their individuality recurrently evoke diverse and polyvalent responses in the human imagination. Trees can stand for peoples, lineages and individuals; can symbolise relationship and descent; can be endowed with personality; and can provide a bridge between the earth in which they are rooted and the heavens to which they reach. There is surely a wide applicability in Fernandez' (1998, 104) conclusion to a comparison of two very different groups of forest- or forest-margin-dwellers, one in equatorial Africa and one in northern Spain:

> *For, in their passings to and fro in their contiguous forests, they have become connected to their trees, and out of this connection has come a sense of similarity between trees and themselves and trees and their body social and body politic. Trees are powerful in their imaginations and powerful imaginations among them make use of that fact.*

From the late 1st millennium BC onwards, classical authors describe the importance of trees and groves in north-west European religion, and the roles of trees in iconography and practice are reflected in the archaeological record (Aldhouse-Green 2000). These and later European tree beliefs were classically documented by Frazer (1922, chs 9–10). Even in recent British tradition, trees have had power for good or evil (J Simpson and Roud 2000, 11, 108, 264, 301, 391–2). They are still planted to mark public events or stages in individual lives; some old trees have names; and others are associated with legendary or historical figures. To take a local instance, in the early 20th century, Yardley Chase in southern Northamptonshire retained two centuries-old oaks named after the giants Gog and Magog, as well as a third known as Judith, because it was reputedly planted by Judith, Countess of Northumberland (a niece of William the Conqueror) in the 11th century, and also as Cowper's Oak, because it was the subject of the poem 'Yardley Oak' written by William Cowper in the 18th century (Dale 1937, 296; Nisbet 1906, 351). Cowper, indeed, reflects on the very properties of longevity, regeneration and strength that ethnographers record as evoking responses in many societies.

The Raunds barrows are not the only monuments that might have been built around trees or treeholes. Caution is necessary because trees have often been planted or allowed to grow on barrows, and, if there is no surviving mound, it is impossible to tell at what stage in the monument's history the tree grew. A far from exhaustive search has yielded the following examples. There is a hint of an earlier origin for the practice in a treehole in the centre of a causeway in the Barford cursus, Warwickshire, possibly, but not certainly, pre-dating the monument (Loveday 1989, 54–6). Among round barrows and ring ditches, the central burial in ring ditch B at Roxton, Bedfordshire, was cut through a treehole from which the excavators thought the ditch might have been laid out (A Taylor and Woodward 1985, 80, 96–7, 102–3). At Bagington, Warwickshire, a treehole central to an undated ring ditch pre-dated the postholes of a 16th-century fence, although it was impossible to tell if it had been sealed by the mound (Hobley 1970). The ragged, kidney-shaped plan, irregular profile and indistinct edges of the central feature beneath the Lockington barrow in Leicestershire all suggest that it was a treehole. This is not, however, the excavator's interpretation and, for it to be valid, the feature would have to have been incompletely excavated – a feasible outcome in view of its poor definition – as its recorded depth of 0.20m would be far too shallow for a treehole 6–7m across. What is certain is that it had few of the characteristics of a deliberately cut feature and that it had infilled, incorporating sherds of a Food Vessel, before charcoal with a very small amount of uncertainly human cremated bone were scattered over it in the first half of the 2nd millennium Cal BC (Hughes 2000, 4–12). Its central position, and the scattering over it of the charcoal and burnt bone, leave little doubt that the monument was built around a natural feature of one kind or another.

The construction of the burial mounds is likely to represent a notable transformation at each of these locales. Their episodic building marks a shift in the focus of attention,

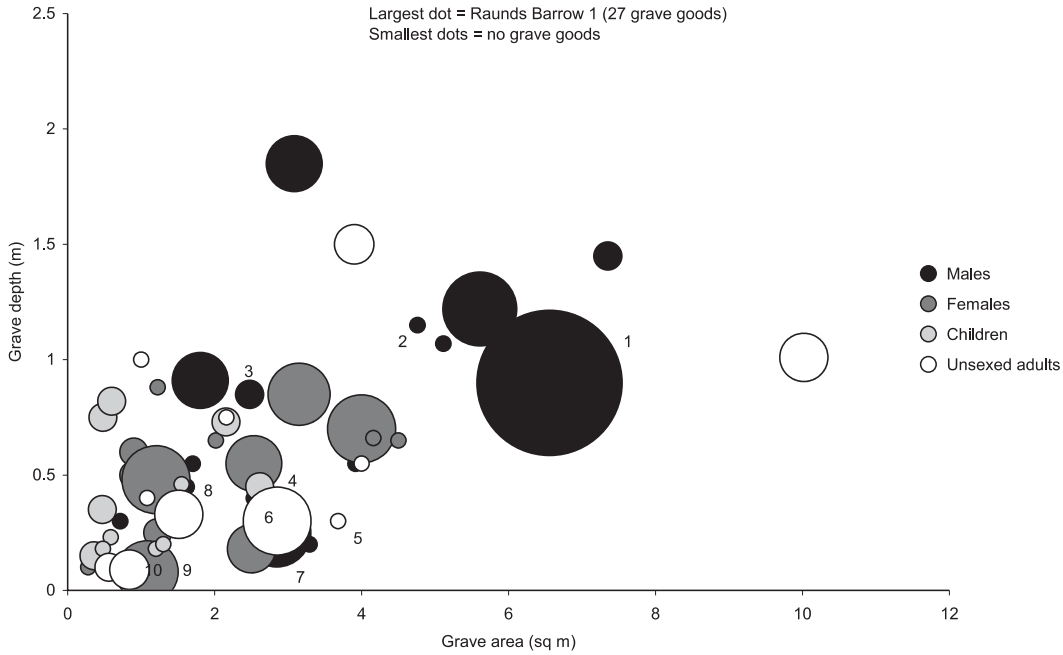


Figure 4.2
Grave size in relation to number of grave goods, sex and age in the 63 graves listed in Appendix SS7.1 for which data are available. Parts of a single object, like beads of a necklace or fragments of a pot are counted as 1. The Raunds graves are numbered as follows: 1 Barrow 1 F30426, 2 Barrow 9 F727, 3 Barrow 1 F30449, 4 Barrow 9 F741, 5 Barrow 7 F2000, 6 Barrow 5 F47179, 7 Barrow 6 F3259, 8 Barrow 9 F729, 9 Long Barrow F131, 10 Barrow 9 F725.

away from the primary grave or central pit that survives in most cases at Raunds, to the outer appearance of the monument itself. This 'externalisation' of meaning may be mirrored by a change in the status of the deceased, from being mourned as a recently dead individual, to now being honoured and memorialised as an inaccessible and heroic figure who lived and died in the distant past (Barrett 1994, 127).

The mounds had greater physical durability than the diverse features that preceded them, and the meanings associated with individual sites stretched through time as they were repeatedly visited and modified. Three successive ditches were dug at Barrows 1 and 6, and their original mounds greatly enlarged. It is presumed that the outer ditch at Barrow 9 was later, providing material for an enlargement of its mound, while the ditch at Barrow 3 was recut to a greater width and depth around half its circumference, and gravel capping added to its mound. A pit was also cut into the barrow's centre, a practice mirrored at Barrow 5, where two secondary pits were dug into the middle, and at Barrow 1, where an inhumation and cremation burial had been inserted into the original mound. All the enlargements, refurbishments and secondary burials served to emphasise the existing mound and any primary burial, suggesting that the celebration and commemoration of a site's original meanings were very much part of social narrative. This could be understood as attempts by small groups of people – perhaps the family members or other close-knit social groupings to whom the dead individual belonged – to renew their relations of inheritance, obligation and affinity with the dead. The importance attached to creating a permanent memorial may be illustrated at Barrow 6, where a thick, homogeneous gravelly layer near the top of the second ditch has been interpreted as the result of deliberately cleaning the mound (Fig 3.74: 3192).

The valley bottom could therefore have become a stage for the expression of small group ancestry. The mounds would have been highly visible, especially as the light-coloured gravel capping of most of them would have been reflective, particularly after rain, and would have delayed the growth of vegetation, like the banks of the middle-Neolithic monuments. They were now the most significant and permanent points of reference for anyone wishing to locate themselves in the landscape. Their sustained visibility, from the valley sides and plateau edge as well as from the valley floor, may have been an assertion of identity with the area. But the various acts of construction at individual barrows are unlikely to have been contemporary with one another, and so, at any one point in time, the landscape would effectively be a record of these groups' differing histories, perhaps even giving rise to notions of seniority. The importance of keeping connected with one's ancestry may

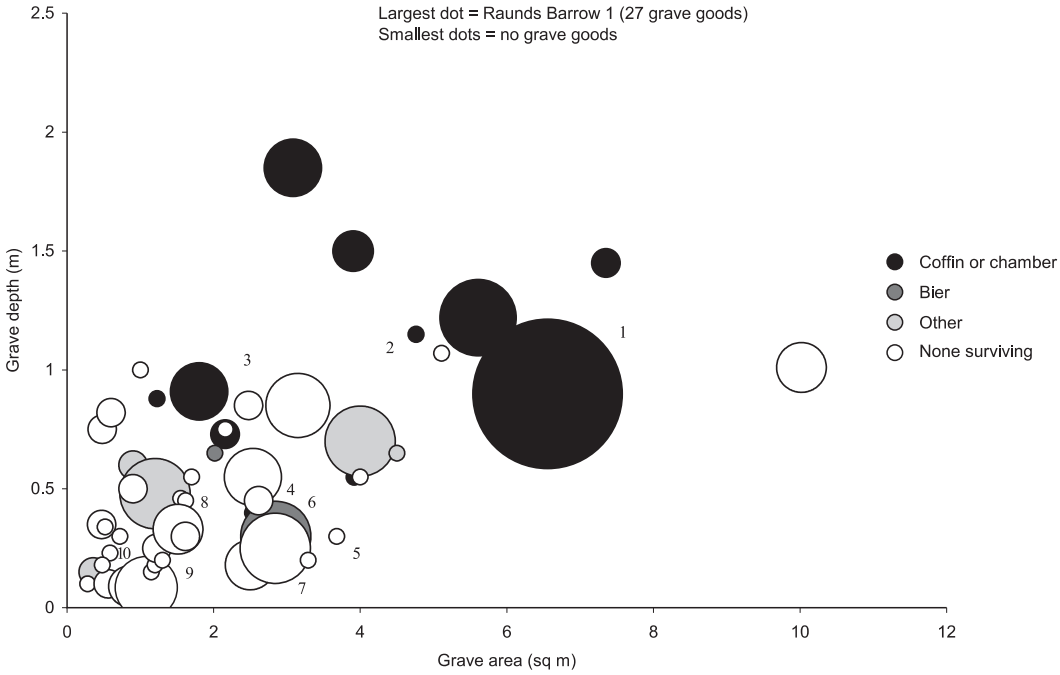


Figure 4.3
Grave size in relation to number of grave goods and presence or absence of grave furniture in the 63 graves listed in Appendix SS7.1 for which data are available. Parts of a single object, like beads of a necklace or fragments of a pot are counted as 1. The Raunds graves are numbered as follows: 1 Barrow 1 F30426, 2 Barrow 9 F727, 3 Barrow 1 F30449, 4 Barrow 9 F741, 5 Barrow 7 F2000, 6 Barrow 5 F47179, 7 Barrow 6 F3259, 8 Barrow 9 F729, 9 Long Barrow F131, 10 Barrow 9 F725.

even explain why an unkempt barrow was returned to: spreads of scrub charcoal in the ditch of Barrow 3 may reflect the maintenance, even the restoration, of a neglected mound. A comparable event may have taken place in the later 2nd millennium at Radwell, Bedfordshire, where a layer in a partly silted barrow ditch, rich in charcoal of scrub species dated to 1440–970 Cal BC (3000±90 BP; HAR-1420), contained a jet toggle, an amber bead, a large, well-preserved body sherd, a cattle femur and a sheep tibia, all placed together as a single deposit (Hall and Woodward 1977, 6–12). Others may be represented by charcoal layers in partly silted ring ditches at Milton Keynes, dated to 1740–1300 Cal BC (3230±90 BP; I-7144) and 1220–790 Cal BC (2780±90 BP; I-7148; H Green 1974, 75–81, 88–104).

The roles of Early Bronze Age round barrows

It has been argued that the distinctiveness of round barrows lies in how burial 'now structures and dominates the organisation of the monument rather than being included within an architectural form structured around other practices' (Barrett 1988, 39). The funerary role of the barrows at Raunds was certainly a major one: four of the seven fully excavated barrows covered primary burials, and subsequent activity included the enlargement of the original mounds built over these graves and the insertion of later burials, notably cremation burials, which were usually peripheral to these foci. Funerary practice, here and in the wider region, is discussed below (4.2). There are, however, reasons for imputing other, non-funerary, functions to the Raunds round barrows and for thinking that the social narratives being created across the valley bottom at Raunds may have also drawn on other aspects of Early Bronze Age life.

Not least of these is the absence of primary burials from Barrows 3 and 4, and the absence of any burials at all from the south part of the Turf Mound. Such absences are not rare. The certainty with which primary or other burials can be assumed to have been absent elsewhere varies with the completeness of the monument, the extent of excavation, and local bone preservation. With these reservations, there seem to have been no burials in Etton Landscape sites 1 and 8 (French and Pryor 2005), and no primary burials in three out of five excavated ring ditches at Roxton, Bedfordshire (A Taylor and Woodward 1985, 78, 85–93), and in two out of sixteen excavated barrows and ring ditches at Barrow Hills, Radley, Oxfordshire (A Barclay and Halpin 1999, 111–15, 157). Farther afield, the absence of burials or any trace of them in the form of graves, grave goods or robber pits from three out of nine excavated barrows with upstanding mounds at West Heath, Harting, Sussex (Drewett 1976; 1985) is difficult to attribute entirely to the solution of bone in acid conditions. Barrow-building could be independent of any burial.

Charred planks, as distinct from unmodified wood, from two of the Raunds barrows suggest that structures may have been burnt and samples of their remains buried. There was a charred plank fragment in the outer ditch of Barrow 6 and, more persuasively, a pile of charred oak planks near the base of the mound of Barrow 4 (Fig 3.106). Possibly structural timbers were also incorporated in an Early Bronze Age mound at Trowse-with-Newton, Norfolk, near the Arminghall henge. Here, in the top of what was probably an inhumation grave (no bone survived in the local soil conditions), were three roughly squared carbonised oak timbers up to 0.15m across and over 1m long, dated to the later 3rd millennium Cal BC, at least one of which had been hot enough to redden the underlying fill, whether or not it was burnt *in situ*. In an adjacent grave there was a bowl-shaped hearth half way up the fill, which covered another probable inhumation, this time accompanied by a Beaker, with further charred material in the upper fill. A fire had also been lit in one of the ditches after the accumulation of only a little primary silt (Healy 1982, 9–13). Burning other than that of cremation pyres played a part in Bronze Age ritual.

There were other non-funerary insertions into barrows. A pit cut into Barrow 3 at Raunds contained sherds, an arrowhead fragment and a flint flake, but no human remains; and another, containing charred plant remains and an unidentified bone fragment, was cut into the outer ditch of Barrow 1. These are not isolated occurrences. Several small pits and two postholes, all but one of them without finds, were cut into the central mound and silted inner ditch at Barnack (Donaldson 1977, 203–4). Unaccompanied Food Vessels were inserted into the Early Bronze Age mound built over the Neolithic monument at Orton Meadows, and unaccompanied Beakers into a neighbouring Early Bronze Age round barrow (Mackreth forthcoming). Another apparently unaccompanied Food Vessel was found near the edge of Oliver Cromwell's Hill, Eyebury, Cambridgeshire (Leeds 1912, 84–6); a small Collared Urn without a cremation deposit stood upright in a pit within the ring ditch of barrow 5 at Gayhurst Quarry, Buckinghamshire (Chapman forthcoming b; Chapman *et al* 1999, 17); and a miniature Collared Urn and a flowerpot-like miniature vessel were found in the Beacon Hill barrow at Barton Mills, Suffolk (Cawdor and Fox 1924, 27, 43–5). Non-funerary pits, one of which seemed to have contained an organic vessel, were cut during the use of a round barrow at Bixley, Norfolk (Ashwin and Bates 2000, 23–4). A pit peripheral to the barrow at Lockington, Leicestershire, contained two gold armlets, a copper dagger and the lower parts of two rusticated Beakers (Hughes 2000).

In and around the Raunds barrows there were a number of postholes or possible postholes, which did not form part of structures and were in some cases embedded in the stratigraphic sequences of the monuments, where some seem to have stood briefly before being removed (Table 4.2). The most convincing was in Barrow 6, where a posthole, which would have held an upright *c* 0.35m in diameter, was cut into the fully silted middle ditch (Fig 3.59: F3210), possibly before the third and final enlargement of the mound, some time after which a cremation burial F3219 in the outer ditch was marked with a stake. These two may have been the last in a series of posts, some more convincing than others (Fig 4.1). In the inner ditch of Barrow 1 the base of a posthole seems to have been preserved in the primary silts and sealed by subsequent ones, and there was a very similar feature in the outer ditch, this time extending into the underlying natural deposits (Fig SS1.113: F20044). Two of the conjoined pits that made up the Segmented Ditch Circle were almost circular, substantially smaller than the others, and rather deeper (Fig 3.81: F81641 and an unnumbered pit between F87539 and F87541). The possibility that one or each of them held a post that was taken down when the ditch was backfilled is heightened by the presence of a straight, charred oak timber more than 3m in length and up to 0.20m in diameter near the base of the backfill elsewhere in the circuit (Figs 3.81, 3.86).

Postholes also provide what little evidence there is for activity around and beyond the monuments. Two postholes outside the Long Barrow pre-dated middle Bronze Age cremation pits (Fig 3.108: F203/F206 and F211). F203/F206 is also tentatively dated to the later Neolithic or Early Bronze Age by a minute sherd. Its location, 5m in front of the centre of the higher, wider end of the barrow, suggests an intention to mark and extend the axis of the mound. With a maximum dimension of more than a metre, it could have held a substantial post. A much slighter possible posthole cut into the mound itself is also close to the long axis (Fig 3.24: F294).

Table 4.2 Non-structural postholes and possible postholes in definite or possible relationship to the Raunds monuments

Depths are often minima, since many may have been truncated by ploughing prior to alluviation or by other activities.

Monument	*Feature(s)*	*Description*	*Maximum horizontal dimension (m)*	*Depth (m)*	*Dating*	*Probable date*
Long Mound	F5297, F5319, F5323, F5327, F5332, F5339, F5417, F5441, F5442	9 postholes or possible postholes filled with grey-brown to orange-brown silty sand. Most 0.23–0.35m in diameter, and 0.9–0.20m deep. Confined to E-centre of mound, most clustered towards S edge	0.23–0.70	0.06–0.20	In old land surface beneath east-centre of mound or, in three cases (F5323, F5441, F5442) just outside surviving east-centre of mound, probably originally underneath it. F5339 cut by a stake of easternmost stake row	Late 5th or early 4th millennium
Turf Mound	F6105	Possible pit or posthole, V-profiled, filled with dark brown to grey-brown sandy loam, recorded in quarry edge section	0.60	0.30	In old land surface under N end of mound	Early 4th millennium if indeed anthropogenic
	F6109	Possible posthole, steep-sided, flat-bottomed, filled with dark brown sandy loam with some charcoal flecks, recorded in quarry edge section	0.30	0.15	In old land surface under N end of mound	Early 4th millennium if indeed anthropogenic
Long Barrow	F294	Possible posthole with steep sides and flattish base. Lower fill mid-brown sandy silt loam with 5% gravel; upper fill greyish light brown sandy silt loam with 20% gravel	0.20	0.30	Cut into surface of mound, May have just cut edge of pit 239	4th millennium or later
	F203=F206	Posthole beyond NE end of the barrow, bowl-shaped with rounded base and fairly steep sides. Filled with grey-brown sandy silt loam with up to 30% gravel. Oval postpipe containing some charcoal. No dimensions for postpipe	1.05	0.38	Cut by middle Bronze Age cremation. 1sherd/2g late Neolithic/early Bronze Age pottery from posthole; 1 sherd/4g Peterborough Ware from cremation, in addition to Deverel-Rimbury urn	Later 4th millennium to later 2nd millennium
	F211	Possible posthole beyond NE end of Long Barrow. Subcircular plan, slightly irregular base, steep sides	0.65	0.18	Cut by middle Bronze Age cremation. Absence of cremated bone and charcoal suggests lack of relation to cremation cemetery	4th millennium to later second millennium
	F199	Possibly a truncated posthole beyond NE end of Long Barrow. Bowl-shaped, filled with grey-brown silt loam with 20% gravel	0.32	0.08	Sealed by alluvium. Absence of cremated bone may suggest lack of relation to MBA cemetery	4th millennium BC to first millennium AD
	F254–F261, F269, F271–F274	13 postholes along outer edge of SE ditch of Long Barrow. Generally steep-sided with flat or slightly rounded bases. Filled with grey-brown silty sand loams with up to 20% gravel	0.36–0.60	0.12–0.35	Later than silting of SE barrow ditch, earlier than alluviation, 1 sherd/2g Deverel-Rimbury from F269	Later 2nd millennium BC to 1st millennium AD
Long Enclosure	F2163	Small oval pit or posthole near centre of N terminal, filled with grey clay mixed with sand and gravel and frequent, mainly small, flecks of charcoal	0.35	0.30	Cut through primary ditch fills and *c* 0.05m into the natural at the base of the ditch, sealed by upper fills	Late 4th to early 3rd millennium

Monument	*Feature(s)*	*Description*	*Maximum horizontal dimension (m)*	*Depth (m)*	*Dating*	*Probable date*
Southern Enclosure	F87680, etc	At least 24 postholes and possible postholes inside enclosure. Some double, some replaced. No postpipes recorded. One very ragged, irregular row, some clusters	0.24–0.83	0.04–0.55	Earlier than alluvium. Small quantities of struck flint, domestic animal bone, charred plant remains including hazelnut shell. Charcoal occasionally abundant, often absent	4th millennium BC to 1st millennium AD
Barrow 6	F199	Pit or posthole with steeply sloping sides and concave base, separated from inner ditch by ridge of natural gravel. Filled with dark grey, virtually pebble-free, sandy silt with occasional orange sand mottles, with the few pebbles concentrated towards the base of the cut. Would have been *c* 0.50m deep from top of contemporary soil	1.00	0.34	Under first mound. Indistinguishability of fill from secondary fill of inner ditch suggests feature filled either immediately prior to, or as part of, the construction of first mound. 1 flint blade	Late 3rd millennium
	F239	Possible posthole. Steep-sided, flat-bottomed, oval plan. Filled with orange-brown silty sand with some pebbles, higher gravel content towards base. Cluster of large cobbles found during machining may have formed post-packing in the upper part of fill. Would have been *c* 0.35m deep from top of contemporary soil	0.50	0.18	Under first mound	Late 3rd millennium or earlier
	F3379	Shallow subrectangular cut in base of inner ditch, steep-sided, flat-bottomed. Fill of mixed silty sands, orange-brown to dark grey in colour, very similar to the primary mound material, but mixed with naturally derived clean sandy silts with few pebble inclusions. Single large cobble	1.30	0.20	Sealed by the primary ditch silts, ?deliberately filled prior to silting	Late 3rd millennium
	F3199	Posthole in inner ditch. Almost vertical sides and rounded base. Fill darker than primary silts, consisting of mixed gravel, red-brown sand and light greyish-brown sandy silt	0.30	0.30	Visible in primary silts and underlying gravel, probably decayed or removed prior to secondary ditch-fill, given absence of darker, mound-like silts within the posthole	Late 3rd millennium
	F3210	Postpit with ramp. Oval plan, almost vertical-sided to E, shallower to W. Circular depression in base 0.14m deep and 0.35m in diameter, with corresponding postpipe filled with compact dark brown sandy loam overlain by more mixed material.	1.20	0.86	Cut into fills of silted middle ditch. Uncertain if sealed by layer 3191 at base of third barrow mound	Early 2nd millennium
	F3219	Stake- or postpipe with vertical sides and rounded base extending to pyre debris in base of cremation pit containing Pomoideae charcoal. Surmounted by disordered sherds of miniature Collared Urn.	0.12	0.10	Cut into largely silted outer barrow ditch. Pomoideae charcoal dated to 2130–1820 Cal BC at 89% probability (3610±40 BP; OxA-7866)	Early 2nd millennium
Double Ring Ditch	F4968	Pit or postpit immediately N of centre. Oval plan, moderately steep sides, rounded base. Filled with orange-brown sandy clay with moderate pebble inclusions	0.60	0.16		2nd millennium

Monument	*Feature(s)*	*Description*	*Maximum horizontal dimension (m)*	*Depth (m)*	*Dating*	*Probable date*
Segmented Ditch Circle	Un-numbered 'northern pit'	Subcircular plan, steep sides, slightly rounded base. Smaller and deeper than segments to either side but infilled together with them	1.80	0.75	An integral part of circuit	Early 2nd millennium
	F87641	Ovoid plan, almost vertical sides, almost flat base. Smaller and deeper than adjacent part so neighbouring segments but infilled together with them	1.80	0.62	An integral part of circuit	Early 2nd millennium
Barrow 1	Un-numbered	Possible posthole in NW part of inner ditch, filled with dark reddish-brown sandy clay loam with pebbles	0.25	0.26	Cut through primary silts, sealed by upper silts	Early 2nd millennium
	F20044	Posthole in outer ditch. Tapering profile, no postpipe, filled with – from the bottom up – loose silty sands with gravel silty clay and further loose silty sand with gravel	0.40	0.25	Cut through primary silts into underlying natural deposits, sealed by upper silts	Early second millennium
	F30059, F30081, F30112, F30114	4 possible postholes S of outer barrow ditch, 5m–20m from peripheral cremations	0.40–0.70	0.16–0.22	Sealed by alluvium. Charred plant remains, including onion couch grass, from F30114	1st millennium AD or earlier
	F30259	Possible posthole N of outer barrow ditch	0.95	0.16	Sealed by alluvium. Flint flake	1st millennium AD or earlier
Barrow 4	F60346	Post- or stakehole with vertical sides and a flat bottom, filled with dark brown sandy clay	0.08	0.25	Cut/driven into pre-mound soil in NW of barrow	Early 2nd millennium or earlier
Barrow 9	F45/5	Posthole inside N edge of inner ditch	0.45	0.30	Recorded in evaluation trench and not on published plan. Directly under ploughsoil	Late 3rd/early 2nd millennium or later
On the terrace, between Causewayed Ring Ditch and Barrow 5	F37614	Posthole. Shallow, subcircular, straight-sided, flat-bottomed. Filled with plastic dark brown sandy clay loam			17 body sherds/90g shell-tempered, ?Neolithic. Charcoal flecks	Neolithic or later
West Cotton, between monuments and main palaeochannel of Nene	F4932	Circular plan, steep sides narrowing to rounded base 0.10m in diameter. Filled with dark grey sandy silt mottled with light grey sandy silt and orange sand, some pebbles. 0.75 m from F4933	0.70	0.50	Sealed by alluvium	First millennium AD or earlier
	F4933	Near-circular plan. Sides slightly shelving to S, steep to near-vertical in N. Deeper circular area in N, 0.30 m in diameter, 0.15 m deep. Filled with dark grey sandy silt, lighter towards bottom, some pebbles. 0.75 m from F4932	1.10	0.65	Sealed by alluvium. Flint core fragment	First millennium AD or earlier

The axial location of three late 3rd- and early 2nd-millennium burials cut into the mound (Fig 3.108) may reflect similar concerns and may indeed be contemporary. In addition to these freestanding posts, there was a pair of prehistoric but otherwise undated posts between the West Cotton monuments and the Nene, and there may have been another, also undated, in the centre of the Double Ring Ditch.

The Raunds examples are not the only non-structural posts in eastern English barrow cemeteries. At site 16, Tallington, Lincolnshire, an oval post measuring 0.35m × 0.28m stood between two stake circles and away from any burials. It was not observed in the overlying final enlargement of the mound, and would seem to have decayed *in situ*, like the stake circles themselves (W Simpson 1976, 227). Two of the features cut into the mound at Barnack were postholes (Donaldson 1977, 203–4). There was a possible postpipe 0.30m across in a pit cut by the outer ditch of a barrow at Bowthorpe, Norfolk (Lawson 1986, 30–35). A single posthole can easily go unrecognised, unexcavated or unreported, especially if undated. The examples cited here raise the possibility that freestanding posts may have been common in and around lowland barrow cemeteries, perhaps even more so than standing stones in upland ones. They could have structured and guided movement around the barrows and themselves been foci for particular acts and events.

There is thus evidence for many kinds of activity at round barrow sites, at all stages in their structural history, including the deposition of animal bone and artefacts unconnected with burials; the digging of pits, many without durable contents; the lighting of fires; and the planting of non-structural posts and stakes. Such evidence tends to be overshadowed by the complexity and visibility of the burials, a focus not entirely divorced from the antiquarian trench to the centre of the mound. Although there were peripheral cremation burials in the Buckskin barrow, in Hampshire, one perhaps buried before the mound was built, the main activities at the site have been reconstructed as the lighting of fires on a turf-built platform centred on a post and surrounded by stake-rings; the consumption of prime joints of meat; the extensive scattering of sherds of a Collared Urn before a mound was built over the platform; and the deposition of a saddle quern and rubber in the ditch (M Allen *et al* 1995, 185–6). Like earlier monuments, round barrows may have been the sites for all or many of the ceremonial acts of the groups who used them, the frequency, character and timing of those acts varying with the group's needs and perceptions. Such groups need not have been large. The twelve to fifteen people who could have built a round barrow (3.6) may have been some or all of them. The diversity of histories and structural features among barrows would accord with a family-scale affiliation, the monument serving the particular needs of a lineage, encapsulating the rites that its members performed in the course of their own history.

Time and memory

Activity at very much older monuments was a noticeable feature of the late 3rd and early 2nd millennium at Raunds. When the round barrows and the Segmented Ditch Circle were built, the earliest monuments had been standing at least 1,500 years, and even the Long Enclosure was over 500 years old. Intervals as long as these would allow for the transformation or disappearance of beliefs attached to the old earthworks. The longer interval is comparable with that between the construction of Early Bronze Age round barrows and their reuse in the Romano-British and Saxon periods. In the Saxon period there are persuasive arguments that barrows and other earthworks served to assert the legitimacy of their users' position by affirming their links with a much older past, which was by then legendary or mythical (R Bradley 1993, 117–21; H Williams 1998). Later Saxon literature suggests that that past is at least as likely to have been alien as ancestral and that, as time went by, the mounds accumulated a collection of associations, some of them sinister. They could be places for the execution and burial of criminals, associated with mythical figures or legendary battles, occupied by dragons or frequented by witches, as well as serving as hundred meeting places and becoming the sites of churches (Semple 1998; Whitley 2002).

At Raunds, both the overall pattern of reuse and the specific forms that it took suggest a knowledge of the character and history of the monuments rather than simply a general consciousness of their great age. The early 4th-millennium Long Mound, Turf Mound, Avenue and Long Barrow, as well as a possible monument on the site of Barrows 7 and 8, were all reworked in one way or another, but the later 4th-millennium Long Enclosure and Causewayed Ring Ditch were not, despite

the fact that both would have been at least as visible as the Avenue, which at this stage would have survived only as a set of very slight depressions. This distinction may not apply to the possibly contemporary Southern Enclosure, where there was a Collared Urn sherd in a pit in the interior. The ways in which these early monuments were treated also suggests a partial awareness or reinvention of their original use. The Avenue, separate from the other monuments and differing from them in form, was the only one to be the site of a hengiform monument, the Segmented Ditch Circle, in which three cremation burials were deposited. This was the only 3rd- or 2nd-millennium monument to have been pit-dug, a mode of construction that also harks back to the earlier sites (3.6). By contrast, the Long Mound and Turf Mound saw limited pit-digging and artefact deposition, accompanied at the latter by the construction of a new mound in the same gravel-free material as the original monument and without any trace of burial. Inhumations took place only at monuments where unburnt human bone had been, or may have been, already deposited, in the Long Barrow and in a possible funerary monument on the site of Barrows 7 and 8. This suggests a belief that these were places for unburnt bone, whether it was based on ancient tradition or on experience of the contents of similar monuments elsewhere.

If the original roles of the monuments had been long-forgotten, reuse would surely have cut across form and date, as in the insertion of Saxon burials into all kinds of pre-existing earthworks (H Williams 1998, 92–5). The pattern at Raunds is different. It suggests an ascription of particular roles or meanings to particular kinds of earthwork, a process in which traditional knowledge, however old and however much transformed, may have played a part. The deliberate fashion in which these older monuments were reworked suggests a desire, or indeed a need, to connect with 'deep' historical time – not so much to create an abstract sense of ritual continuity between the past and the present, but through practice to bind together certain aspects of the past and the present, and create narratives that had very specific meanings to those involved. This is the more understandable given the importance placed on genealogical and historical descent during the late 3rd and early 2nd millennia, for by their very nature these concerns are rooted in the concept of a mythical past and the projection of a timeless future. This may even explain why the Long Enclosure and Causewayed Ring Ditch were avoided during this later period: they may have been of a venerable age, but, unlike their older counterparts, they were not perceived as belonging 'to the beginning of time'.

Physical relationship to the past was expressed differently in Barrow 6, where the location of 1,000-year-old human remains beneath the grave of a young man interred with the full panoply of Beaker grave goods surely affirmed a direct relationship between him and them. Possible motives for doing so could range from the legitimisation of recently established authority to the neutralisation of potentially dangerous forces. The two men whose bones underlay the burial dated not from the time of the reworked first monuments but from that of the largely unmodified later ones, a time scale over which the location of a grave or graves might have been more readily communicated. There may also have been a physical link to the early monuments, if the primary mound of the barrow was indeed built of material from the body of the Long Mound, as is suggested above (3.4.2). These immediate references to past times and people in Barrow 6 are unique among the excavated mounds and may relate to its location at the heart of the original monumental focus at West Cotton.

If the reworking of early 4th-millennium monuments emphasises the importance of temporal relationships, then the same can be said of the remodelling of the round barrows. The various acts of maintenance, refurbishment and expansion would again create narratives by which people could repeatedly renew their relations with the dead ancestors, locating themselves 'in a genealogy leading back into the past' (J Thomas 1999, 156). Barrow 6 illustrates how rapidly the successive remodellings of a round barrow could have followed each other. Radiocarbon dates for the primary inhumation and for the lower of two cremation burials inserted into the silted outer ditch are very similar (Fig 3.117: *UB-3311*, *OxA-7866*). The interval between the two events, during which the mound was twice enlarged, can be calculated as *0 to 120 years at 95% probability*. The intervening processes of mound erosion and ditch silting suggest a duration of at least decades. A relatively short history would elucidate one aspect of the monument.

A postpit cut through the edge of the third mound and into the silted middle ditch (Fig 3.59: F3210) occupied almost the same position as a pit in the base of the inner ditch (Fig 3.71: F3379), which would have been buried and out of sight by the time F3210 was cut (Fig 4.1). If their proximity was not coincidental, F3210 was cut by one who knew the position of F3379, or at least by one who knew that this was a significant point on the circuit. On a time-scale of decades this could have been a matter of living memory, or, at most, knowledge remembered and imparted over two or three generations. The retention of that knowledge by users of the barrow suggests that they formed a coherent group with an identity that endured, at least as long as the monument was being remodelled.

A short timescale may sometimes have obtained in cases elsewhere where the disposition of secondary burials seems to show knowledge of earlier, inaccessible burials in the same mound (Mizoguchi 1993). If barrow sequences are to be measured in decades, at least some of these may reflect the personal memories of those who had been present when the original burial was made. But some burial sequences were longer than this. The second inhumation placed in the central grave of Barrow 2 at Gayhurst quarry shared the supine burial position of the primary burial, which would have been out of sight. Both had the head to the north-east. In this case, a short interval is possible, since the difference between dates of 2210–1770 Cal BC (3640±70 BP (Beta-132795)) for a plank of the Chamber enclosing the primary burial and of 2030–1750 Cal BC (3560±40 BP (Beta-132794)) for charcoal from the cremation that was the fourth of five central burials can be calculated as *0 to 260 years at 95% probability*. The maximum interval here may be less, since the presence of oak heartwood as well as sapwood in the sample for the earlier date makes it a *terminus post quem* for the primary burial (Chapman forthcoming b). The time span of inhumations and barrow modifications at Little Duke Farm, Deeping St Nicholas, Lincolnshire (Cook and Bayliss 1994), can be calculated as *100–430 years at 95% probability*. At Barnack, Cambridgeshire, on the other hand, the interval between the primary inhumation and the latest dated burial (Donaldson 1977, 228; Needham 1996, 128) was much longer, and can be calculated as *400–820 years at 95% probability*. The use span of a barrow must have varied with the history and needs of the group that built and used it. In the longer sequences, any deliberate replication or complementarity of rite between chronologically separated burials must have sprung from detailed knowledge communicated over several generations.

4.2 The treatment of the human body

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The composition of the Neolithic and Bronze Age human remains from Raunds is summarised in Table 4.3. It reflects widely documented trends in mortuary practice, most notably the deposition of disarticulated bone in the 4th millennium, a shift towards articulated inhumation in the last quarter of the 3rd millennium, and its progressive abandonment in favour of cremation during the course of the 2nd millennium. Yet the evidence does not so much show how one practice arose as another completely disappeared, as highlight how the various rites were in episodic use, although with varying frequency, over more extended periods. The small quantity of human bone from Raunds is a reminder that the burial customs represented there were part of a wider spectrum of practice by which the dead were taken out of the domain of the living. The deposition of what must have been a tiny proportion of the population in and around these monuments emphasises how human remains must have been used strategically, during events with specific roles and meanings, rather than simply subjected to routine disposal. In this sense, each act of deposition was part of a unique social narrative, which partly explains the varying ways in which the human body was treated at any point in time. Full osteological reports are to be found in SS4.7.1–6 and the information is synthesised in SS4.7.7. Grave groups are assembled in Figures 4.4–12.

4.2.1 The 4th millennium and early 3rd millennium

Excarnation, the circulation of individual bones, and their eventual deposition were practices established in the area by the time

Table 4.3 Summary of finds of human bone at Raunds by period, excluding redeposited fragments

The periodisation of Needham (1996) is employed from the late 3rd millennium onwards. Overlapping ranges reflect the imprecise dating of some of the burials.
It is assumed that all of the cremations beyond the north-east end of the Long Barrow are of later 2nd millennium date, like the few furnished ones among them.

	Disarticulated bone	*Articulated inhumations*	*Cremations*
Early 4th millennium	3		
Mid to late 4th millennium	1		2
Late 4th-early 3rd millennium	1		
Periods 2–3 2300–1700 Cal BC	1	10	3
Periods 2–4 2300–1500 Cal BC		2	
Periods 3–4 2050–1500 Cal BC			9
Periods 4–6 1700–950 Cal BC			20
Periods 6–7 1150–750 Cal BC	1		
Indeterminate 2nd millennium	1		6

the Long Barrow was built, in *3800–3640 Cal BC*, on the evidence of weathered fragments of long bone and a metatarsal incorporated in two different parts of the mound. The location and form of the limestone cist that formed part of the barrow strongly suggest that it remained accessible once the monument was built, as it was set in the shallow south-west 'tail' of the mound and lacked a south-west wall (Figs 3.23–4). A history of insertion and removal of bone (and other materials?) may have preceded the deposition of the one weathered long bone recovered from the cist when it was excavated. Human bones here may have been in transit through an extended cycle of manipulation. It may be relevant that the cist was large enough to accommodate a whole corpse (Fig 3.24). The human long bones, scapulae and skull fragments from the Etton causewayed enclosure, which were broken, abraded and often gnawed in contrast to better-preserved animal bone from the same contexts (Armour-Chelu 1998), had similarly been through many transformations before burial.

But the minimal amount of human bone deposited in the Neolithic monuments at Raunds over more than a thousand years is only a small part of the spectrum of contemporary funerary practice. There was a continuum from complete integrity at burial to complete disassembly. The factors determining the juncture at which a particular corpse or long-isolated bone was finally buried must have been complex and diverse. Articulated burials in single graves were made occasionally from early in the 4th millennium, as in the case of a male at Orton Meadows, dated to 3650–3370 Cal BC (4741±43 BP; UB-3246; Mackreth forthcoming), and perhaps of an undated crouched inhumation in a pit clustered with Early Neolithic features in the Etton Woodgate enclosure (French and Pryor 2005). Excarnation and burial at the same location were already practised by then. The first of two successive burial alignments at Orton Meadows included an articulated child skeleton, as well as bones of other individuals in varying stages of disarticulation. This must have been sealed early in the 4th millennium, as it pre-dated both the single grave and a second alignment, one skeleton from which is dated to 3660–3340 Cal BC (4713±84 BP; UB-3248). Some of the individuals in the second alignment were partly articulated; and some of the long bones seemed to have been rearranged (Table 4.1; Mackreth forthcoming). Both alignments could be seen as excarnation sites, where the introduction of the most recently deposited bodies occasioned rearrangement of those already present. This is how the final state of the human remains in the chamber of the Haddenham long barrow is interpreted. Here excarnation was a matter of intervention

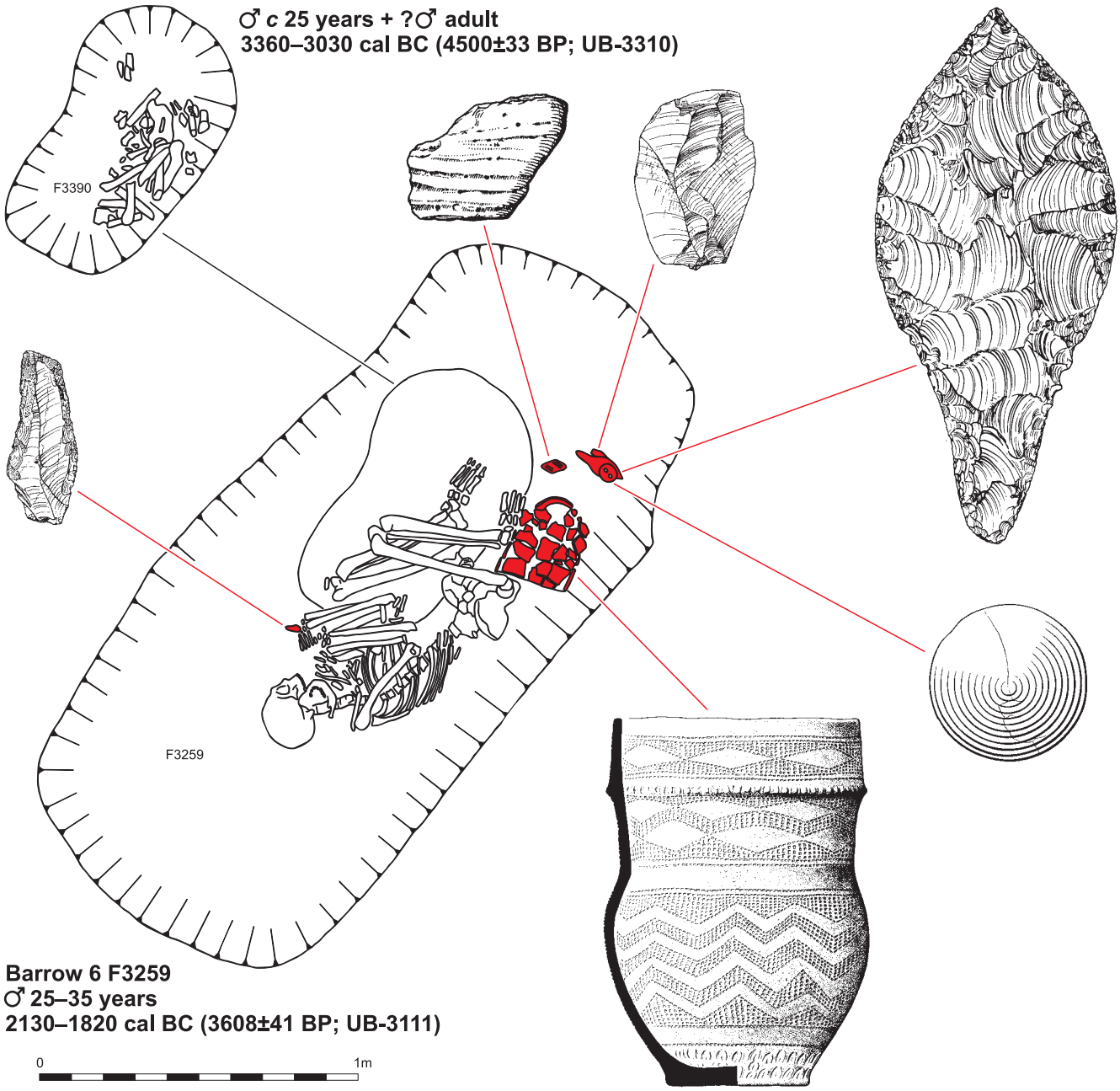


Figure 4.4
Barrow 6. Primary grave group. Pottery 1:4; other objects 1:2.

as well as time: transverse cut-marks on the humerus of one adult are consistent with deliberate defleshing (Evans and Hodder 2006). Articulated corpses also seem to have been introduced successively at Aldwincle, Northamptonshire, perhaps rather later in the 4th millennium. Here the second of two successive pairs of massive postpits bracketed two adult male skeletons, one articulated and one a largely complete pile of bones. A possible interpretation is that, when the second of two excarnation sites, both marked by pairs of posts, ceased to be used, the final corpses placed there (one recently and one some time before) were permanently buried (Table 4.1; Jackson 1976).

The partly articulated skeletons at Orton Meadows suggest that some corpses were covered or protected while excarnation took place, as exposure to scavengers could have meant a far higher degree of degradation. A spread of limestone in the central area at Aldwincle, only marginally coinciding with the surviving skeletons, may have filled this function (Jackson 1976,

fig 7). The preservation and protection of already defleshed skeletons is evidenced at Fengate, where the articulated skeleton of a young man – who had been shot by an arrow tipped with a leaf-shaped arrowhead – was buried at the same time as the badly preserved bones of an infant and the mixed, partly articulated bones of a young woman and a child (Table 4.1; Pryor 1984, 19–27). The last two individuals must have been buried or otherwise curated prior to final burial. The interval between their deaths and this is unlikely to have been long, as a leg and one side of the pelvis of the woman remained in articulation (Pryor 1984, fig 9), so that some tendons must have survived. Something of the order of six months or less might be envisaged (Mant 1987, 71). It is plausible that this burial was triggered by the death of the young man (Pryor 1984, 22). The sealing of more complex sites, such as Aldwincle and the two Orton Meadows alignments, may similarly have been linked to the deaths of the individuals most recently placed in them, but here many other factors may have come into play, including perhaps the abandonment of an area by the groups who used the monuments.

A hint of the diversity of less conspicuous destinations for human remains in the region is provided by possibly Neolithic features such as a stone-capped pit containing a human skull at Aldwincle site 4, Northamptonshire, and a pit containing the semi-articulated and disarticulated remains of at least four adults and one child together with a small amount of struck flint at Dog Kennel Field, Elton, Cambridgeshire (Table 4.1).

By the late 4th millennium, a time when individual burial was becoming increasingly prevalent (3.3.3), there is indirect evidence for its practice at Raunds. The condition of the bones of two incomplete, disarticulated males later buried beneath the central grave of Barrow 6 (Fig 4.4) prompted Simon Mays to conclude that the corpses must have been left to decay naturally, in a place where animals could not gnaw the bones, in other words that they had most probably been buried before they were exhumed and parts of their skeletons were reburied (SS4.7.2). Broadly contemporary may be an infant cremation burial in the south 'quarry pit' of the Long Mound and an adult cremation burial cut into what was to become the berm between the inner and outer ditches of Barrow 5 (Fig 4.11: F5549, F47087), indicating that cremation had by now joined the range of local funerary practices.

The early 3rd millennium is a period in which formal burials have rarely been identified, with the implication that exposure and excarnation became more prevalent than ever before, with only occasional curation of selected bones. There may be a rare exception in the incomplete remains of at least five individuals, including two articulated arms, found in primary contexts in the ditch of an oval barrow at Eynesbury, Cambridgeshire (C Ellis 2004). Here, a radiocarbon date of 2860–2340 Cal BC (4004±55 BP; NZA-14465) on an antler from the same levels would place the human remains and the monument to the early or mid-3rd millennium Cal BC, but this should be treated with caution because collagen preservation was so poor that the antler was the only one of seven bone or antler samples submitted from the excavation to be successfully dated (M Allen *et al* 2004). In these circumstances, some significance attaches to two human femur shaft fragments associated with battered, abraded animal bone in a deposit that may be coeval with the early 3rd-millennium Riverside Structure at West Cotton (3.4). If they are indeed of early 3rd-millennium date, they provide a hint of a practice that may have contributed to the scarcity of late Neolithic burials. The possibility is heightened by a date of 2410–2030 Cal BC (3780±50 BP; Beta-87093) on a partly articulated human rib cage from a palaeochannel at Langford, Nottinghamshire, where human and animal bones had been caught up in a logjam in the river (Garton *et al* 1997; 1997). The practice may have even earlier origins. The eponymous Mortlake bowls were dredged from the Thames at the same time as human remains (R Smith 1910, 340), and a skull from the same river at Battersea is dated to 3950–3500 Cal BC (4880±80 BP; OxA-1199; R Bradley and Gordon 1988, 508), suggesting that the deposition of human remains in water and wet places may already have been practised in the 4th millennium. Undated human remains from elsewhere in the Nene valley may perhaps be equally early. They include a skull fragment from a palaeochannel at Higham Ferrers, upstream from Raunds (Hall and Hutchings 1972, 2), and a skull fragment and post-cranial bones from a silt lens in gravels at Grendon (Burleigh *et al* 1984, 61; W Moore 1985).

4.2.2 The late 3rd millennium and the 2nd millennium

The unsurprising emphasis on articulated inhumation during the last quarter of the 3rd and first quarter of the 2nd millennium, and the increasing prevalence of cremation during the 2nd millennium, suggest that in this period the corpse was intrinsic to the role of many monuments. The human body as a principal medium for the expression of meaning is also connected to the use of grave goods (4.3). The far richer funerary record of this period makes it possible to draw some other conclusions from the Raunds evidence:

1 Despite the increased frequency of single articulated burials in barrows, disarticulation, disturbance of burials, and disinterment remained part of funerary practice.
2 The demographic composition of the inhumations was skewed towards men and children or infants, that of the cremation burials perhaps less so, although a high proportion of unsexed adults makes for uncertainty.
3 Cremation deposits varied substantially in completeness and character.

These conclusions are examined in the context of the burials summarised in Appendix SS7.1, which has been compiled from published accounts of the excavation of round barrows and other Bronze Age burials in Northamptonshire and adjoining parts of Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, as well as those areas of Cambridgeshire, Suffolk and Norfolk that border the south and east of the fenland basin. This encompasses dense concentrations of barrows in the valleys of the Welland, Nene, and Great Ouse as they approach the western edge of the Fens and on the chalk ridge and adjoining sands that form their southern and eastern edges (Lawson *et al* 1981, fig 1).

This sample is incomplete; it is hoped, however, that it is sufficiently large to be representative. The scale of what is already lost is conveyed by a note of a site observed by Wyman Abbott as it was being destroyed at Fengate in the early 20th century, with:

> *'in the first place about 20 inhumation burials of the Early Bronze Age, disposed in and along an oval ring-ditch, 10–11ft [3–3.30m] wide, 6 ft [2m] deep, and enclosing an area of 38yd by 28yd [25m by 35m], and in the second place, intermingled with the inhumations in and along the same ring-ditch, about 130 cremation-burials, one with four bucket-urn fragments of the Late Bronze Age; also, at the east end of the oval was the contemporary crematorium.' (Hawkes and Fell 1943, 190)*

The scale and complexity of recent discoveries that are yet to come to publication are substantial too, most notably in the case of burials excavated in the course of the Haddenham, Barleycroft Farm and Over projects on the lower reaches of the Great Ouse.

Disarticulation, disturbance and disinterment

There are a few instances of either disinterment or the burial of disarticulated bone at Raunds. A Beaker burial in Barrow 5 was disinterred during the Early Bronze Age, perhaps only a short time after it had been placed in the ground (3.5.2; Fig 4.5). The deployment of disarticulated bone is evidenced by fragments from two other individuals in a Beaker burial in the Long Barrow, one of them possibly as much as 400 years older than the articulated skeleton in the same grave (3.5.4), and by the incorporation of an adult tibia and calcaneum in a limestone setting in the enlarged mound of Barrow 3 (3.5.3), a site without a primary burial. It is impossible to tell if these bones were obtained when earlier burials were disturbed (deliberately or accidentally), or if they resulted from other processes.

The frequency of disarticulated bone in Early Bronze Age funerary deposits has been repeatedly asserted by, among others, Petersen (1972), Powlesland (1986, 127), Boyle (forthcoming) and Gibson (2004), yet it still tends to be disregarded in interpretations of the mortuary practice of the period, which remain focused on single, articulated burials. The graves listed in Appendix SS7.1 include cases where subsequent burials have been inserted into the upper parts of existing graves with no or limited disturbance to the original deposits, as when an infant burial was inserted into one of the graves in Barrow 9 at Raunds (3.5.4). They also, however, include graves containing fragmented and dispersed skeletons and grave goods. Some were associated with the insertion of more recent burials, as at Tallington, Lincolnshire (W Simpson 1976, 217–21) or Waterhall Farm, Chippenham, Cambridgeshire

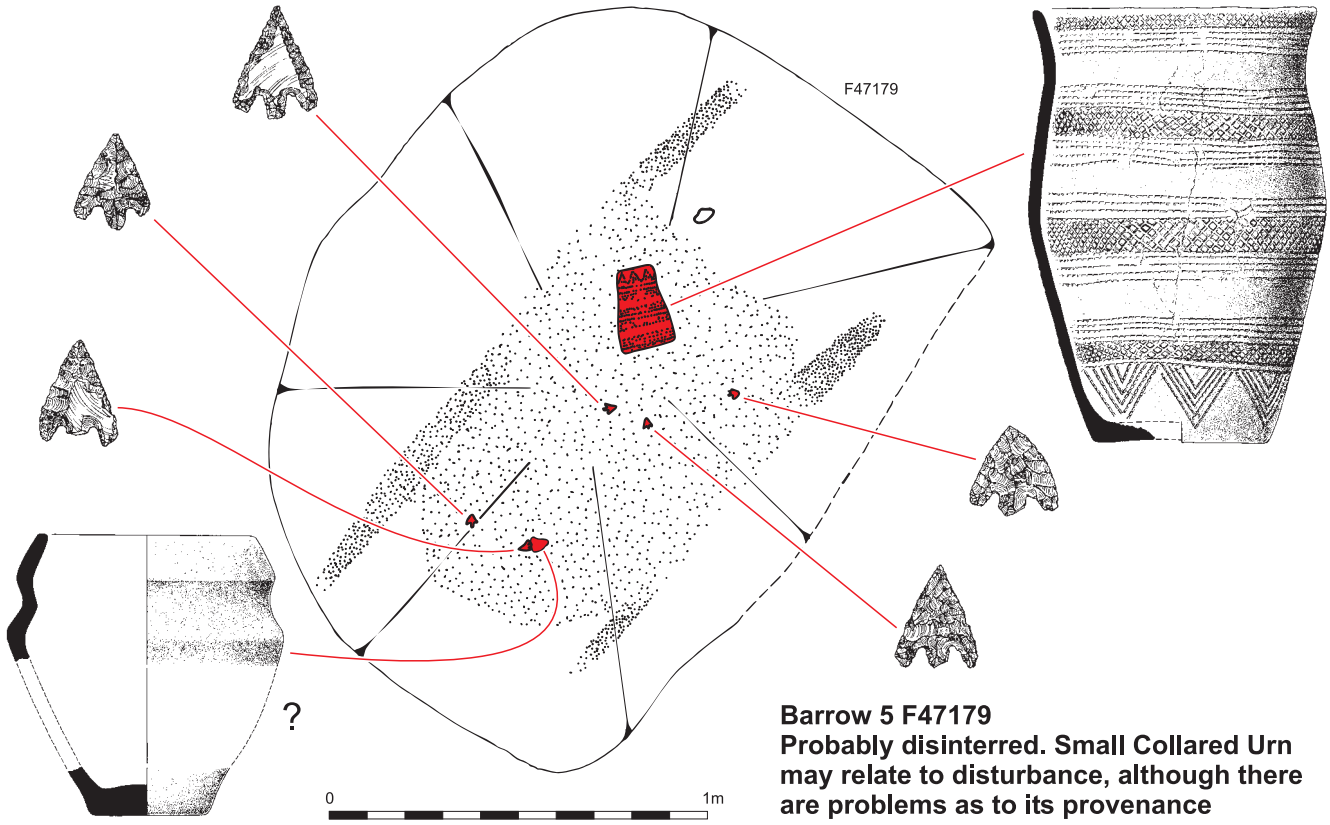


Figure 4.5
Barrow 5. Primary deposit. Pottery 1:4; other objects 1:2.

(E Martin 1976b). In other cases the graves seem to have been opened without any further burial, as in Barrow 1 on the A15 bypass near Etton, Cambridgeshire, where one contained the scattered and incomplete remains of a young woman and the scattered sherds of a Beaker (French and Pryor 2005). The partly articulated skeleton of a young man at Babraham Road, Cambridge – again incomplete and dated to the late 3rd or early 2nd millennium – is thought to have been rearranged when the grave was reopened (Hinman 2001, 36). Nor was such treatment confined to inhumations. The central, primary cremation burial in Ring Ditch C at Roxton, Bedfordshire, was dug out at the time of the burial of a later 2nd-millennium cremation burial, and fragments of a Collared Urn, the cremated bone it had contained, and charcoal older than that associated with the second cremation burial were returned to the grave scattered through successive layers of backfill (Taylor and Woodward 1985, 99–106). Disarticulated bones include a female pelvis fragment from an articulated male inhumation at Barnack, Cambridgeshire; and another male inhumation in the same barrow, this time disturbed, was surrounded by bones of an infant scattered at various levels in the grave fill (Donaldson 1977, 205–6, 217–20).

The recovery of single pieces of disarticulated bone and the incompleteness of some disturbed inhumations are both compatible with the removal of bone from funerary sites and its circulation through other contexts. Where contemporary settlements and pit deposits can be identified, they confirm this. As long ago as the 1930s, human remains were recognised on settlements at Hayland House and Fifty Farm in Mildenhall, Suffolk. At the first, fragmentary long bones from two individuals were found at the bottom of a pit with animal bone, Beaker and Food Vessel sherds, struck flint, burnt flint and charcoal; at the second, an adult male mandible and tibia fragment occurred in an 'occupation layer' with animal bone, Beaker and Food Vessel pottery and struck flint (Leaf 1934, 111–15, 118–25; Roberts 1998, 192). Human bone, including skull fragments and a cut-marked femur, came from a settlement occupied mainly by users of Collared Urns in the early to mid-2nd millennium in West Row Fen in the same parish (Martin and Murphy 1988). There was a surface find of human skull fragments, animal bone, a barbed and tanged arrowhead, a Beaker

sherd and an indeterminate Bronze Age sherd close to a group of Beaker and Early Bronze Age settlements at Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Norfolk (Healy 1996, 41); and a human humerus was among animal bone in a layer overlying a cluster of Early Bronze Age pits at Prickwillow Road, Isleham, Cambridgeshire (Gdaniec 1994, 11).

The restriction of these finds to the margins of the East Anglian Fens may be no more than a reflection of the rarity with which Early Bronze Age settlements survive as more than flint scatters in less-well-protected locations. They show that disarticulated human bone continued to be manipulated and circulated after the proliferation of single-grave burial. Once cremation had become prevalent, it is even possible that the presence of small quantities of bone from a second individual, in deposits mainly derived from one body, as in F30663 in Barrow 3 and F47111 in Barrow 5 at Raunds (Mays SS4.7.4), may reflect the cremation of disarticulated bone together with a fleshed corpse, rather than the accidental collection of additional remains from a repeatedly used pyre site, which is the usual interpretation of such occurrences.

Anticipated disinterment or reuse may have provided some of the motivation for marking graves. Grave markers other than mounds may have been commoner than they seem, because evidence for them could have been removed by recutting of the original graves. There was, for example, a single post-hole abutting the reopened Beaker grave at Tallington, mentioned above (W Simpson 1976, 217–21). Other posts set into early 2nd-millennium BC graves include those at Oliver Cromwell's Hill, Eyebury, Cambridgeshire (Leeds 1912, 91, fig 3), Deeping St Nicholas, Lincolnshire (French 1994a, 25, 101) and Bixley, Norfolk (Ashwin and Bates 2000, 23–4). At Raunds, still within the earlier 2nd millennium, cremation burial F3219 in the outer ditch of Barrow 6 was marked by a stake (Figs 3.75, 4.1). Less certainly, and probably at a rather later date, two un-urned cremation burials near an Early Bronze Age round barrow at Aldwincle, Northamptonshire, were clustered with four postholes which, like them, were sealed by a Roman road (Jackson 1976, 41, fig 4).

The demography of the late 3rd-millennium and 2nd-millennium burials

At first sight, the sexual imbalance of the Raunds inhumations (Table 4.4) might seem an accident of small sample size. Earlier studies of larger numbers of inhumations have, however, identified similar preponderances of males over females. When D L Clarke (1970, 455–6) examined the orientation of skeletons in British Beaker burials he employed records of 67 males and 24 females. Studies of inhumations in Yorkshire barrows by Tuckwell (1975, 101–2), Pierpoint (1981, 47), and Mizoguchi (1993, 225–6) document a majority of males, as does Sofaer Derevenski's (2002) study of inhumations in the Upper Thames catchment. The totals will have been blurred by old identifications of uncertain quality, especially in the case of barrows excavated by Mortimer and Greenwell, yet more recent studies of particular cemeteries have produced similar results. There were, for example, 9 males or possible males, 4 females or possible females and 11 or 12 children among the Beaker and Early Bronze Age inhumations at Barrow Hills, Radley, Oxfordshire (Boyle 1999, 172–5).

Comparable information for the inhumations listed in Appendix SS7.1 is summarised in Table 4.4. Even allowing for uneven accuracy among the available identifications, uncertain dating, and the possibility that some apparent flat graves may have been within barrows or ring ditches, there are striking differences between earlier and later inhumations, between inhumations and cremation burials, and between those inhumations that were associated with barrows and those that were not. In the late 3rd millennium and the first half of the 2nd millennium, male and child inhumations in or among barrows were more common than female ones, while females were marginally more likely than males and children to be buried in non-barrow locations. Non-barrow burials included flat graves (Chapman 1997a, 16; Hinman 2001; Kinnes 1978; Martin and Denston 1986; Pryor 1974b; Reynolds 1992), insertion into natural hillocks (Healy 1996, ch 4; Martin 1976b) and burial in peat fen (Healy 1996, ch 4; Roberts 1998). As cremation became more prevalent, both women and children were more liable than men to be cremated prior to barrow burial. By this time, the sexual imbalance in barrow inhumations had become less, presaging the demographically balanced composition of later 2nd-millennium cremation cemeteries.

On the face of it, Sofaer Derevenski's (2002, 198–200) results for the Upper Thames catchment paint a different picture. There, burials away from barrows were

Table 4.4 Summary of the sex and age composition of 3rd and 2nd millennium cremations and articulated inhumations at Raunds and among the burials listed in Appendix SS7.1

The periodisation of Needham (1996) is employed. Overlapping ranges reflect the imprecise dating of some of the burials. It is assumed that all of the cremations beyond the north-east end of the Raunds Long Barrow are of Middle Bronze Age date, like the few furnished ones among them. Other burials of this period are under-represented because of the exclusion of incompletely published Northamptonshire Middle Bronze Age cemeteries at Chapel Brampton (Moore 1971; 1973) and Kelmarsh (Soden and Dix 1995). Totals differ from those in other tables because there was more than one individual in some burials.

	Articulated inhumations					*Cremations*				
	Children	*Adults* ♂ *or ?* ♂	*Adults* ♀ *or ?* ♀	*Adults ?*	*Unknown*	*Children*	*Adults* ♂ *or ?* ♂	*Adults* ♀ *or ?* ♀	*Adults ?*	*Unknown*
RAUNDS										
Periods 2–3 2300–1700 Cal BC	4	5	1		1	2	1			
Periods 2–4 2300–1500 Cal BC				2						
Periods 3–4 2050–1500 Cal BC						3	2	3	1	1
Periods 4–6 1700–950 Cal BC						5	1		14	3
Indeterminate 2nd millennium								1	5	
Totals	4	5	1	2	1	10	4	4	20	4
OTHER BARROWS										
Periods 2–3 2300–1700 Cal BC	7	18	5	5	3		3	1	1	2
Periods 2–4 2300–1500 Cal BC	9	10	6	3	2	1	1			
Periods 3–4 2050–1500 Cal BC	9	10	9	10		12	6	19	10	25
Periods 4–6 1700–950 Cal BC		1	1	1		6	2	2	3	5
Indeterminate 2nd millennium	11	3	5	4	7	6	1	4	14	1
Totals	36	42	26	22	12	25	13	26	28	33
NON-BARROWS										
Periods 2–3 2300–1700 Cal BC	7	6	8	1	2		1			
Periods 2–4 2300–1500 Cal BC	3	5	5			1				
Periods 3–4 2050–1500 Cal BC	7	2	2	3	1	1	2	3		4
Periods 4–6 1700–950 Cal BC		1				3	5	5	13	18
Indeterminate 2nd millennium	5	7	12	6	1	1	1		1	
Totals	22	21	27	10	4	6	9	8	14	22
UNCERTAIN										
Periods 2–3 2300–1700 Cal BC		2		3	3					
Periods 3–4 2050–1500 Cal BC					1		1	1		17
Indeterminate 2nd millennium	2	1	1		1					3
Totals	2	3	1	3	5		1	1		20

predominantly of adult males, while males and females were more evenly balanced in burials in and around barrows, although males were still more numerous. The apparent contrast can be explained by two main factors: the particular kinds of non-barrow burial concerned, and the date range of the burials in both analyses. All of Sofaer Derevenski's 25 non-monument inhumations were in flat graves. Only 10 of the 58 non-barrow burials summarised in Table 4.4, on the other hand, were in flat graves comparable to those of the Upper Thames. The majority were either inserted into natural hillocks or buried in peat fen. Of the 10 in flat graves, seven were male, two were female and one remains unsexed. The record of flat graves, as distinct from other forms of non-monumental burial, may thus be similar on both sides of the watershed. The whole gamut of Early Bronze Age pottery styles was associated with Sofaer Derevenski's (2002, 199) monument inhumations, indicating a potential chronological span encompassing Needham's periods 1 to 4, from the mid-3rd millennium to the mid-2nd millennium. On the other hand, only Beaker pottery was associated with her non-monument inhumations, suggesting that they may not have extended later than period 3. The distinction between the two Upper Thames burial populations may thus be in part a product of their different time spans, a progressive evening-up in the proportions of inhumed males and females in the mid-2nd millennium being reflected in the totals for monument burials because they continued for longer.

The location of burials within and among barrows was also sex-related (Table 4.5).

Table 4.5 Summary of burial locations within and among barrows of 3rd and 2nd millennium cremations and articulated inhumations at Raunds and among those burials listed in Appendix SS7.1 for which data are available

The burials employed are the same as those in the first two sections of Table 4.4, excluding the 'unknown' category.

	Articulated inhumations				*Cremations*			
	Children	*Adults* ♂ *or ?* ♂	*Adults* ♀ *or ?* ♀	*Adults ?*	*Children*	*Adults* ♂ *or ?* ♂	*Adults* ♀ *or ?* ♀	*Adults ?*
RAUNDS								
Primary central		3						
Secondary central						1	1	2
Secondary non-central	4	1			5	1	2	2
Indeterminate non-central				1				
In Neolithic monument		1	1	1				
In early Bronze Age monument other than barrow					1	1	1	
Outside barrow or other monument					4	1		16
Totals	4	5	1	2	10	4	4	20
OTHER BARROWS								
Primary central	4	9	3	6	3	3	8	
Primary non-central	3	3	1	3	1	1	2	
Secondary central	4	10	1			4		2
Secondary non-central	12	12	12	8	11	2	10	16
Indeterminate central		1	1		1			
Indeterminate non-central	11		4	2	1	1	3	2
In Neolithic monument	1	2	3		1			
Outside barrow or other monument	1	2			1			3
Indeterminate		3	1	3	6	2	3	5
Totals	36	42	26	22	25	13	26	28

Central primary inhumations tended to be male, like all three Raunds examples, and, where they were not, were almost as likely to be children as females. Generally, both females and children were buried in peripheral or secondary locations, like the child graves surrounding the central adult male inhumation in Barrow 9 (Fig 3.112), the early 2nd-millennium cremation burials of a young woman and two children at the edge of Barrow 6 (Fig 3.75), and later 2nd-millennium child cremation burials at the edge of Barrow 1 (Fig 3.96). The burial of the one female inhumation at Raunds in an already old long barrow may have been seen as another form of secondary burial, but may also have had echoes of the burial of females in locations other than round barrows. It may not be coincidental that three out of five Early Bronze Age inhumations inserted into the Neolithic monument at Orton Meadows, Cambridgeshire, were female, while five of the six adult inhumations in the nearby Early Bronze Age barrow were male (Mackreth forthcoming).

These differences hint at the specific relations of 'authority, allegiance, indebtedness, kinship and mutual assistance' (J Thomas 1999, 156) expressed at death during the Early Bronze Age. Subtle preferences may have also operated when it came to bodily positioning in the grave. All the complete and undisturbed inhumations at Raunds were either crouched or supine with flexed legs – positions that are reminiscent of sleeping or the foetus and can thus be regarded as a 'prelude to rebirth or arrival in the land of the ancestors' (Parker Pearson 1999, 54). But among the adults only the female lay on her right side and with her head to the north-east (Fig 4.8: F131). In the surrounding area, women tended to be placed on their right sides more often than men, and were very rarely buried with their heads to the east or west, while men were more often placed on their left sides and were rarely buried with their heads to the west, north-west or north (Table 4.6). These patterns are far from uniform, a hint that funerary etiquette was interpreted in different ways, and according to different priorities and needs, for each individual.

Cremation

The sharp rise in cremation during the 2nd millennium demonstrates the changing role of funerary practice at Raunds. If a barrow's primary inhumation burial became a dominant symbol for ancestry and identity, then subsequent burials expressed above all else their genealogical continuity with this symbol. Cremation is well suited to this purpose in that it is effectively an act of disintegration: the totality of meaning represented by the corpse of a dead individual is no longer cultivated, but absorbed within a deposit that 'stands' for a generalised sense of ancestry. In this sense, cremation is the ultimate disarticulation: it breaks the body down into fragments that can be merged with the remains of others, like a young man and an adolescent buried together in a single urn in Barrow 1; a male, a female and a third adult buried in a single urn in Barrow 5; and combinations of adult and child in two of the cremation burials outside the Long Barrow (Boyle SS4.7.7). A cremated body can be divided into portions, which can be circulated, scattered, stored, deposited or buried in different places at different times. Fractions of cremated individuals may have been dispersed through various contexts in the same way as single defleshed bones, especially as many Bronze Age cremation burials fall short of the total weight of burnt bone yielded by the combustion of an adult (McKinley 1997b, 142).

Cremation, like burial after excarnation, permits a long interval between death and final interment, and hence a separation – temporal, spatial or both – between the rituals relating to each (Barrett 1988, 32). The curation of the cremated remains of one individual until the death of another may be reflected in multiple cremation deposits like those mentioned above. This seems a particularly plausible interpretation for the successive deposition of the remains of two males, a female and three children in a single Bucket Urn from Shouldham, Norfolk (Lawson 1980; Wells 1976). There is, however, evidence for burial directly following cremation in those cases where pyre sites have been found under or next to barrows, like a reddened area of pre-barrow soil with charcoal, including the remains of substantial timbers, beneath the mound at Earls Barton, Northamptonshire (Jackson 1984, 8). There can equally have been no interval where soil surfaces or pit walls have been burnt by still-hot cremation deposits, as at Cowthick, Northamptonshire (Jackson 1974a), Pilsgate, Lincolnshire (Pryor 1974b), Pin Farm, Gazely, Suffolk (Petersen 1973, 32–5) or Swale's Tumulus, Worlington, Suffolk (Briscoe 1956). It is noteworthy, however, that all of these date, or could date, to the early or mid-2nd millennium. Earls Barton,

Table 4.6 Summary of burial positions of 3rd and 2nd millennium inhumations at Raunds and among those burials listed in Appendix SS7.1 for which data are available

o = *child*, ♀= *female or ?female*, ♂= *male or ?male*, ? = *unsexed adult*

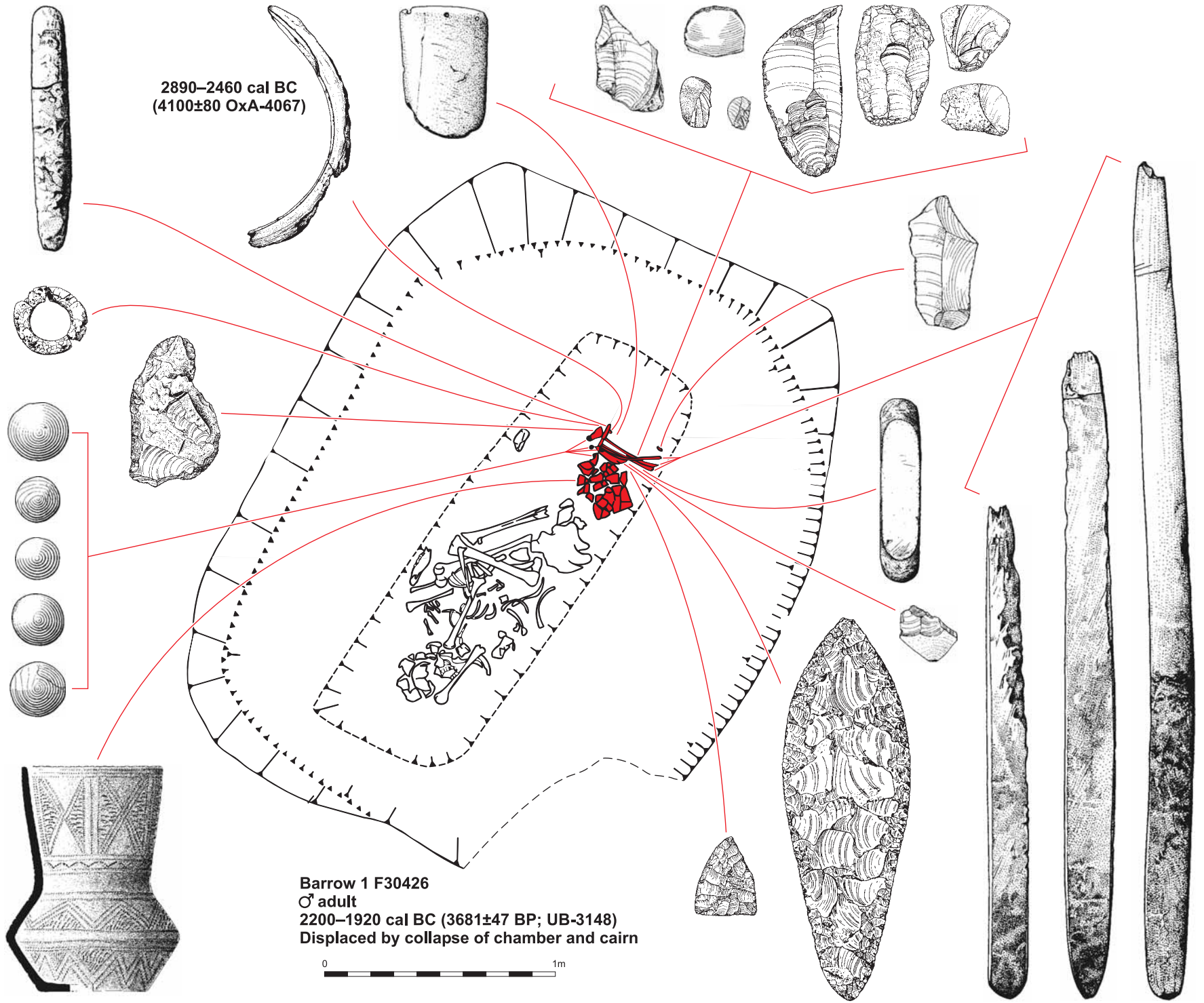
Head to	*N*		*NE*		*E*			*SE*		*S*			*SW*			*W*		*NW*		
Side	*L*	*R*	*L*	*R*	*L*		*R*	*L*	*R*	*L*		*R*	*L*		*R*	*L*	*R*	*L*		*R*
BARROW	o	o	o	o		o	o		o	o		o	o	o	o			o		o
	o		o				o		o				o		o			o		
			o				o		o						o			o		
			o																	
		♀	♀			♀		♀	♀			♀	♀		♀					♀
		♀		♀				♀	♀			♀			♀					♀
								♀							♀					
															♀					
	♂		♂	♂			♂	♂		♂	♂	♂	♂		♂		♂	♂	♂		
	♂		♂	♂		♂		♂	♂	♂	♂		♂		♂		♂	♂			
	♂		♂			♂		♂	♂	♂			♂		♂					
			♂			♂							♂							
						♂														
	?				?	?	?	?	?			?	?					?	?	?
NON-BARROW		o									o			o						
		o																		
		o																		
	♀		♀						♀	♀		♀			♀				♀	♀
	♀								♀										♀	♀
																				♀
		♂						♂		♂				♂			♂	♂	♂	
										♂										
																?				?
UNCERTAIN															o					
									♀											
									♂											
				?				?											?	

with its Camerton-Snowshill dagger and mature oak charcoal dates of 1600–1310 Cal BC (3169±51 BP; BM-680) and 1690–1310 (3214±64 BP; BM-681) may be the latest of them. None of the definitely Middle Bronze Age cremation burials in Appendix SS7.1 showed any signs of hot pyre debris. Pyres may have blazed at Early Bronze Age burial sites, but, by the Middle Bronze Age, cremation and burial may more often have been separate events.

The Raunds cremation deposits reflect a range of practices. At one extreme was a compact mass of almost pure bone representing the complete skeleton of a young woman with virtually no charcoal or other pyre debris (Fig 3.95: Barrow 3, F30663). This would have entailed picking the bone fragments off the pyre piece-by-piece, a process that has taken several hours when replicated experimentally (McKinley 1997b, 134). The same applies to an equally compact deposit of bone from a possible male buried in a pit within the Segmented Ditch Circle, in which the only charred material consisted of two redeposited Mesolithic hazelnut shell fragments (Fig SS1.98: F87594). In other cases there was some segregation of bone and pyre debris, one or the other being placed in the pit first, as with two infant cremation burials cut into the outer ditch of Barrow 6 (F3219, F3206) or one of the peripheral cremation burials at the south side of Barrow 1 (F30307). Scorched clay in the top of the urn left *in situ* in Barrow 8 was also probably pyre debris, as were patches of burnt material with a minimal amount of cremated bone in the upper fills of the Long Barrow ditches. In most cases, however, bone and pyre debris were mixed, and may well have been removed from the pyre together, with varying degrees of completeness. It is deposits like these that have enabled Gill Campbell to suggest both that cremations may have taken place over pits, because slender timbers, seeds, tubers and other fragile plant remains were often charred in a reducing atmosphere rather than burnt to ash in an oxidising one, and that the choice of wood for the pyre may have been influenced by the sex and age of the deceased (2.5). Such variability in the composition and completeness of cremation deposits can scarcely be ascribed to accidents of recovery, and must have been as deliberate as the details of the disposition of the corpse in an inhumation grave. Gibson (2004) and Mount (1995) argue for selectivity in the composition of, respectively, Welsh and Irish Early Bronze Age cremation deposits.

The Collared Urn cremation burial cut into the centre of Barrow 5 – consisting of the remains of three adults, one possibly male, one possibly female and one unsexed (Fig 4.11: F47171) – contained very little charred material, although charcoal, charred plant material and other pyre debris were recovered from adjoining features, including the primary grave, which was disturbed by the cutting of the pit for the cremation burial. The rarity of triple cremation burials like this one, combined with the disappearance of the putative skeleton from the primary grave, suggests that two recently dead individuals may have been cremated together with a long-dead one exhumed from a grave that could, on the evidence of the surviving artefacts (Fig 4.5: F47179), have been the earliest of the Beaker burials at Raunds. It is impossible to tell why this earlier burial may have been selected for cremation. Such an act could be understood as an assertion of affinity with previous generations analogous to the reburial of 4th-millennium individuals under Barrow 6, but over a period of decades or centuries rather than a millennium. Alternatively, it could be a deliberate attempt to subvert, or reinvent, the line of genealogy implicit in this monument. In either case, it emphasises the significance attached to time and memory during the Early Bronze Age.

It is possible that F47168, a second feature cut into the mound of Barrow 5, beside F47171 and in uncertain relation to it, figured in the same event. Unlike F47171, it contained pyre debris, which was concentrated in the lowest fill (2.5). The pit may even have underlain the pyre – although, if this were the case, it must have been thoroughly cleaned out, to remove the bone and incidentally comminute the pyre debris, before a deposit of cattle bone was placed in it (Fig 3.79). This is not demonstrable, but the pit is of comparable form and size to others that still contained cremated bone as well as pyre debris at the time of excavation. Four, all in or next to Cambridgeshire barrows, are described by C Evans (1996). All contained pure charcoal, large bone fragments, and coherent, undisturbed charred timbers with little ash. At Diddington, the bone and timbers were bedded or stacked, and at Barleycroft Farm some elements of articulation remained. Evans has interpreted these as representing a regional tradition of cremation *in* pits, the small size of which


2890–2460 cal BC
(4100±80 OxA-4067)
Barrow 1 F30426
♂ adult
2200–1920 cal BC (3681±47 BP; UB-3148)
Displaced by collapse of chamber and cairn
0
1m

would have meant that the corpse would have had to have been dismembered or bound and that cremation would have been inefficient owing to a restricted oxygen supply. They can also be interpreted as pits dug *under* pyre sites, which would have had the effect of improving the draught, and into which fine fuel fragments would first drop through the pyre, followed by fine fuel with some cremated bone, followed by the main timbers (perhaps assisted by human agency) towards the end of the process (J McKinley pers comm.). This sequence is matched in a pit excavated early in the 20th century under Tumulus C at Eyebury, Cambridgeshire, where the charred timbers remained criss-crossed across the top and some bone remained articulated and unburnt (Leeds 1915), and may be matched again in the 'type II' cremation deposits at the Beacon Hill barrow at Barton Mills, Suffolk, found in conical-profiled pits of similar size to those discussed here (roughly 1m across and 1m deep) dug into the flanks of the barrow, with sides, but not bases, reddened by heat and containing 'burnt bones and ashes, together with much charcoal (in sticks as well as finely broken up) and burnt flints' (Cawdor and Fox 1924, 29–33).

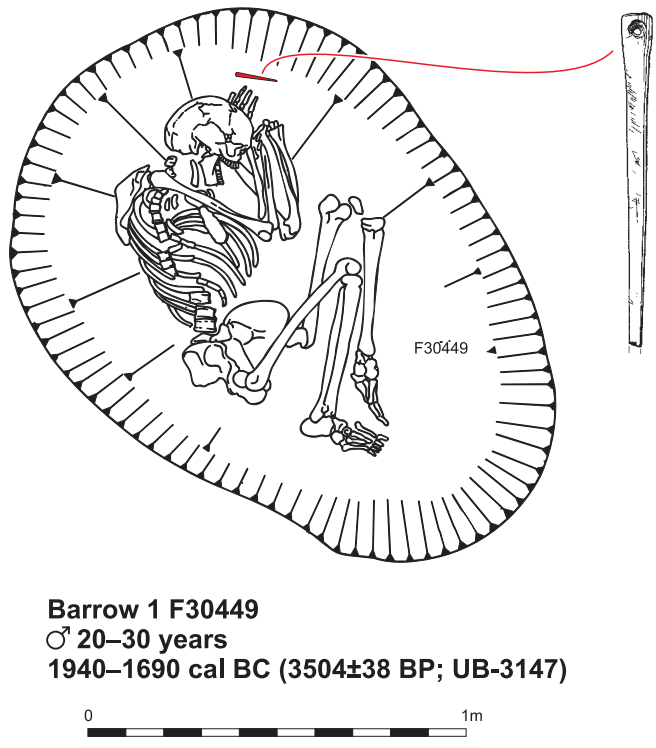
The Raunds sequence confirms the progressive abandonment of inhumation in favour of cremation in the course of the 2nd millennium. The radiocarbon dates show both rites practised concurrently in the period 2100–1700 Cal BC, with cremation continuing to the end of the millennium (Fig 3.117). Indeed, the latest 'Beaker' inhumation, dated to 1890–1630 Cal BC (Fig 4.8: F131) may postdate an 'Early Bronze Age' cremation burial, dated to 1950–1730 Cal BC (Fig 4.12: F30017). The cremation burial may in turn be contemporary with another inhumation, dated to 1940–1690 Cal BC (Fig 4.7: F30449). Both burials were inserted into the mound of Barrow 1 within the inner ditch, sited to the north and south of the primary burial and roughly equidistant from it (Fig 3.96), and accompanied by very similar bone pins (Figs 4.6–7). The contemporaneity of these different funerary and artefactual traditions is established (Needham 1996). Their dissimilarity is compatible with the family-scale level of decision-making suggested above (4.2) in connection with the structural and developmental diversity of round barrows. The treatment of each individual could have encapsulated the preoccupations, needs and beliefs of the immediate lineage at the juncture of his or her death.

In the wider region, there are further instances of the concurrent practice of inhumation and cremation in the early to mid-2nd millennium. An inhumation was cut through a cremation burial at Pin Farm, Gazely, Suffolk (Petersen 1973, 32–3). In the central grave at Barnack, the sequence of burials inserted above the primary inhumation ran cremation-inhumation-cremation (Donaldson 1977, 209). This was replicated in the similarly large and deep central grave of barrow 2 at Gayhurst Quarry, Buckinghamshire, capped by a third cremation burial in a Collared Urn (Chapman 2004; forthcoming b; Chapman *et al* 1999, fig 4), and cremated and inhumed individuals seem to have been buried together in Tumulus B at Eyebury, Cambridgeshire, where the cremated bone of a child lay over one hand of a crouched inhumation buried with a Food Vessel (Leeds 1915).

Nor did inhumation necessarily become insignificant in the later 2nd millennium. The frequency of inhumations of this period is almost certainly underestimated, like that of earlier 2nd-millennium burials away from barrows, because they were generally unaccompanied and tend to be recognised only when dated. Eastern English examples include the articulated crouched burial of a middle-aged man dated to 1520–1130 Cal BC (3100±70 BP; OxA-3069) who was one

Figure 4.6 (opposite) Barrow 1. Primary grave group. Pottery 1:4; other objects 1:2.

Figure 4.7 Barrow 1. Secondary inhumation. Pin 1:2.



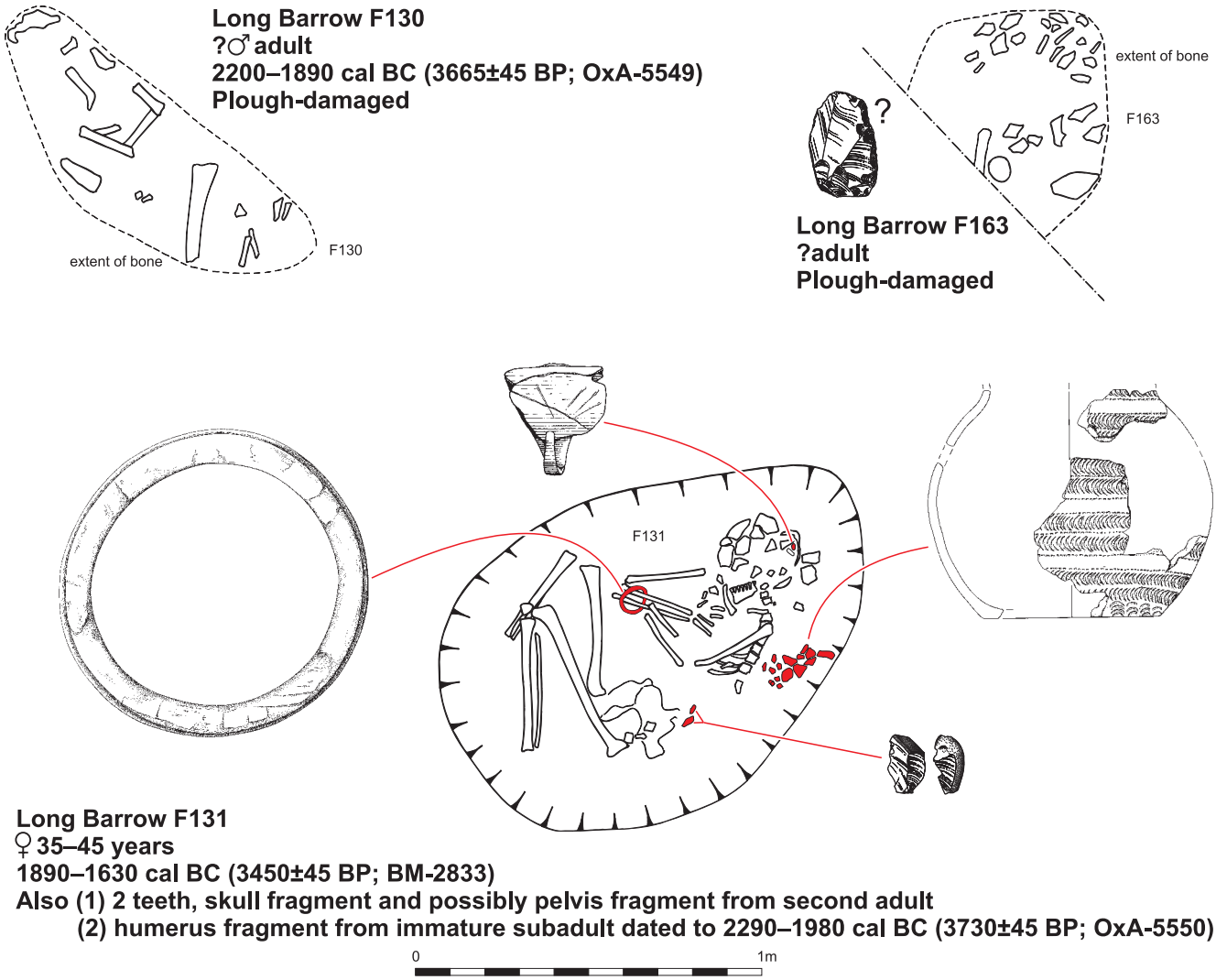


Figure 4.8
Long Barrow. Secondary inhumations. Pottery 1:4; other objects 1:2.

of about 30 successive burials made in a natural hillock in Feltwell, Norfolk (Healy 1996, 30–35), and another of a young women dated to 1430–990 Cal BC (2990±80 BP; HAR-341) buried under a cairn in the upper fill of a ring ditch at Warren Farm, Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire (H Green 1974, 93–6). The evidence for a growing number of later 2nd-millennium inhumations across southern England is summarised by Barrett *et al* (1991, 211–14), Healy (1997, 290–91), and A Barclay and Glass with Parry (1995, 49).

A wide range of liminal and funerary rites was current throughout the 2nd millennium. Cremation may well have become the most common as the millennium progressed, but its dominance might be exaggerated. Disarticulated bone, like a skull fragment in one of the ditches of the field system that succeeded the barrows at Raunds (Fig SS1.204), continued to be circulated and curated. Diverse treatment of the body in the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age, where formal burials are rarely recognised in many regions, can be seen as a development of practices already current in previous millennia (Brück 1995). The long bones in the Riverside Structure presage those that came to rest among the timbers of the post alignment linking Fengate and Flag Fen in the late 2nd and early 1st millennia (Halstead *et al* 2001). The skull fragment in the Late Bronze Age field ditch may reflect similar beliefs and practices to the fragmented human bone (mainly crania, skull fragments and long bones) mingled with the debris of living at Fengate in the Middle and Late Iron Age (Powell 1984), and the skull fragments, many of them modified, from Middle and Late Iron Age contexts in a settlement at Billingborough, Lincolnshire (Bayley 2001).

4.3 Graves and grave goods

The preparation, adornment and closure of a grave all contribute to 'an image of death' (Barrett 1994, 115). Along with the treatment of the human body, this is the very means by which the dead were remembered and by which the bereaved and others expressed their relations with the deceased. At Raunds and elsewhere during the 4th millennium and first half of the 3rd millennium, little importance appears to have been placed on creating an image of death that was specific to the deceased and the bereaved. Rather, the use and deposition of human bone were moulded by a general set of conventions, which may have included an association with stone (4.3.1). By the later 3rd millennium, on the other hand, a proliferation of both practices and associated objects suggests that people created images of death that varied greatly from funeral to funeral. Differences in preparing, adorning and closing a grave were now central to this expression of distinctiveness. These are approached by examining grave size and furnishing (4.3.2) and grave goods (4.3.3).

4.3.1 The use of stone

Throughout the period of monument-building at Raunds, the structural use of particular kinds of stone seems to have been related to human remains. It is possible to collect nodules, cobbles and fragments of flint measuring at least 150mm across from the gravels underlying the monuments, and some would have been brought to the surface during ditch- or grave-digging. They could have been used to build cairns, façades or other features, but this was not done at Raunds or elsewhere in the area, with the possible exception of a much degraded cobble spread, tentatively identified as a Neolithic long cairn, at Dog Kennel Field, Elton, some 25km downstream (Table 4.1). Ironstone was also used rarely, the only instance at Raunds being a small cluster of lumps on the surface beneath Barrow 6 (Fig 3.71: F3256). Limestone, on the other hand, was brought down to the valley bottom from the early 4th millennium onwards and used in recurrent association with human and animal remains.

In the Long Barrow, the use of limestone from a kilometre or more away for the cist and perhaps for the capping of F239 (Figs 3.24–5), by builders who felled and worked the oak from the surrounding forest for other parts of the barrow, must reflect a conviction that limestone was the appropriate material for these particular contexts. The same holds for the extensive use of limestone in the second burial alignment at Orton Meadows 2 and its covering cairn, in contrast to restricted use of the same material in the first alignment with its covering mound (Table 4.1), or for the limestone spread over the burials and silted ditches of the essentially earthen and wooden monument at Aldwincle 1 (Table 4.1). The parallel-faced slabs into which limestone fractures may have been one reason for their use, a consideration that may extend to the sandstone slabs used to cap a pit containing a human skull at Aldwincle site 4 (Table 4.1). But planks, or sections of them, would have had the same properties.

The use of stone in 2nd-millennium barrows follows a similar pattern, although here the association is with animal remains as well as human ones, most dramatically in the limestone cairn covering the primary burial in Barrow 1, and itself covered by cattle skulls and other bone (Fig 4.13). Displaced limestone blocks in the disturbed mound of Barrow 4 are likely to have formed a cist for an early 2nd-millennium cremation burial (Fig 3.105), like better-preserved calcrete cists containing some of the Middle Bronze Age cremation burials in an earthen barrow at Deeping St Nicholas, Lincolnshire (French 1994a, 38–9), or the sandstone cists that housed one of over 20 Middle Bronze Age cremation burials at Chapel Brampton, Northamptonshire (Moore 1971) and six of over 50 at Coneygre Farm in the Trent valley in Nottinghamshire (C Allen *et al* 1987, 191–4). Cists may also have been present in the disturbed upper mounds of Barrows 1 and 3, surviving as small clusters of stone with human or animal bone (3.5.3).

Stone–bone associations elsewhere in the region include an area some 15m across at Cowthick, Weldon, Northamptonshire, where large lumps of limestone clustered around at least three inhumations and six cremation burials, three of the latter accompanied by Collared Urns. Disturbance by animal burrowing and topsoil stripping in advance of ironstone quarrying made it impossible to tell if there had ever been a covering mound. The size of the limestone fragments and their close relation to the burials indicate that they

were deliberately placed (Jackson 1974a). At Stibbington, in Wansford parish near Peterborough, 'A cist of about the capacity of a bushel, and composed of four large unhewn fire-marked stones, with a rough slab at the top' housed a cremation burial with a small Collared Urn (J Evans 1878, 266; Longworth 1984 corpus no 110). A cremation burial in a Cornbrash cist was associated with a ring ditch at Harrold, near Bedford (Eagles and Evison 1970). To the west, there is an echo of the Barrow 1 cairn in a ring ditch at Merton, Oxfordshire, where animal bone, the identifiable fragments of which were cattle, overlay a rectangular cairn of Cornbrash piled on the base of a shallow pit, which was cut by a pit or posthole containing a cremation burial under a Collared Urn (P Bradley *et al* 1997). At a rather later date, a limestone cairn was piled over the Middle Bronze Age inhumation mentioned above, in the ditch of a barrow at Warren Farm, Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire (Green 1974, 87–97). Exceptionally, two inhumations inserted into the inner ditch of a barrow at Goldington site 2, on the outskirts of Bedford, were in cists built of saddle quern and rubber fragments (Baker and Mustoe 1988; Mustoe 1988). They remain undated, but are likely to fall in the 3rd or 2nd millennium.

While stone was available in the east Midlands valleys, it was used in only a few of the Neolithic monuments and in a tiny minority of the Bronze Age ones. Instead, the local tradition was one of building in earth, turf and wood. The occasional use of stone reflects a decision to incorporate a distinctive element into a particular monument. It seems to have been used almost exclusively in close proximity to human or animal remains (or both) in cairns or cists. There was little or no attempt to build features like kerbs or façades, which would have been familiar from the monuments of the uplands to the south and west. One rare example is a stone kerb around a large round barrow observed before destruction at Grendon (Jackson 1995, 5, fig 2). If this apparently recurrent association of stone with bone over a couple of thousand years has any reality, it recalls the possibility that stone and bone may have been likened to each other because of their shared coldness, hardness and durability, as argued by Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina (1998) with reference to the significance of stone- and timber-built monuments.

4.3.2 Grave size and furnishing in the late 3rd millennium and the 2nd millennium

So much energy has gone into the study of Beaker and Early Bronze Age grave goods that it is easy to forget that surviving artefacts, food remains or grave furnishing were placed with only a minority of burials of this period. At Raunds, there were grave goods with 7 out of 12 articulated inhumations and 15 out of 40 cremation deposits. In the wider region less than half of the burials listed in Appendix SS7.1 included surviving grave goods (Tables 4.7–8).

When inhumation graves with or without grave goods and furnishings are considered all together, the results do not completely tally with J Thomas' (1991c, 36–8; 1999, 160–61) suggestion that, among Beaker burials, the largest and deepest graves tend to contain coffins or other furniture and numerous grave goods, and that these features differentiate a minority of burials in which the identity of the deceased was more explicitly fixed than in others. At Raunds, the two graves with rich assemblages – F30426 in Barrow 1 and F3259 in Barrow 6 – were of disparate sizes (Figs 4.6, 4.4), the former far larger than the other graves and containing a plank-built oak chamber or coffin. The only grave to approach F30426 in size and in the presence of furniture, again with the remnants of a chamber or coffin, was F727 in Barrow 9, but this was without surviving artefacts (Fig 4.10). The next richest grave in terms of grave goods was F47179 in Barrow 5, originally containing what is thought to have been a bier (Fig 4.5). However, the size of its pit was exceeded by F727 in Barrow 9 and the unaccompanied burial in F2000 in Barrow 7 (Figs 4.9–10). These variations suggest no simple equation between grave size, the presence of furnishings and the number of grave goods.

When the graves listed in Appendix SS7.1 are examined, the results are not dissimilar. Figure 4.2 shows the relationship between grave size and number of grave goods for the 63 graves, including those at Raunds, for which adequate information is available. Fragments of a single object, such as sherds of a pot or beads of a necklace, are counted as one. Eight stand apart from the others by their size. They are, in descending order of volume, barrow 2 at Gayhurst Quarry, Buckinghamshire (Chapman 2004; forthcoming b; Chapman *et al* 1999); site 17 at Tallington, Lincolnshire (W Simpson

1976); barrow 1 at Aldwincle, Northamptonshire (Jackson 1976); Raunds Barrow 1; Bawsey, Norfolk (Wymer 1996); Barnack, Cambridgeshire (Donaldson 1977); Raunds Barrow 9; and grave 3 at site 16, Tallington, Lincolnshire (W Simpson 1976). Numbers of surviving grave goods in these eight graves bear no relation to their size, ranging from 27 for Barrow 1 at Raunds to none at Tallington site 16 and Raunds Barrow 9. The large graves do, however, have common features. All were primary or, in the case of the peripheral grave at Tallington site 16, possibly primary to their barrows; all had flat bases and steep, almost vertical sides; all but two contained coffins or other wooden structures; any pottery present was Beaker; radiocarbon dates tend to fall around or before 2000 Cal BC; and they all contained males or unsexed adults. Some other graves, already truncated at the time of excavation, are likely to have been in the same size range, notably that in barrow 2 at Aldwincle, which would originally have been much the same size as the nearby grave in barrow 1 (Jackson 1976, 33), and a grave 2.70m wide and 1.50m deep exposed in a quarry face at Barnack Road Quarry, Cambridgeshire (Reynolds 1992). Both were steep-sided, flat-bottomed and of potentially comparable date, and both contained males, coffined at Aldwincle. Such graves may barely have extended into the 2nd millennium and would have been bound up with an early emphasis on males in barrow burials (Table 4.4).

Coffins or chambers were particularly frequent in the large graves, although they also occurred in a handful of smaller ones. Tentatively identified soft organic coverings, generally interpreted as hides or textiles, occur further down the size range and account for most of the 'other' grave furnishings (Fig 4.3). This accords with J Thomas' (1999, 160) emphasis on the open grave as an arena for display, where the corpse would have been on view, sometimes in an open coffin and accompanied by grave goods, as well as by less often detected accoutrements such as the shroud and pillow inferred for the primary burial at Barnack. Such events must have been of short duration. The steep gravel and sand sides of the large graves had had little opportunity to weather. Even where a slight amount of natural silting is recorded, as in both graves at Tallington (W Simpson 1976, 218–21; fig 3), the profile remained steep and sharp, and no silting at all was recorded at Raunds Barrow 1 (Fig 3.99), Bawsey (Wymer 1996, 7), or Aldwincle barrow 1 (Jackson 1976, fig 12). The size of graves like these may reflect the former presence of now-vanished organic goods and furnishings; it may also reflect the ceremonies that took place at them. Several people could have stood or moved inside the grave around the corpse in Raunds Barrow 1, especially before the chamber was built (Fig 4.6).

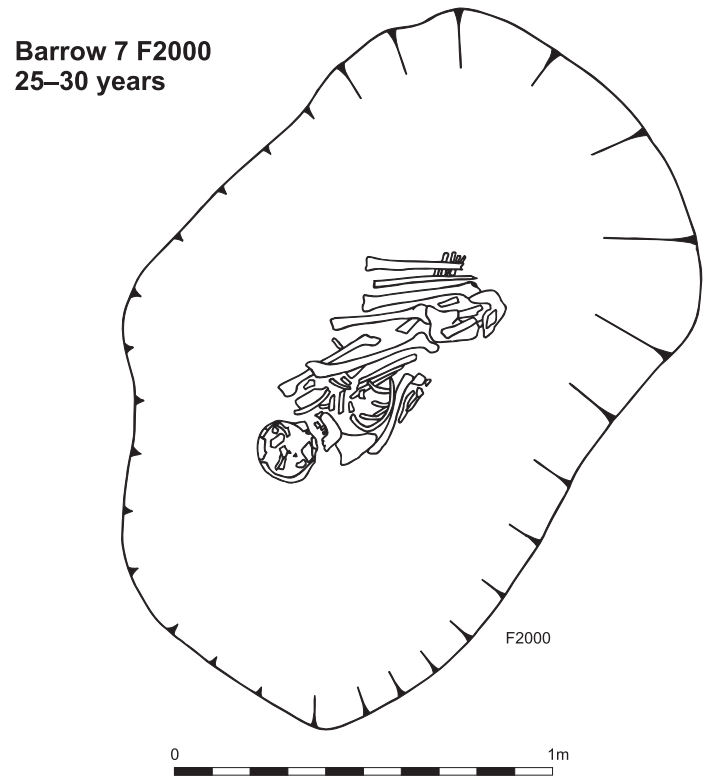
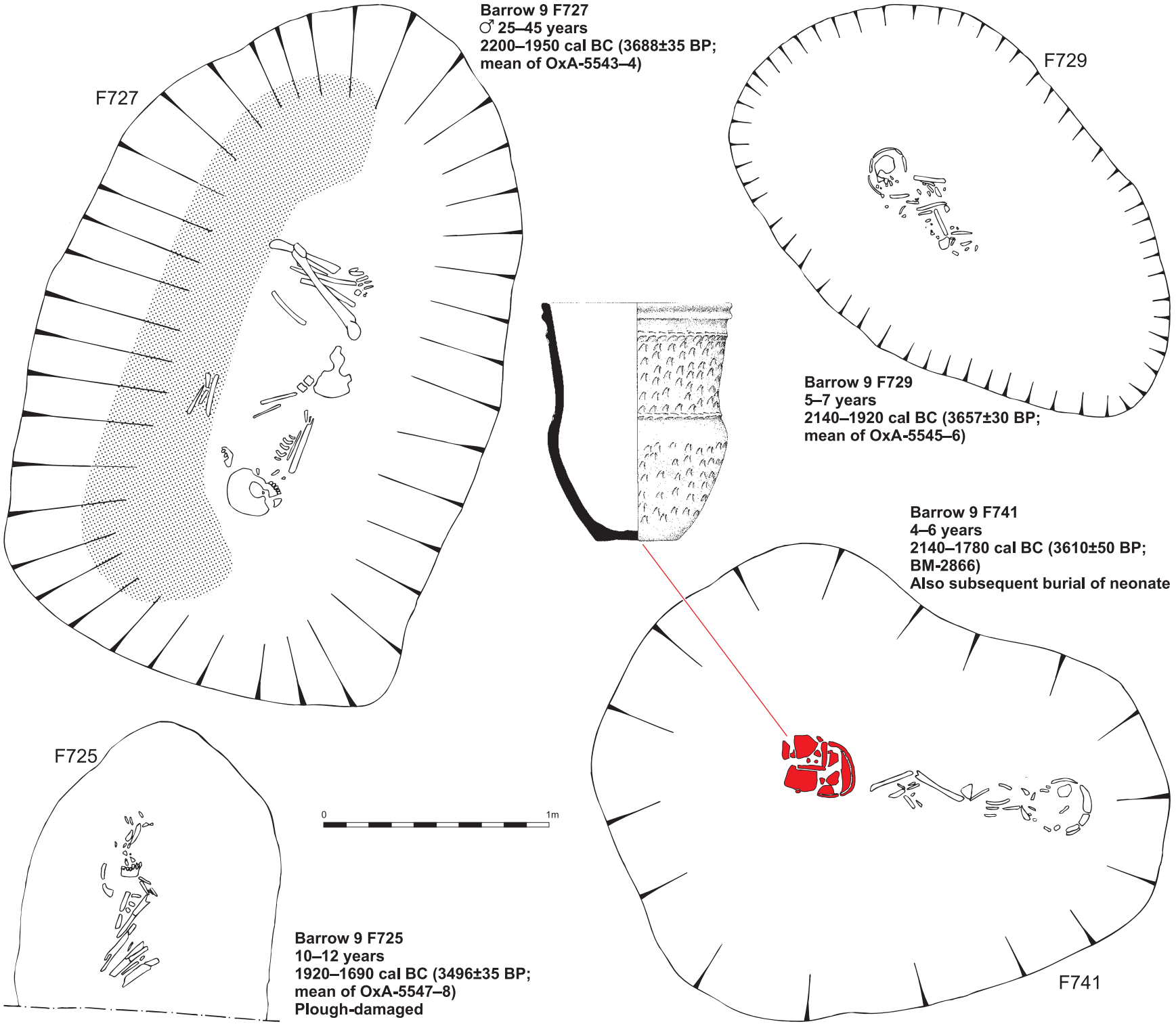


Figure 4.9
Barrow 7. Grave F2000.

Similar considerations could extend to diversely shaped smaller inhumation graves. Regardless of absolute size, many were larger than was necessary to hold the burials and any goods or furnishings that survive in them (eg Fig 4.4: F3259, Fig 4.9: F2000, Fig 4.10: F725, F729, F741), while others provided only the minimum space necessary (eg Fig 4.7: F30449, Fig 4.8: F130, F131, F163). This disparity occurs even within a single barrow, as at Barnack (Donaldson 1977, fig 4), and distinguishes 2nd-millennium graves from those of the historical period, which are more consistently tailored to their contents and more standardised in size and shape, like those in the Saxon and medieval graveyard at Raunds Furnells (Boddington 1996, figs 31–56). The variable width of the margin around the burial in smaller 2nd-millen-


Barrow 9 F727
♂ 25–45 years
2200–1950 cal BC (3688±35 BP;
mean of OxA-5543–4)
F727
F729
Barrow 9 F729
5–7 years
2140–1920 cal BC (3657±30 BP;
mean of OxA-5545–6)
Barrow 9 F741
4–6 years
2140–1780 cal BC (3610±50 BP;
BM-2866)
Also subsequent burial of neonate
F725
0
1m
Barrow 9 F725
10–12 years
1920–1690 cal BC (3496±35 BP;
mean of OxA-5547–8)
Plough-damaged
F741

nium graves might, like the size of the few large graves, relate to the behaviour anticipated when they were dug.

It is debatable how visible some burial deposits were even before they were finally sealed. In Raunds Barrow 6, a conical jet button poised on its point (a position that it could not have retained unsupported) above a flint flake and dagger indicates that the other two objects, and possibly a nearby chalk lump, were wrapped in a bag or garment to which the button was attached (Fig 4.4). Clustered or heaped grave goods in other burials, such as Raunds Barrow 1 (Fig 4.6), Aldwincle barrow 1 (Jackson 1976, fig 11) or Ravenstone, Buckinghamshire (D Allen 1981, fig 7), suggest they too may have been buried in containers. Any element of display may have taken place when they were put in the containers, perhaps at an earlier stage in the funerary rites and at a location other than the graveside.

4.3.3 Grave goods

The first grave goods

The earliest grave goods from Raunds probably date to the later 4th millennium. There are flakes, blades, cores and a fabricator from an adult cremation burial in F47087 close to Barrow 5 and an infant cremation burial in F5549, a pit dug into the base of the southern 'quarry pit' at the Long Mound (Fig 4.11). Some were burnt, presumably on the cremation pyre, others unburnt, a distinction that re-emerges in the Early Bronze Age cremation burials. These are likely to have been deliberate inclusions. Unretouched flakes and blades are among the commonest of early grave goods (Kinnes 1979, figs 6.1–2). Fresh flakes were, for example, placed in two later 4th-millennium single graves at Barrow Hills, Radley, Oxfordshire, in one case by the hands (A Barclay and Halpin 1999, 31–2; P Bradley 1999a, 33–4). Fabricators were occasionally placed in burials, including cremation deposits, from the end of the 4th millennium onwards, in stage F of Kinnes' seriation (1979, fig 3.4). The best-known instances are with the cremation burials inserted into the Aubrey holes at Stonehenge, which are likely to date to an early phase of the monument (Cleal *et al* 1995, 99–100, 112–3, fig 201: 1), and others at Dorchester-on-Thames sites II and VI (Atkinson *et al* 1951, 33–4, 56, fig 31).

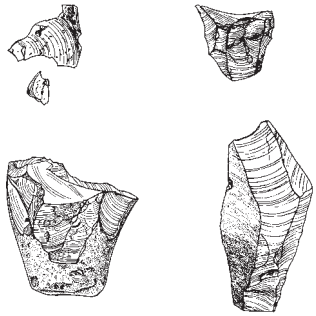
Grave goods and the human body during the late 3rd millennium and early 2nd millennium

The grave goods employed at Raunds in the late 3rd millennium and the 2nd millennium should be understood as objects whose specific roles and purposes were implicit in both their character and their relationship to the corpse. It is possible to identify three different kinds of relations between these objects and the inhumations. A flint knife from the primary grave of Barrow 6 was by the hands, as if for use (Fig 4.4). Others were worn on the body: an armlet and an earring on the female in the Long Barrow (Fig 4.8), and a bone pin above the head of the secondary male inhumation in Barrow 1, perhaps securing the hair (Fig 4.7). But the majority were placed in the grave near the body, even those that, like the jet buttons in Barrows 1 and 6, might have been personal accoutrements. These are most likely to have been deposited in the grave after the arrangement of the corpse.

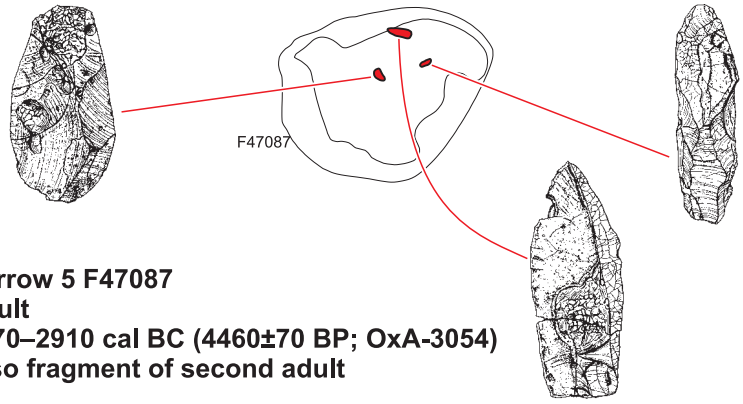
The female in the Long Barrow at Raunds is a fairly early example of a 2nd-millennium tradition of burying women wearing ornaments, rather than accompanied by them. Instances include green staining and copper-alloy corrosion products on a finger at Fengate (Pryor 1980), amber beads at the neck at Pilsgate, Lincolnshire (Pryor 1974b), a green stain on the forearm at Deeping St Nicholas in the same county (French 1994a), a jet bead bracelet on the wrist of 'Nancy' in the Norfolk Fens (Lethbridge *et al* 1931), and jet beads at wrist and neck at Barrow Bottom, Risby, Suffolk (Martin 1976a). There is a parallel but less marked tendency for males to be buried with tools or weapons by their hands, as in the primary burial in Barrow 6 at Raunds. Other examples include a tanged copper-alloy dagger at the right hand in the primary grave at Barnack (Donaldson 1977, fig 8) and a flat riveted dagger at the right hand at Perio, Northamptonshire (Hadnam 1973b, fig 14). The vanished handle of a stone battle-axe may have been at the right hand of an unsexed adult at Chippenham, Cambridgeshire (Leaf 1935). Objects placed in such direct relation to the body may have expressed the role(s) imputed to the deceased more directly than those placed elsewhere in the grave.

Similarly intimate associations can be seen in some cremation burials, as at

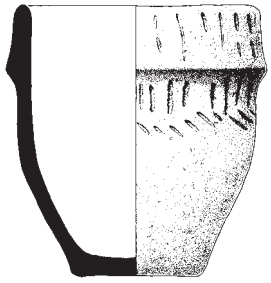
Figure 4.10 (opposite) Barrow 9. Graves. Pottery 1:4.



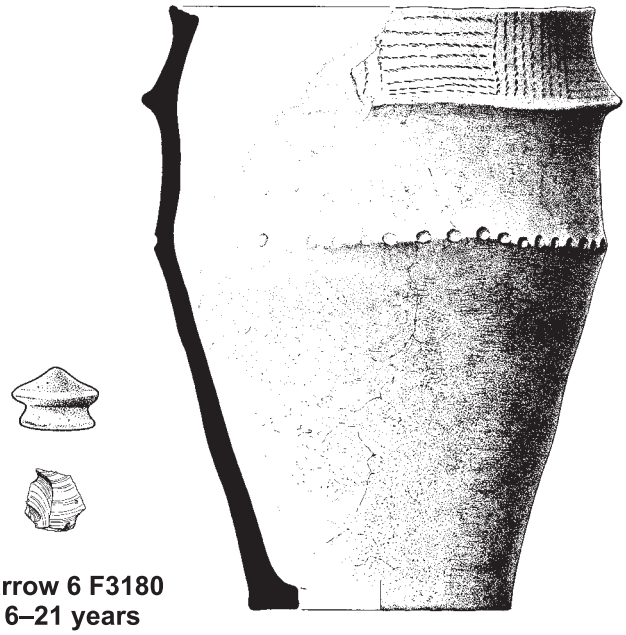
Long Mound F5549
Infant



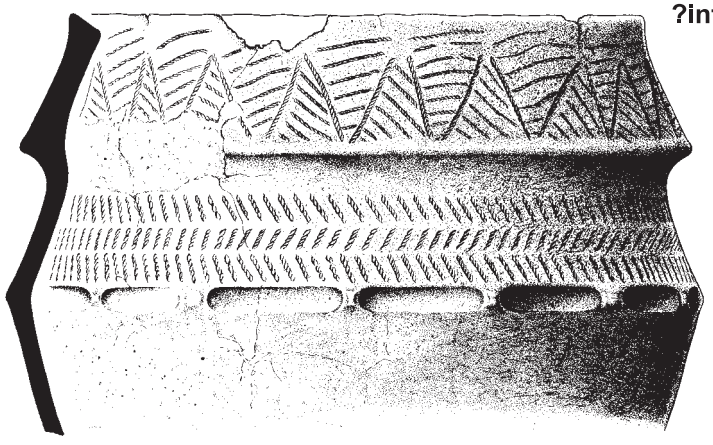
Barrow 5 F47087
Adult
3370–2910 cal BC (4460±70 BP; OxA-3054)
Also fragment of second adult



Barrow 6 F3219
Infant
2130–1820 cal BC (3610±40 BP; OxA-7866)
Also burnt animal tooth fragments



Barrow 6 F3180
♀16–21 years
Stud inside urn, flake in fill of pit.
Fragmented large mammal tooth and
?intrusive oyster shell found among cremated bone



Barrow 5 F47171
?♂, ?♀, adult, all 20–40 years

Figure 4.11
Cremation grave goods. Pottery 1:4; other objects 1:2.

Roxton, Bedfordshire, where a bone bead was in the bottom of a Collared Urn with the bones of an adult female, and other artefacts were above them (A Taylor and Woodward 1985, 102). In others, a parallel distinction between objects more and less intimately associated with the body can be seen in the practice of burning some objects on the pyre and of placing others, unburnt, in the burial – as in F30017 in Barrow 1 at Raunds (Fig 4.12). Here, the bone pin, which was burnt, may have secured the hair of one of the two individuals, by analogy with the location of the similar pin in inhumation F30449 (Fig 4.7). Stuart Needham's discussion of the burnt pommel and unburnt dagger from the same deposit (SS3.3.1) offers several possibilities:

> *'One possibility is that the pommel does not in fact belong with the dagger and that the two elements represent two different implements. This view could be supported by a difference in condition (one well burnt, the other showing no signs of re-heating), which is extremely unlikely to have occurred if they were still attached to one another during the cremation rites. It might also tie in with the evidence that two individuals were identifiable among the cremated bones…; however, these individuals were obviously both subjected to the cremation process. Another possible explanation is that the separation of the pommel from the rest of the dagger and their different involvement in the mortuary rites was connected with the practice of excluding the metal blade from the grave which was so frequent with this style of pommel.'*

A similar desire to retain the identity of artefacts while putting them through at least part of the same transition as the deceased may be read into the treatment of jet and amber beads found scattered through a cremation pit at Stonea, Cambridgeshire, where 'The beads, although slightly warped by heat, had not been heavily burnt, and must have been thrown into the pit, bead-by-bead, after the body had been cremated' (Potter 1976, 29).

Grave goods and social identity during the late 3rd millennium and early 2nd millennium

Regardless of the position and treatment of grave goods, there are broad trends in the overall patterns of association when Raunds and other sites listed in Appendix SS7.1 are considered. Non-barrow burials were associated with artefacts even less often than those in or near barrows. The artefacts in question were generally few and simple, like a single flint scraper with a coffined female burial cut into a burnt mound at Feltwell Anchor, Norfolk (Bates and Wiltshire 2000). The only exceptions are relatively rich grave groups with inhumations at Eaglethorpe, Warmington, Northamptonshire (Parry 1996); at Waterhall Farm, Chippenham, Cambridgeshire (Martin 1976b, grave II); and with an inhumation and a cremation deposit at Pilsgate, Cambridgeshire (Pryor 1974b). Furthermore, the composition of grave goods was at least as closely linked to age and sex (Tables 4.7–8) as were burial rite, position and location. Children were the most likely to be buried without surviving grave goods, and male and female associations follow the general pattern defined by D L Clarke for burials with Beakers (1970, 448–9), and refined at a regional level by Pierpoint (1981, 52) and Hawke-Smith (1981, 68).

Personal ornaments occurred predominantly with females, as in the inhumations listed above and in the cremation burial of a young woman at Raunds, where a ceramic stud, perhaps an ear-stud, was inside the urn with the cremated bone (Fig 4.11: F3180). Some of the different types of ornament were at least twice as likely to be found with females as with males, and both shale or jet beads and copper-alloy earrings were exclusively associated with females. However, the fact that many types of personal ornament occurred with both sexes suggests that their use and meaning in funerary practice were not straightforward. Where V-perforated jet or amber buttons were found with females, or burials including a female, they occurred singly and seem to have been used to fasten necklaces rather than garments, as in an inhumation at Deeping St Nicholas, Lincolnshire (Sheridan and Davis 1994), or a cremation burial at Radwell, Bedfordshire (Hall and Woodward 1977, 4). The jet buttons from Barrow 1 had seen disparate amounts of wear. Their standardisation, by the grinding of a fresh, unworn bevel onto one, suggests that the set was assembled from several sources, like some necklaces of the following centuries (Shepherd SS3.4.1; Barrett 1994, 121–3). The grave group was thus created as well as selected. Boast's (1995) conclusion that Beakers placed in graves were made for the grave, because they have worse fabrics than

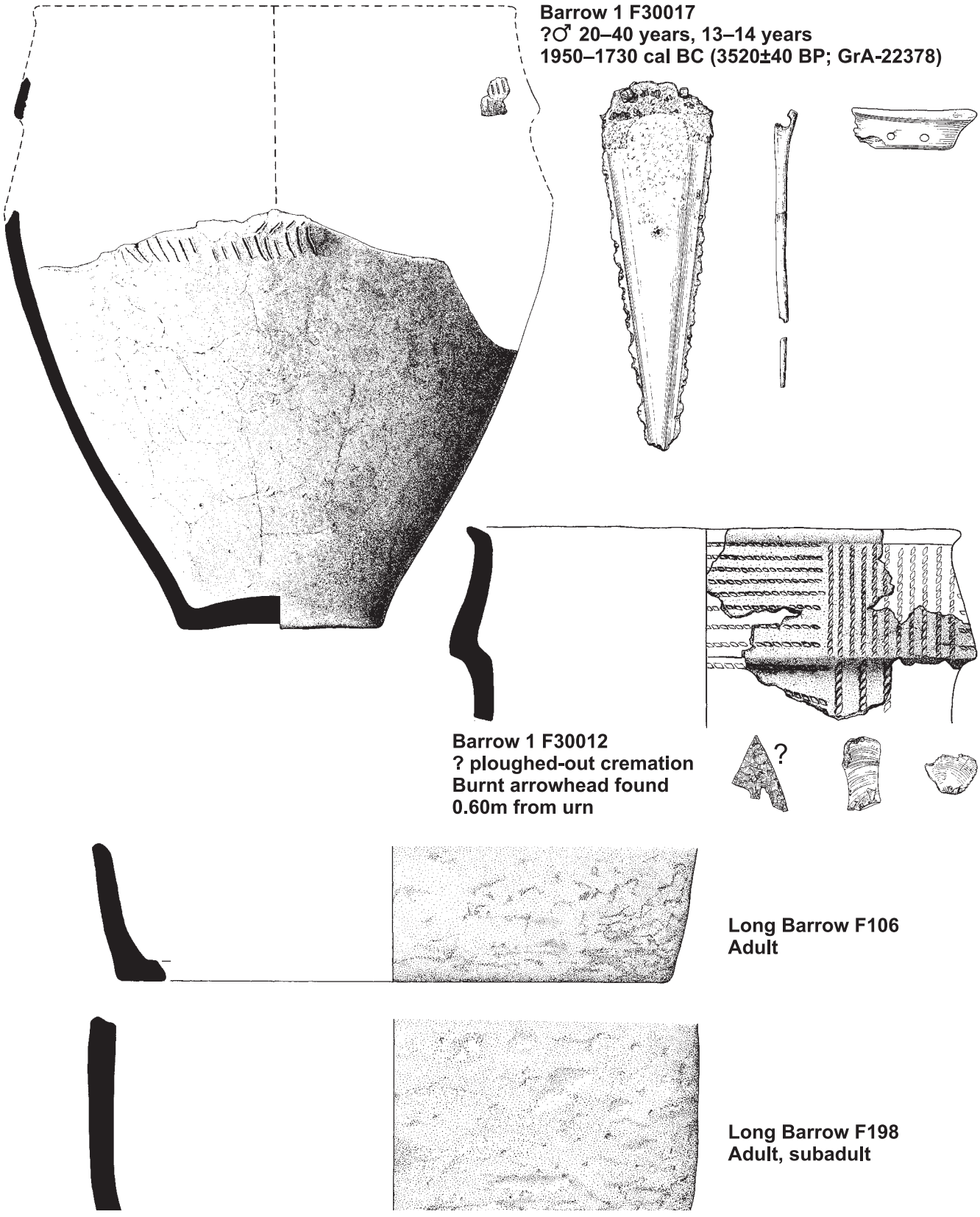


Figure 4.12
Cremation grave goods. In addition to the truncated vessels from the Long Barrow shown here, fragments of Middle Bronze Age urn also came from F196, F197 and F202, and indeterminate sherds from F111, F193 and F208. Pottery 1:4, other objects 1:2.

those used for eating and drinking on settlements and at monuments, but are better-finished and have more complex decoration, dovetails with the evidence of other artefacts.

On the other hand, weapons (battle-axes, daggers, arrowheads and the panoply of archery) occurred with males or with unsexed adults (Tables 4.7–8). Most of the arrowheads are the barbed-and-tanged forms usual in this period. Triangular arrowheads, like the one from the primary burial in Barrow 1 (Fig 4.6), are relatively scarce, and are sometimes seen as blanks rather than finished artefacts (H Green 1980, 142–3, fig 54). The Barrow 1 example may have been too thick to complete (Grace 1990, 12). They seem to have been served as grave goods less infrequently in the east Midlands than elsewhere. In addition to the Barrow 1 example, there was one in the large, coffined male grave in barrow 1 at Aldwincle (Jackson 1976, fig 22: 4) and another in a male burial with a Food Vessel in tumulus B at Eyebury, Cambridgeshire (Leeds 1915, fig 2: g), as well as an unstratified example, perhaps derived from a burial, at Radwell, Bedfordshire (Hall and Woodward 1977, fig 4: H).

Bows and arrows with single-piece flint tips had been in use since the earliest Neolithic, yet it is in the late 3rd and early 2nd millennium that the accoutrements of archery were elaborated. Barbed and tanged arrowheads of Green's Green Low and Conygar Hill forms, like the damaged one perhaps derived from a burial in Barrow 1 at Raunds (Fig 4.12), are highly crafted artefacts made to consistent templates. Stone bracers reached a peak of embellishment in the gold-studded example from Barnack (Donaldson 1977, fig 9: 4). Split cattle ribs in the primary grave of Barrow 1 (Fig 4.6) may even have come from a composite bow (Foxon SS3.5.1). A replica bow of antler was buried in a pit at Isleham, Cambridgeshire in the mid-2nd millennium (Gdaniec 1994; 1996).

But there is a contradiction here. Both leaf-shaped and barbed-and-tanged arrowheads occur in similarly large numbers across England and Wales (H Green 1980, figs 31, 47); each would have been made and used over about a thousand years; and a dearth of evidence for hunting throughout suggests that both were primarily interpersonal weapons. Evidence gradually accumulates for death or injury inflicted by arrows with leaf-shaped heads, and for their concerted use in assaults on enclosures in the 4th millennium (Mercer 1999; Wysocki and Whittle 2000, 599–600). But the corresponding late 3rd- and 2nd-millennium record remains scanty. The most conspicuous instance is a man buried near the entrance to Stonehenge in a grave cut into the silted ditch, who was shot at close range by at least three arrows tipped with barbed and tanged points, the tips of two of which were lodged in the sternum and a rib, at least one of them having entered through his back (J G Evans 1984, 13–22). The unique location, and the uniquely large number of arrows, strongly suggest that this was an exceptional event. Equally exceptional is an aurochs skeleton found at Harmondsworth, Middlesex. The animal had been shot with six arrows with barbed-and-tanged heads (most of them finely worked Conygar Hill forms) and had been quartered – although it was still largely articulated and only a little meat had been removed – before being buried in a large, deep pit, which itself cut a pre-existing pit containing Grooved Ware (Cotton 1991; MoLAS 2000, 70, 83, 86). Very few of the more usual human burials show any sign of death by arrowshot. One of the most convincing is a barbed-and-tanged arrowhead with an impact fracture at the tip and both barbs broken off and lying next to the spine among the ribs of a male at Barrow Hills, Radley, Oxfordshire – both the location of the arrowhead and its unspecialised form contrasting with a group of five fine Green Low arrowheads by his feet (A Barclay and Halpin 1999, 133–8; P Bradley 1999a, 139–40). More tentatively, an arrowhead with one barb snapped off but still in place lay near the centre of the coffin or bier in the large primary grave at Bawsey, Norfolk, in what would have been the pelvis area had the skeleton survived the acid soil conditions; the break and location both suggest that it may have been lodged in the body (Wymer 1996).

The disparity in traces of injury by arrowshot between the two epochs is all the greater because such evidence should be more readily detectable among the numerous articulated skeletons of the second period than among the largely disarticulated human remains of the first. The role of archery may have changed in the interim. The daggers of the late 3rd and early 2nd millennia – which rapidly became associated with burials and depicted on statue-menhirs in many parts of Chalcolithic Europe (Osgood *et al* 2000) – may signal an increase in face-to-face,

hand-to-hand fighting. Many barbed-and-tanged arrowheads may have been loosed into the landscape in the course of formalised combat or formalised hunting, the effects of which were as much social as lethal (Gdaniec 1996, 656–7). Elaboration of archery equipment may have been bound up with the demise of the bow and arrow as practical weapons and an expansion of their symbolic value, which may have owed as much to their place in the armoury of the past as to the association of the barbed-and-tanged form with new practices and beliefs. If so, an association with weapons need not universally represent an attempt to celebrate the dead person's role as a warrior or hunter. Rather, these objects could have invoked differing meanings or 'highly formalised, idealised, and restricted kinds of identity in death' (J Thomas 1991c, 35).

The possible importance of the dagger is underscored by the manufacture of flint versions of what was originally a metal weapon. The flint daggers in Barrows 1 and 6 were (or had been) sheathed and hafted, but showed no sign of other wear (Grace 1990; Grace SS3.7.4). An example from Ffair Rhos, Ceredigion, Dyfed, had been sheathed and unsheathed many times and retained microscopic traces of the binding that had secured the haft (H Green *et al* 1982). Slight polish on the higher arrises of the blade of a flint dagger from Shorncote, Gloucestershire, suggests a similar history. On this dagger too the distal end of the haft had left a shallow V-shaped outline immediately below the notches, preserved by differential patination (P Bradley 1995, 23–9, 44–5, fig 4), like that on another from Ystradfellte, Powys (H Green *et al* 1982, 497–8). Most flint daggers, indeed, seem to have been hafted, on the evidence of frequent notches for binding and of less careful flaking on the tangs. A hafted, sheathed flint dagger may have appeared little, if at all, different from a hafted, sheathed copper-alloy one, and may have filled some of the same functions.

A suggestion that flint daggers were modelled on flat riveted metal forms, especially of Gerloff's type Butterwick (H Green *et al* 1982), could account for the exceptionally rounded outline of the dagger from Barrow 6 (Fig 4.4), as a few type Butterwick daggers have the same blade plan, notably one from Litlington, Cambridgeshire (Gerloff 1975, pl 4: 47). A form at one extreme of the range for the possible prototypes may mean that flint daggers were modelled on specific metal weapons rather than on the generality of them. A lack of associations between flint and metal daggers, and between flint daggers and metal artefacts of any kind (D L Clarke 1970, 438–47), suggests that the flint forms may have been alternatives, whether in terms of availability or of context.

A morphological equation between flint daggers and flat riveted daggers would imply a short time span for them. If metal daggers transitional between flat riveted types and later forms – such as that from F30017 in Barrow 1 at Raunds (Fig 4.12) – were already current at the beginning of the 2nd millennium, and Armorico-British forms were adopted soon afterwards (Needham SS3.3.1), then this may be when the manufacture of flint daggers tailed off. They certainly tend to have at least slightly convex blade plans, rather than the straight-sided or slightly concave triangular plans of later daggers. Perhaps the introduction of new dagger forms was bound up with changes in access to metals and weapons made from them. Whatever the circumstances, later metal daggers were reproduced in bone rather than flint, and the replicas were placed in rivers rather than graves (Gerloff 1975, 175–6, 246, pls 28: 347–51, 59: I), echoing incipient changes in the deposition of metalwork.

The Raunds flint daggers augment a small cluster of four in Northamptonshire and the Nene valley already documented by Grimes (1931, 353, fig 2). Two of these were recovered together with a stone battle-axe from a barrow called Herdsman's Hill at Newark, Cambridgeshire, one being a full-sized dagger and the other a much smaller one (Leeds 1912, 82, fig 2; Grimes 1931, catalogue nos 73–4). The combination of two very differently sized flint daggers recalls pairings of metal daggers and knife-daggers, like those in several of the grave groups from Wessex illustrated by Gerloff (1975, pls 44–7). This analogy brings into focus two other small flint daggers or knives, one from the central cremation burial in Barrow 5 at Raunds (Fig 4.11), the other a surface find from Higham Ferrers (Humble SS3.7.3). These are of similar form and size to the smaller Herdsman's Hill implement and may have been modelled on knife-daggers.

Pots, the commonest grave goods, show a very uneven relation to domestic pottery assemblages. The currencies of Beaker, Food Vessel and Collared Urn overlapped in Needham's period 3, *c* 2050–1700 Cal BC (Needham 1996, 124), and all three were used in settlements on both sides of the Fens (Pryor 1980, 87–104; Healy 1996, 117; Martin and Murphy 1988). Beaker and

Food Vessel sometimes formed single assemblages, and there were also domestic assemblages in the Biconical Urn tradition (Healy 1995a). Yet pots placed in burials were almost exclusively Beakers and Collared Urns (Tables 4.5–6). Inhumations, whether of this period or earlier, were generally accompanied by elaborately decorated Beakers of Case's style 3 (1993, 244) or D L Clarke's Southern tradition (1970), like those in Barrows 1 and 6 at Raunds (Figs 4.4, 4.6). The scarcity of Food Vessels in association with either rite contrasts with their frequency on fen-edge settlements and in burials in some other regions, especially Yorkshire, Derbyshire, the north-east of England, Ireland and central Scotland (D Simpson 1968, figs 47–8; Pierpoint 1980, fig 4.6). It may be linked to the far more widespread scarcity of rusticated Beakers in burials (there are, for example, only two among the 30 Beakers in Table 4.7). In the settlement assemblages, some rusticated Beakers and most Food Vessels occupy the

Table 4.7 Summary of the incidence of inhumation grave goods by sex and age for 3rd and 2nd millennium burials at Raunds and for those burials listed in Appendix SS7.1 for which data are available

A count of 1 represents a burial in which the item listed in the first column occurred, irrespective of how many of that item there were. Multiple burials are included in the 'Other/unknown' column, together with unidentified or vanished burials, because it is impossible to tell with which individuals objects were associated.

	Children	*Adults* ♂ *or ?* ♂	*Adults* ♀ *or ?* ♀	*Adults ?*	*Other/ unknown*	*Totals*
Beaker	2	9	5	5	9	30
Flint flake or blade	3	5	4	1	3	16
Animal bone		7	5	2	1	15
Flint scraper		7	4	1	1	13
Sherd		3	3	3	1	10
Misc. struck flint		4	3	2		9
Flint knife	1	4	1	2		8
Food Vessel	1	2	1	1	3	8
Copper-alloy dagger		6		1		7
Flint arrowhead		3		2	2	7
Shale, jet or coal bead	1		4	2		7
Misc. copper alloy		1	4	1		6
Copper-alloy awl or pin			4	1	1	6
Misc. vessel	2		2		1	5
Shale or jet button		2	2	1		5
Amber bead		1	1		2	4
Collared Urn	1		1		2	4
Bone pin or point		1	1		1	3
Flint dagger		2			1	3
Boar tusk		1	1			2
Bone or antler spatula		2				2
Antler		1	1			2
Bracer		2				2
Chalk object		2				2
Fossil, etc	1				1	2
Gold or copper-alloy earring			1		1	2
Gold other than earring		2				2
Misc. shale or jet			1	1		2
Amber ring		1				1
Battle-axe				1		1
Bone pendant		1				1
Flint fabricator				1		1
Grindstone		1				1
'Sponge finger'		1				1
None	32	33	28	18	17	

large end of the size-range (Healy 1995, fig 15.4), yet most of the few Food Vessels with inhumations are small, like that from Tallington (W Simpson 1976, fig 7: 2). In both traditions, the vessel placed in the grave was of a size for drinking or eating from, rather than of a size for cooking or storage.

The only two Beakers from child burials are atypical of those buried with adults: a large rusticated vessel with a 4- to 6-year-old in Barrow 9 at Raunds (Fig 4.10: F741), and a small, plain vessel with an infant on the base of the inner ditch at Barnack (Donaldson 1977, fig 10: 1). This might be dismissed as coincidental but for the results of analyses of larger samples from other regions. Pierpoint (1980, 59) found that Beakers were rarely buried with children in Yorkshire, those that were being small, poorly finished, and badly made; while Mizoguchi's (1995) analysis of Wessex Beakers defined a recurrent association between child burials and short, squat, relatively unskilfully made vessels with unzoned all-over decoration. The Raunds and Barnack vessels conform to these criteria, the plain one calling for even less effort in manufacture than the rusticated one. A Food Vessel buried with an infant in a secondary grave at Barnack is also small, plain and roughly finished (Donaldson 1977, fig 10: 3). In the rare cases where pots were buried with infants and children, their selection may have reflected subordinate status.

The Beakers in Barrows 1 and 6 at Raunds may have been buried as containers for food or drink, as spalling and pitting of the internal surfaces of both suggests thermal or bacterial attack such as would occur if they were left filled for a prolonged period (Tomalin SS3.8.4). Animal fat lipids survived in both, identifiable as ruminant dairy fat in the Barrow 6 Beaker, suggesting that it had held a fresh, curdled or fermented milk preparation (Copley *et al* SS3.8.2). The Beaker in the primary grave at Barnack was also buried full, on the evidence of a distinctive yellowish soil spilling from its neck (Donaldson 1977, 208). Among cremation vessels, the identification of animal fats, including those of sheep or goat and unspecified ruminants, in Collared Urns at Raunds points to their having been waterproofed, used as domestic vessels, or both. The heating of the large Collared Urn from Barrow 5 (Fig 4.11: F47171) and its contained ruminant fats to over 300°C (Copley *et al* SS3.8.2) strongly suggests that it was used for cooking, whether in a domestic context or as part of funerary rites.

As well as food and drink in pots, meat on the bone may often have been placed in burials. Animal bones are one of the commonest finds from both inhumations and cremation burials and at least some were buried in a fleshed state. The most obvious instances are an articulated pig forelimb beside the primary burial in barrow 2 at Gayhurst Quarry, Buckinghamshire (Chapman 2004; forthcoming b; Chapman *et al* 1999, 4) and an articulated sheep or goat limb with the dagger burial at Perio (Hadnam 1973b, fig 14). Three cattle ribs in front of the face of an inhumation at Eyebury, Cambridgeshire, 'manifestly as food for the dead person', are sketched parallel to each other, as if forming a section of sirloin (Leeds 1915, 120, fig 1). Animal bone in cremation burials, like an unidentified fragment in one of the peripheral cremation burials in Barrow 5 (Mays SS4.7.4) or a sheep humerus at Pin Farm, Gazely, Suffolk (Petersen 1973) may similarly be remnants of meat placed on the pyre.

Flint flakes, used or unused, are among the commonest artefacts in burials. Where their location suggests that they were deliberately deposited rather than accidentally included, as in Barrows 1 and 6 and F131 at Raunds (Figs 4.4, 4.6, 4.8), they seem to have related to funerary rites. The flakes stacked with the other grave goods in the primary grave in Barrow 1 were, like the associated scrapers, freshly knapped and freshly used, and the tasks concerned suggest that they might have represented in microcosm the activities of those who gathered to prepare the grave (Table 4.9; Grace SS3.7.4). The single large flake from Barrow 6 was similarly fresh and had been used to whittle wood. Refitting flakes found together near the base of the inner ditch of Barrow 1 (Ballin SS3.7.6) must have been knapped and used close to where they were buried. Elsewhere flint was knapped close to graves and some of the products were buried in them. At Waterhall Farm, Chippenham, Cambridgeshire, a heap of disarticulated bone from Beaker burials disturbed in antiquity included numerous flint flakes, some of them refitting (Martin 1976b). Rather later, at Roxton, Bedfordshire, artefacts placed on top of the cremated bones of a female in a Collared Urn included 10 flakes from a single nodule, 8 of which refitted, although the flakes making up the rest of the nodule and the chips and spalls that would have been generated during knapping were missing (A Taylor and Woodward 1985, 102). A closely similar event took place at

Table 4.8 Summary of the incidence of cremation grave goods by sex and age for 3rd and 2nd millennium burials at Raunds and for those burials listed in Appendix SS7.1 for which data are available

A count of 1 represents a burial in which the item listed in the first column occurred, irrespective of how many of that item there were Multiple burials are included in the 'Other/unknown'column, together with unidentified or vanished burials, because it is impossible to tell with which individuals objects were associated.

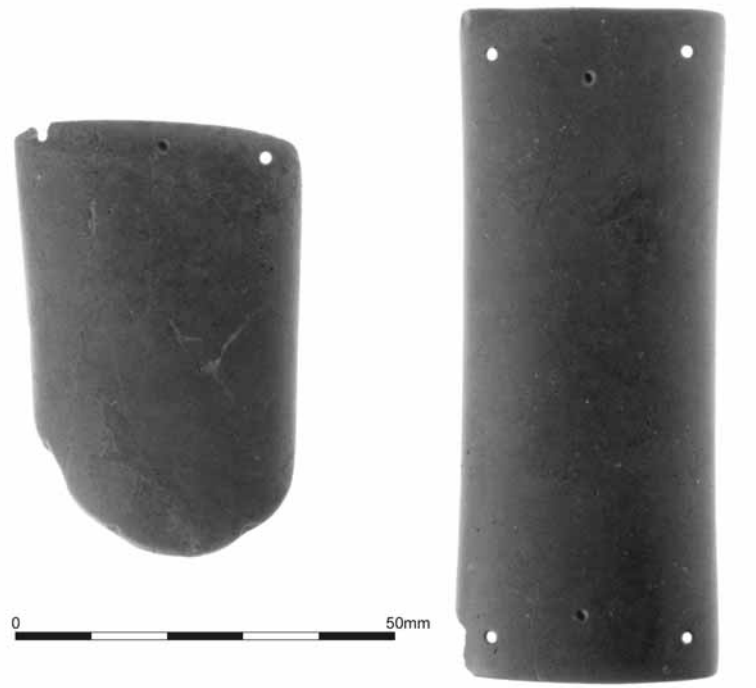
	Children	*Adults* ♂ *or ?*♂	*Adults* ♀ *or ?*♀	*Adults ?*	*Other/ unknown*	*Totals*
Collared Urn	7	4	10	2	47	70
MBA urn	3	1	3	6	5	18
Misc vessel	2		6	3	6	17
Flint flake or blade	1		6	3	2	12
Sherd	1			5	4	10
Bone pin or point		2	3	1	3	9
Biconical Urn		3	1	2	2	8
Copper-alloy awl or pin			2	1	5	8
Animal bone	2	1	2		2	7
Bone bead	1		1		1	4
Fossil, etc			1	2	1	4
Misc. copper alloy			2	1	1	4
Flint arrowhead		1	1		1	3
Flint knife		2			1	3
Flint scraper		1	1	1		3
Food Vessel	1	1			1	3
Misc. bone or antler artefact		1		1	1	3
Shale or jet bead			1		2	3
Amber bead			1		1	2
Copper-alloy dagger					2	2
Misc struck flint	1				1	2
Antler pommel					1	1
Battle-axe					1	1
Boar tusk			1			1
Ceramic spoon					1	1
Ceramic stud			1			1
Flint dagger					1	1
Flint fabricator				1		1
Gold					1	1
Jet or shale ring					1	1
None	14	10	9	35	62	

Swale's Tumulus, Worlington, Suffolk, where, in the upper part of a pit containing the cremated bones of a child were 'eleven freshly struck very sharp black flint flakes that could be fitted together to form half a nodule. This had been detached from another nodule lying close by' (Briscoe 1956, 106). It is as if flakes had been struck to perform a particular act, and, once that was done, were incorporated in the burial.

An elongated chalk object from Barrow 1 was unquestionably non-functional and may have been a replica of an artefact normally made in another material (Panel 4.2). The chalk itself need not have been brought from far away; it is one of the erratics in the Boulder Clay covering the surrounding plateau (Ch 1). The belief that chalk was a suitable material for the task may, however, have emanated from chalkland areas. An inhumation near Durrington Walls, Wiltshire, for example, was furnished with, *inter alia*, a V-perforated shale button and two chalk pseudo-buttons, each with a small depression in the centre of the flat face where the perforation would have been on a true button (Hoare 1812, 172, pl XIX; Annable and Simpson 1964 catalogue nos 86–90). In both cases there is the impression that a substitute was provided for something that should have been placed in a particular grave but was not available.

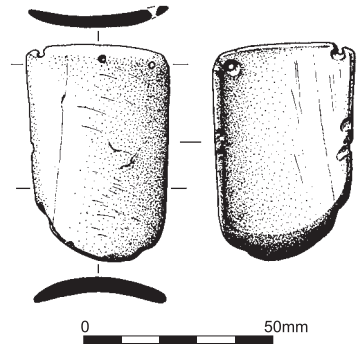
Panel 4.2 Three of the artefacts from the primary burial in Barrow 1 (SS3.7.1)

Jon Humble and Frances Healy



Both the bracers above, the one on the left from the primary burial in Barrow 1 at Raunds, the one on the right from site XII at Dorchester-on-Thames, Oxfordshire (Whittle *et al* 1992, 179–84), are made of greenish-grey altered basic tuff, probably from Great Langdale in Cumbria, which was exploited for axehead-manufacture in the Neolithic, but seems to have gone out of use by the mid-3rd millennium. They are thus likely to have been made from already old axeheads, their unusually marked curvature deriving from the parent objects. Group VI axeheads, or fragments of them, have been found in the Nene valley and in the upper Thames catchment, so that two could well have been collected in the late 3rd millennium. The material may have been selected because its green colour approached that of some of the schists and slates of which bracers are usually made. But it is difficult to believe that the parent artefacts were not recognised for what they were.

Bracers were intended to shield the inside of the forearm from the lash of the bowstring, and may have been directly tied to the arm with gut or a thong passing through holes drilled in both ends, or fixed to a backing of textile or leather. The Raunds example may never have been finished: a perforation at one corner is so close to the edge that it may have broken during manufacture. A drilled hollow of comparable diameter near the centre of the same edge is matched by two comparably located hollows in the complete Dorchester example. The hollows in both objects may have been intended to hold inlays, like the gold studs on a larger bracer from Barnack. Once broken, the Raunds bracer was used as a burnishing tool, reducing the end opposite the surviving perforations to its present smooth, rounded shape. Microscopic striations on this end are consistent with prolonged contact with a resilient material contain-

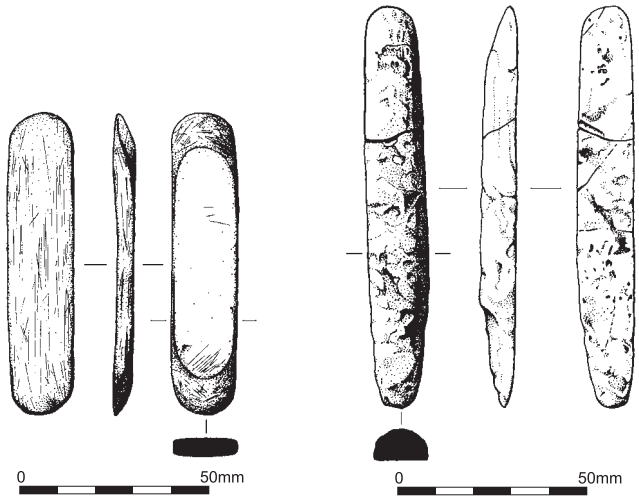


ing minute abrasive grits, such as a hide, and are similar to the wear on the ends of the 'sponge-finger'.

The association of a bracer with a Beaker like the one from Barrow 1 is exceptional, for in southern England they have generally been found with Beakers of Clarke's Wessex/Middle Rhine group, as the complete Dorchester bracer was. The association of the reused Raunds example with the 'wrong' Beaker may suggest that it was no longer seen as a bracer, but as a comparable implement to the 'sponge finger'.

The 'sponge finger' is made from a fine-grained, green, laminated, slate-like rock. Scratch marks generated during manufacture have largely been removed by polishing, and the object is very finely finished. Both beveled ends are slightly facetted and marked by very fine microscopic striations like those on the bracer. Few other examples are known; they are generally finely finished and little-used, like this one, and tend to occur in other richly furnished male graves with Beakers of Clarke's southern tradition.

The chalk object was carefully carved, ground and smoothed to a slender form so fragile that it broke in antiquity. It is likely to be a replica of a more robust object, perhaps another 'sponge finger', a bone or antler spatula, or a flint fabricator, all of them found in a small number of male Beaker graves, most of them rich.



Objects from other places and times

Axeheads of rocks from the north-west and south-west of England were brought to the Nene valley in the 4th and 3rd millennia (Panel 3.4). The same may be true of a fragmentary quadrangular-sectioned tuff adze of Danish form found in Wellingborough (RCHME 1979 166, pl 31; Clough and Cummins 1988, 186–8, petrology no Np 55). There is also a rather later Scandinavian artefact in the form of a stone battle-axe of Danish type, with a drooping blade, found in Peterborough in the 19th century (R Smith 1925, 104–5, fig 47). If these were indeed imported in antiquity they combine with amber (discussed below) to document exchange networks extending across the North Sea.

Flint from the chalk may have reached the area as early as non-local axeheads. It certainly did so before the Raunds barrows were built, on the evidence of a core weighing over 1 kg from a pit under Barrow 6. The extent of this traffic is difficult to determine, but the two flint daggers would have been of chalk flint, because of their size and the quality of the flint itself (Ballin SS3.7.6). This adds to the impression that these were special objects, even symbols of power, and like their metal equivalents, they or the material from which they were made could have passed through many hands between source and final burial place.

Jet first appeared in the region in the 4th millennium, in the form of a single bead from the building at Padholme Road, Fengate (I Smith 1974a). The scale of its use, however, expanded greatly in the late 3rd millennium, with the widespread exchange of jet from Whitby, the source of the buttons from Barrows 1 and 6 at Raunds (Davis SS3.4.2). Amber, ultimately from the Baltic (Beck and Shennan 1991, 37), came into circulation at about the same time. The earliest local find may be a bead in a grave with a European Bell Beaker of Case's style 1 at Brampton, Cambridgeshire (White 1969). The association of both materials in Barrow 1 foreshadows their repeated incorporation into the same necklaces during the following centuries, when beads of both materials were made in identical forms, including intricate, skilfully pierced spacer-

Table 4.9 Grave goods from the primary burial in Barrow 1

Description	*Source*	*Condition*	*Interpretation*
Shell-tempered Beaker	Local?	Interior pitted and spalled beneath 'tideline' low down in belly of vessel. High levels of degraded animal fat lipids in fabric below 'tideline', low levels above	Buried containing meat- or milk-based liquid
Dagger, probably of chalk flint	East Anglia? Wessex?	Edges of blade (but not haft) worn by sheathing and unsheathing. No other wear	Buried sheathed and hafted, possibly giving the appearance of a metal dagger. Personal possession of deceased?
Triangular flint arrowhead	Local?	Fresh and without wear or hafting traces, point possibly too thick for use	Buried unhafted? Made for grave? Unfinished?
2 flint flake knives	Local?	Fresh. One used for scraping wood or antler, one for cutting soft material on medium material, possibly butchery or skinning	Used for activities connected with the burial, perhaps the preparation of the grave and/or the subsistence of those concerned?
3 flint scrapers	Local?	Fresh. 2 used for scraping wood, 1 for scraping hide	" "
Miscellaneous retouched flint flake	Local?	Fresh. Used for scraping medium material	" "
5 flint flakes	Local?	Fresh. 1 used for butchery, 1 for cutting medium to hard material, 3 smallest unused	" "
Group VI wristguard	Ultimately Cumbria. Could have been made from locally collected axehead	One perforation broken. Opposed end truncated and worn down by use	Probably made from already old axehead Damaged, ?during manufacture Adapted to new use before burial
Slate 'sponge-finger' whetstone	East Midlands? Beyond?	Ends worn	Used, functional artefact
Elongated carved and smoothed chalk object	Surrounding plateau? East Anglia? Wessex? Lincolnshire/Yorkshire?	Broken in antiquity	Non-functional replica of bone or antler spatula, flint fabricator or 'sponge finger' whetstone?
D-sectioned amber ring with possible trace of V-boring	Ultimately Baltic. Could have been found on east coast of Britain	Too badly preserved for condition on burial to be assessed	Belt ring? Magical properties?
5 V-perforated jet buttons	Whitby area of Yorkshire	Varying degrees of wear on perforations, fresh bevel cut on one after wear already sustained	Buttons from different garments (and hence different people?) assembled and standardised for grave? Magical properties?
3 split cattle ribs	Local?	No sign of wear	Reinforcements for composite bow?
Pig tusk	Local?	Unmodified. 420–990 years old when buried	Already old object, curated or recovered

plates (I Shepherd 1985 figs 5.45, 5.48, 5.50; Beck and Shennan 1991, fig 4.1). Both were also used to make V-perforated buttons. The convergence between materials of different appearance and from different sources may be due in part to their common working properties (I Shepherd 1985, 205–10), which could have led to their being worked by the same hands. They might also have been seen as similar because of their common electrostatic properties, which might have had magical connotations. Even in recent times in Britain, amber was believed to be effective when rubbed on sore eyes or sprained limbs, and was also worn for chest ailments

(J Simpson and Roud 2000, 5). According to Pliny the Elder, in Roman times, jet was believed to drive off snakes and detect feigned illness or feigned virginity, as well as curing toothache and scrofulous tumours (Eichholz 1971, 113–15). Shale and related materials, like that of the armlet worn by the female buried in the Raunds Long Barrow (P Bradley and Edwards SS3.4.2), lack any such properties and may have been as much a substitute for a jet object as the chalk artefact was for one of stone or antler, as when beads missing from a spacer-plate necklace of Whitby jet found at Poltalloch, Stirling, were replaced in locally available cannel coal (Sheridan and Davis 1995).

Jet buttons were only one of the grave goods common to the primary burials in Barrows 1 and 6. These two deposits seem almost to have been assembled to a single pattern, despite disparate grave sizes and quantities of artefacts: Whitby jet button(s), chalk flint dagger, local flint flake(s), filled Beaker, chalk object (Figs 4.4, 4.6). The combination is too rare to be coincidental and must link the beliefs and affiliations expressed in both. Both lie, like the female burial in the Long Barrow, near the start of a tradition of richly and exotically furnished Early Bronze Age burials. Both would have encapsulated converging associations and histories. Objects from remote sources have qualities – not least their rarity, the difficulty of obtaining them, and the skill often invested in their manufacture – that invite their interpretation as prestige goods, exchanged among competing elites (3.4.1). But this is only one of the means by which they may have been accumulated. Individuals, and their artefacts, could make long journeys: within the date range of the primary burials at Raunds, a Quimperlé dagger, originating in Brittany, was buried in a pit at the edge of a barrow at Lockington, Leicestershire with pots and gold armlets of insular manufacture. The way in which the dagger had been distorted, probably by hammering, mirrors the treatment of daggers from several Breton graves, and suggests that knowledge of a particular Breton custom, and hence a person or people, travelled with the dagger (Needham 2000b).

However exotica were obtained, a source beyond the familiar world would have been fertile ground for storytelling, fantasy and myth, and may itself have added value to the artefacts and enhanced the influence of those associated with them (Helms 1993; Needham 2000a). Chronological distance could have had a similar effect, as, perhaps, with some of the objects stacked together in Barrow 1. It is worth emphasising quite how old these objects were. The pig whose tusk was buried in the grave would have died *420–990 years earlier at 95% probability* (Fig 3.68: *OxA-4067*). The tusk may have remained in circulation, passed from generation to generation in a mutating package of traditions, or it may have been recovered from what was already an archaeological context. Pig tusks figured in Neolithic burials of Kinnes' stages D–E (1979, figs 3.2–3, 18.5, 18.9), which would place them in the earlier part of the 3rd millennium. An aurochs whose tooth was incorporated in the cairn overlying the burial died *330–960 years earlier at 95% probability* and may have been contemporary with the pig (Fig 3.68: *OxA-2085*). On Irthlingborough island, away from the Neolithic monuments on the terrace, the incorporation of the pig tusk and the aurochs tooth (and possibly more of the aurochs) into Barrow 1 may have been equivalent to placing late 4th-millennium skeletons under the primary burial in Barrow 6 and of building on and among the old monuments (4.3). Pig tusks are not uncommon in Beaker and Early Bronze Age burials. Eastern English examples include those in inhumations at Aldwincle (Jackson 1976, fig 11) and Deeping St Nicholas, Lincolnshire (French 1994a, fig 16), and in a late 2nd-millennium cremation burial in a Collared Urn at Roxton, Bedfordshire (A Taylor and Woodward 1985, 99). Without directly dating them, it is impossible to tell if all were equally ancient.

Curation over periods as long as these is of a different order from the deposition in graves of worn or broken objects of types unlikely to be more than a generation or so older than the deceased, like a broken gold-studded bracer at Barnack (Donaldson 1977, 209) or chipped and worn jet beads of classic Early Bronze Age forms placed with a child inhumation in a barrow at Snailwell, Cambridgeshire (Lethbridge 1950, 35). A third object from Barrow 1, a stone bracer made, exceptionally, of siliceous tuff from Great Langdale in Cumbria, would have had a comparably short history in its final form, yet at the same time may have been another manipulation of the past (Panel 4.2). Curation over even longer periods may indeed have persisted through the 2nd and 1st millennia. The 2,200-year span of the bronzes in the Salisbury hoard, buried *c* 200

Figure 4.13 (opposite) Barrow 1. The building of the cattle skull cairn.

BC, has been interpreted as reflecting the discovery of Bronze Age hoards towards the end of the Iron Age, and the recognition of their contents as ancient artefacts that, for whatever reasons, should not be melted down (Stead 1998, 123). Some or all of the objects in the Salisbury hoard may alternatively have been kept above ground up to the juncture at which it was thought appropriate to bury them.

4.3.4 Conclusion

The evidence from Raunds indicates how variation in the quantity and composition of grave goods in the late 3rd and early 2nd millennia, combined with variations in the location and manner of burial between the sexes and between adults and children, expressed differing social personae. A similar conclusion has been reached elsewhere, as with Pierpoint's (1981, figs 4.5–6) multivariate analyses of burial treatment and grave goods in Yorkshire, which show both wide variation among males, and a sharp distinction between males on the one hand and females and children on the other. The variation among males bespeaks power and status. The role of pre-eminent men must already have been established when round-barrow building started, since rare exceptionally large male graves and a predominance of male burials in barrows are features of the early stages of barrow building. The fine and exotic objects that sometimes accompanied them seem, although different in form, to perpetuate the processes of exchange, acquisition and display by which the 'prestige goods' of the 3rd millennium were circulated and utilised. It is as if a new rite was taken up by those who were already powerful. An increase in the frequency of female and child barrow burials over time may not reflect changes in their ascribed roles, since the kinds of grave goods associated with both changed little. It may rather reflect the increasing importance of lineage.

4.4 People and animals

It is cattle bone that was principally deposited in the Raunds monuments. In the Long Barrow ditches, cattle dominated both the primary fills and the overlying layers containing Peterborough Ware (Davis SS4.6.3). Abraded bone contemporary with or slightly later than the early 3rd-millennium Riverside Structure was mainly from juvenile or sub-adult cattle of prime meat age, and also included some aurochs bones and two human femur shaft fragments (Baker SS4.6.4; Mays SS4.7.2). Several centuries later, a cattle skull and other bones were placed in a pit cut into the mound of Barrow 5, possibly at the same time as the insertion of a triple cremation burial in a Collared Urn, possibly later (Fig 3.79). In the same period, the limestone cairn over the primary burial in Barrow 1 was piled with the defleshed skulls of at least 185 cattle, one or two aurochs, three pigs and a dog. The cattle were represented almost entirely by skulls, with far fewer mandibles, scapulae and pelves (Fig 4.13; S Davis and Payne 1993; Panel 4.3).

The possible genesis of the Barrow 1 cairn stirs the imagination. Simon Davis explores Malagash practice (SS4.6.1):

> *'…modern ethnographic accounts of death and mortuary rites provide a little that is of possible relevance and might help us to understand the Barrow 1 assemblage. Where are large numbers of a single species of animal sacrificed at a funeral or second burial? Where are skulls deposited over a grave? What is the meaning of animal bones associated with a tomb? Some useful clues are to be found in the works of Bloch (1971), Hertz (1907), Huntington and Metcalf (1979) and Mack (1986).*
>
> *People who perform elaborate funeral rites involving large numbers of cattle are to be found in Madagascar. Among many Malagash peoples great reverence is paid to their ancestors — dead and living form a single society in constant contact. The body of the deceased is first placed in a temporary burial place. A period of waiting ensues before a second burial can take place. An important distinction is made between, on the one hand, a putrefying corpse in which the bones are still 'wet' and, on the other hand, the end product of putrefaction, ie the dry bones. This period may vary from several months to as much as ten years — on average two years. During reburial, known as 'Famadihana', bones of the deceased are examined and re-wrapped in a special shroud. This is accompanied by a feast. Reburial cannot take place until the corpse has completely decomposed and only the dry bones remain. An evil power, linked with the smells of putrefaction, is thought to reside in the corpse. Hence as desicca-*

Panel 4.3 The Barrow 1 cattle bone deposit (SS4.6.1; Davis and Payne 1993)

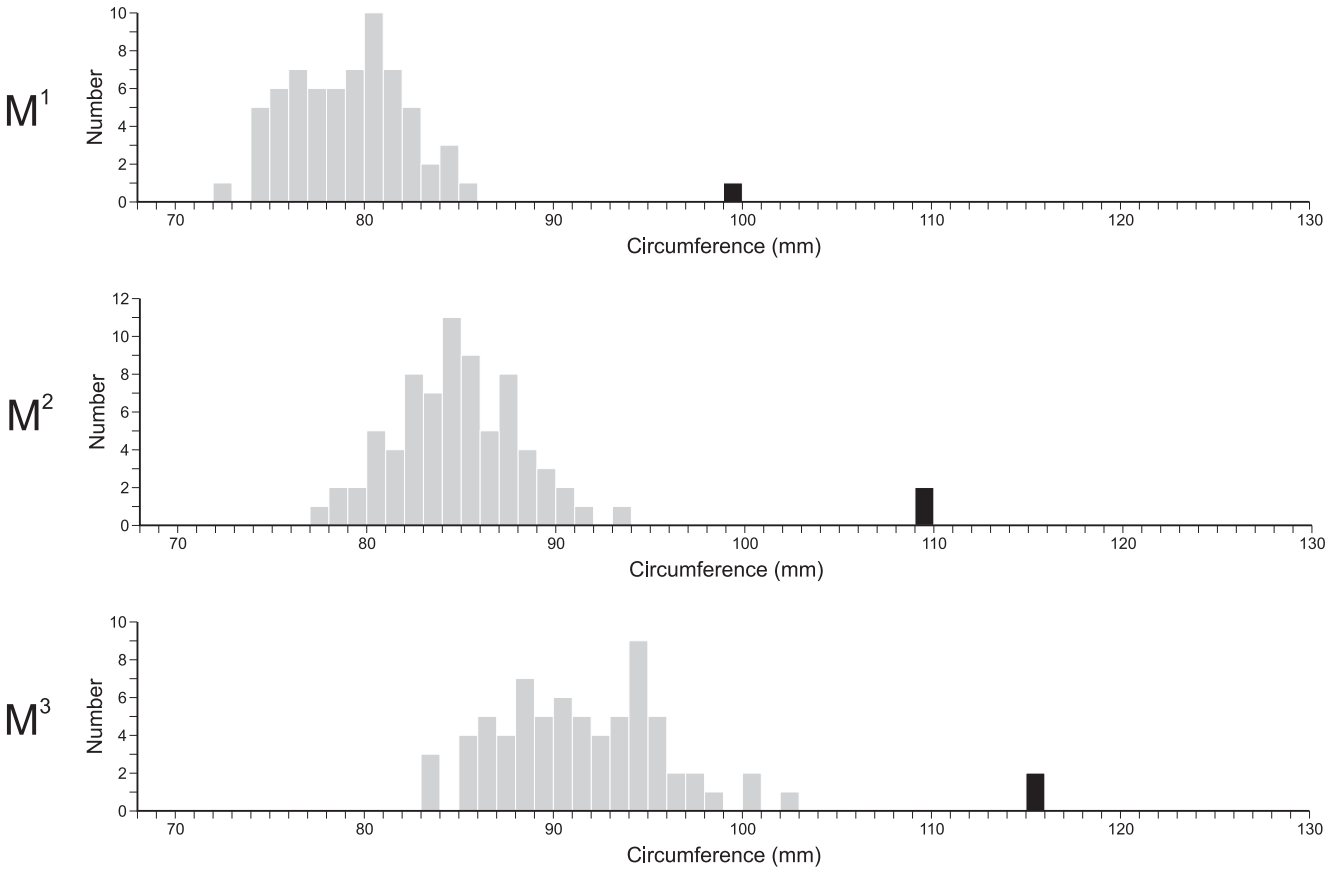
Simon Davis

On the cairn were approximately 185 domestic cattle skulls, a much smaller number of cattle mandibles, scapulae and pelves, and at least one aurochs skull. Very few cattle limb bones or bones of other species were present. Teeth were generally well preserved but bones were in very poor condition. Maxillary teeth were generally pointing into the ground (ie with their occlusal surfaces facing down), indicating that skulls had been incorporated into the assemblage 'the right way up'. As the area of the cairn was 9m^2, and a cattle skull measures *c* 0.30 x 0.50m, these 185 skulls must originally have been stacked on top of one another in three or four tiers (Fig 4.13).

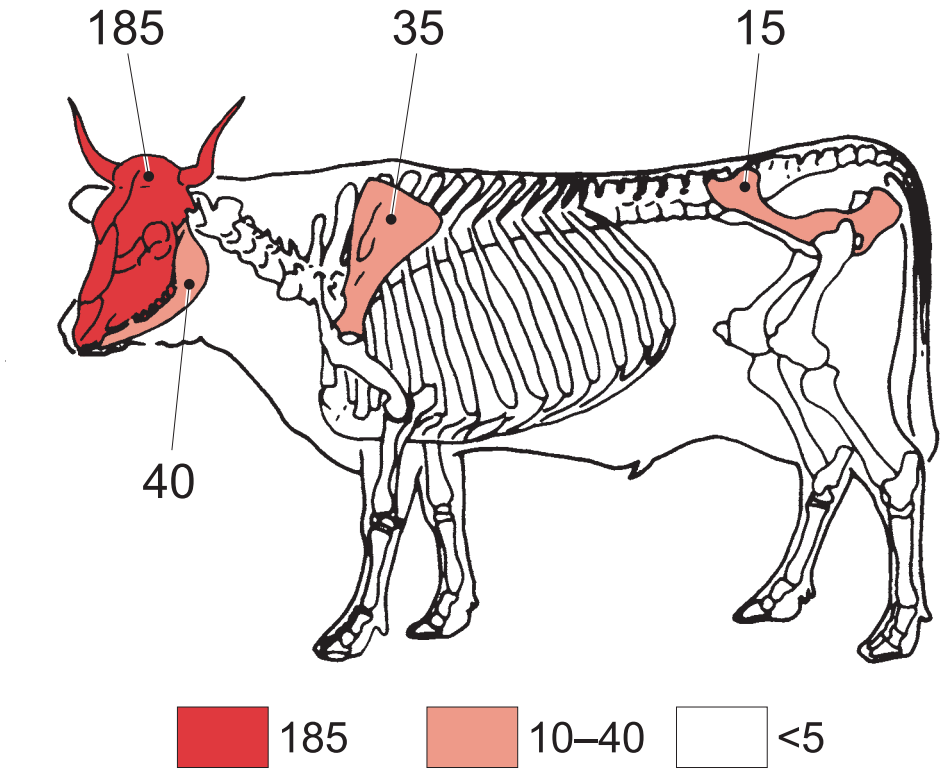
The low variability of measurements of the lower third molar teeth suggests that the domestic cattle belonged to a single sex – perhaps male, in view of the robustness of the few pubes that were found. Examination of tooth eruption and wear indicates that most of the cattle were young adults when slaughtered with few calves (probably only one) and few old animals. They would have been prime beef cattle. Cut-marks show that they were butchered. There were far fewer premolars than molars and only one incisor was found.

The assemblage poses a number of questions. What do the bones represent? What was the sequence of events that led to its deposition? Did cattle and cattle skulls have some religious significance? Can parallels be found today?

185 cattle could have provided at least 40,000 kg (= approximately 40 tons) of meat, which, on a ration of 1kg per person per day, equals 40,000 person days. Put another way, 500 people could have been sustained for 2.5 months. Was the beef distributed to the thousands who attended



Circumferences of upper first, second and third molars of cattle. Teeth identified as domestic cattle are illustrated in grey and the five large teeth identified as aurochs are illustrated in black (= Fig SS4.20).



Sketch to show which body parts are represented (shown in darker tones). The numbers represent the approximate number of cattle that must have been slaughtered to contribute each part of the skeleton.

the funeral? Or were many of the cattle slaughtered in different places and only the skulls brought as a tribute? Some kind of large-scale feasting at the barrow does seem to be a strong possibility.

The presence of a significant number of limb-girdles (scapulae and pelves) but no limb bones is most puzzling. Even more strange is the similarity between the numbers of mandibles, scapulae and pelves. One possibility is that 150 (185 minus 35) skulls were brought by people from far away, and that 35 skulls, plus scapulae and pelvic girdles, derive from 35 animals slaughtered and consumed during the funeral of the dead man – but what became of the rest of the skeletons and why put only the girdle bones and mandibles on the cairn?

The unequal numbers of teeth hint at the history of the assemblage. Following death, bovid incisors and premolars tend to fall out easily compared to the molars, which remain 'locked' in their sockets. Could these teeth have been lost during a delay between slaughter and final incorporation into the barrow? Such a delay might have had to be of the order of a month or more to allow time for the flesh to rot and the teeth to drop. I speculate that many or all of the cattle skulls were placed on the cairn (a) as skulls without flesh, and (b) some time after slaughter (which may, in some cases, have taken place far away). Some of the skulls might have derived from cattle slaughtered to feed the people attending the funeral, while the majority were possibly brought to the funeral already defleshed. This reconstruction of events (my own preferred one) is, however, one of several likely ones.

For how long could the defleshed skulls have lain exposed to weathering in antiquity before becoming covered? Most of the remaining teeth are in good condition and show little sign of exposure to frost and temperature change. This suggests that the skulls were exposed to the elements for a few years at most. If so, then they could have been accumulated within a year or two. The funeral of the important person, and the laying of skulls over his cairn, may well have been a ceremony of relatively short duration.

tion of the bones progresses, so the deceased is freed from this evil. Its soul is then deemed worthy of admittance to the company of its ancestors. But in the intermediate period it wanders incessantly waiting for the feast that will put an end to its restlessness (Hertz 1907).

While not necessarily the main source of sustenance, cattle reflect status and wealth. Cattle play an important role in the burial and reburial of the dead (see for example Mack 1986). A second burial may last several days or even a whole month and may be accompanied by elaborate preparations and very great expense, often reducing the family of the deceased to poverty. Many cattle are sacrificed and eaten in banquets that often develop into huge orgies. In parts of southern Madagascar (for example among the Antandroy) Famadihana is not practised: the dried human bones cannot be seen. Instead cattle skulls — symbolising the desiccation of the human skeleton — are placed over the tomb or on some high place nearby such as up a tree or on a cenotaph. These are the skulls of cattle sacrificed during the funeral and of course their numbers reflect the status of the deceased. The skull serves as an emblem of the virility and power whose increase is implied in the act of sacrifice. For these reasons skulls are often displayed at funerals (Mack pers comm).

While drawing parallels between the culture of modern Madagascar and Bronze Age England is extremely speculative, there may be a lesson in the contrast between the composition of the Barrow 1 faunal assemblage and the usual English Bronze Age faunal assemblages with their predominance of sheep and pigs as well as cattle. Perhaps, as they are today in Madagascar, cattle in Bronze Age England were valued as status symbols and were kept mainly to serve in funerary rites. The great accumulation of cattle skulls and the aurochs above the cairn of the dead man at Barrow 1 may be a reflection of the power he was able to wield during his life.'

The exceptional scale of the Barrow 1 deposit – almost 200 animals yielding 40,000kg of meat (Panel 4.3) – puts the rites that accompanied this burial on a different plane from those usually conducted at round barrows. Even if the cattle were slaughtered and consumed over a period of a few years, the social unit concerned must have been larger than the relatively small (family?) groups proposed above as the usual builders and users of these monuments. This burial must have brought together many such groups, perhaps a clan or a tribe. It may be no coincidence that it is probably the earliest of the dated Early Bronze Age burials at Raunds (3.5.6). Its importance may have made the area an appropriate place for subsequent interments.

The archaeological record of the south-east Midlands provides echoes of perhaps comparable practices in extra-functional deposits of cattle bone in funerary and other contexts, going back to the Early Neolithic (Table 4.10). Most, however, are fairly small-scale, the only approximation to the Barrow 1 cairn occurring over the first mound of barrow 2 at Gayhurst Quarry, Buckinghamshire, this time with an excess of limb bones. There are, however, recurrent features, regardless of date: proximity to or association with human remains, frequent use of the skull, and the presence of aurochs remains alongside those of domesticated cattle. Similar practices are particularly well documented in Wessex. The following examples are a few of many, chosen to represent the chronological range. In the 4th millennium three cattle skulls were buried in the Beckhampton Road long barrow in Wiltshire, two – one of them possibly on a post – on the old land surface at either end of the axis, and a third built into the mound (Ashbee *et al* 1979, 247, fig 14). Around the turn of the 4th and 3rd millennia, two right cattle mandibles were placed on the bases of opposed terminals of the southern entrance of Stonehenge, and a skull elsewhere on the ditch base, all of them already old when deposited, some possibly curated for three or four centuries (Cleal *et al* 1995, 71, 442, 521–31). In the early 3rd millennium, a cattle skull was incorporated in a pit with Grooved Ware in Firtree Field, Cranborne Chase, Dorset (Barrett *et al* 1991, 77–8). Later in the same millennium, a young man was buried with his head on a cut-marked cattle scapula and his feet on a vertebra, accompanied by two fragments of humerus and with three further scapulae and a pelvis fragment in the grave fill, in a barrow at Fordington, Dorset (Bellamy 1992, 114–16, 121–2). In the 2nd millennium, two articulated cattle burials were placed at opposite sides of a pond barrow on Down Farm, Cranborne Chase, Dorset, in

Table 4.10 'Special' deposits of cattle bone in the south-east midlands, in approximate chronological order

Site	*County*	*Description*	*^{14}C or other dating*	*References*
Godmanchester	Cambridgeshire	Cattle cranium on base of S terminal of trapezoid enclosure ditch, at 1 side of open NE end. L and R cattle mandibles on base of N terminal	*c* 4000–3400 Cal BC (dates on charcoal may be misleadingly old)	McAvoy 2000
Etton	Cambridgeshire	Phase 1. Cattle most frequent species in causewayed enclosure. Treated differently to pig and sheep, which were sometimes buried as partial skeletons, while placed deposits of cattle bone tended to be groups of ribs or vertebrae or, in 2 cases, skulls. Some aurochs present. Human remains also present. One combination of human skull and a cattle bone in a placed deposit.	*c* 3900–3400 Cal BC	Pryor 1998, 21–51, 271–88
Etton	Cambridgeshire	Phase 2. 2 aurochs skulls on plank in recut in causewayed enclosure ditch	Probably soon after phase 1	Pryor 1998, fig 49
Eynesbury	Cambridgeshire	Cattle skulls on base of long barrow ditch with human skulls and other human remains, including some articulated elements	2860–2340 Cal BC (4004±55 BP; NZA-14465) for antler on ditch base	Ellis 2004
Fengate	Cambridgeshire	Cattle (possibly aurochs) skull in pit with Grooved Ware	3rd millennium	Pryor 2001, 32, 407
Barrow 1, A15 Bypass, Etton	Cambridgeshire	Cattle skull on pelvis of young male buried with style 3 Beaker	Late 3rd to early 2nd millennium	French and Pryor 2005
Gayhurst Quarry	Buckinghamshire	Bones from an estimated 300 cattle, with an excess of larger limb bones and a shortfall of vertebrae, ribs, skulls and the small bones of the limb extremities, in secondary fills of inner ditch of double-ditched barrow, apparently originally placed on or around the flanks of first mound which covered large grave containing coffined primary burial into which 5 successive interments were cut. Possibly the remains of cattle consumed elsewhere.	Late 3rd to early 2nd millennium	Chapman *et al* 1999; Chapman 2004 and forthcoming
Babraham Road, Cambridge	Cambridgeshire	Spread of flint cobbles and animal bone sealing sterile pits close to two burials. At least 2 aurochs, 3 domestic cattle, 1 sheep and 1 pig represented Aurochs and domestic cattle bones near base of chalk-cut shaft	Bone, spread and shaft undated. One burial dated to late 3rd or early 2nd millennium	Hinman 2001
Orton Longueville	Cambridgeshire	4 Collared Urns around central pit 3.60 m across and 3 m deep containing cattle skull overlain by burnt bones and soil containing 4 Beaker sherds. Cremation and flint implements in 1 urn, pike backbone in another. Bone pins also present. Possibly in barrow. Recorded by Wyman Abbott before World War II	Early 2nd millennium	RCHME 1969, 31; Longworth 1984, corpus nos 9–98
Prickwillow Road, Isleham	Cambridgeshire	Pit containing inverted cattle skull with second cattle skull upright on top of it in group of pits one of which contained replica antler bow. Cut marks on 1 skull. Further pit in group contained articulated cattle burial and 18 human rib fragments and pieces of sternum. Badly ploughed-down, both may have been buried articulated	1880–1490 Cal BC (3360±70 BP; Beta-77752) for one of cattle skulls 1880–1520 Cal BC (3390±70 BP; Beta-77751) for animal bone from pit with bow Pit with cattle and human burial	Gdaniec 1993; 1994; 1996
Fengate, Padholme Road subsite	Cambridgeshire	Cattle skeleton on base of field ditch	undated 2nd millennium	Pryor 1998, 101–2
Barrow A, Snailwell	Cambridgeshire	Cattle skull just below mound surface	Late 3rd millennium or 2nd millennium?	Lethbridge 1950, 34, fig 2

the 2nd millennium, close to human and sheep burials (Barrett *et al* 1991, 128–36).

There is the impression that cattle could approximate to people. Their disarticulated skulls and other bones were deposited in the same kinds of contexts and the same kinds of ways as their human equivalents. Sometimes they may have taken the place of people, as in the Beckhampton Road long barrow, where there were no human burials (Ashbee *et al* 1979); sometimes they were in the same contexts, as at Eynesbury, perhaps in the 3rd millennium (Table 4.10; Ellis 2004); sometimes they were in parallel contexts, as where a cow and two human females were placed at different points on ditch bases at Fengate in the 2nd millennium (Pryor 1980, 5, 39–40; 1998b, 101–2). It has also been observed that the cattle bone deposited in some Cotswold-Severn Tombs was treated in the same way as the human bone – burnt where human bone was burnt, articulated where human bone was articulated, and disarticulated where human bone was disarticulated (J Thomas 1988c).

At the Early Neolithic end of the spectrum, British practices were close to those of north-west Europe. The ways in which the remains of domestic cattle, aurochs and humans were deposited in British causewayed enclosures and long barrows (cf Whittle *et al* 1999, 164–252, 344–6, 359–62), echo continental usage from the Kattegatt to the Gironde (Andersen 1997, 172–276). Other domesticates were also the subject of 'special' deposits, but less consistently and less frequently. It is as if cattle and their wild progenitors were an essential part of the Neolithic practices and beliefs (3.2.4), and development of a life interwoven with that of the herd may have been one of the most far-reaching innovations of the time. North-west European manipulation of cattle bones may relate to the earlier use of both cattle skulls and cattle representations in south-east Europe (Bailey 2000, 184–6; Hodder 1990, 82) and the Near East (Rice 1998, 53–84). Schwabe (1994) argues that cattle, unlike caprines or pigs, may have been domesticated for religio-political or cosmological reasons. He sees the aurochs bull – and, by extension, other cattle – as a pre-eminent model for power and fertility, its early significance reflected in numerous identifications with humankind and yet more numerous ritual roles that persisted into the earliest eastern Mediterranean civilisations. Their association with religion is reiterated in a discussion of the so-called 'cattle burials' found across central Europe from about 3500 BC (Pollex 1999).

In Britain, domestic cattle and monument-building were linked not only by cattle remains in the monuments, but by living herds around them. The 4th-millennium monuments at Raunds stood in areas that were grazed to varying levels of intensity (Ch 2) but were lived in rarely, if at all. The herds and the monuments occupied the same areas, and the conjunction of two important and symbolically charged aspects of life would have compounded the significance of both. In the late 3rd millennium, the Raunds round barrows were built in lightly grazed grassland with minimal tree cover (Ch 2). By this time the distinction between areas of occupation and grazed monuments was clear-cut. Occupants of the valley sides would have looked out not only on bright, reflective gravel-capped mounds, but on stock grazing among them. A similar separation of living sites and grazed monuments obtained at Barrow Hills, Radley, Oxfordshire, where the development of a large and rich Beaker and Early Bronze Age barrow cemetery coincided with a dearth of evidence for contemporary settlement in the surrounding area (P Bradley 1999b, 8) and a predominantly grassland landscape (M Robinson 1999, 272). The separation of barrow cemeteries and living sites elsewhere (Ch 5) can be read in the same light, especially in areas likely to have been pasture, such as Borough Fen, just north of Peterborough, where flint scatters were a few hundred metres away from a cemetery of over twenty round barrows (Hall 1987, 21–6, fig 43); Ramsey island in the south-central fens, where two predominantly Bronze Age flint scatters were 1km or more away from a barrow group (Hall 1992, 42, fig 24; Hall and Coles 1994, fig 50); or the Yare and Tas valleys south of Norwich, where Beaker settlements lay a few hundred metres upslope from barrows (Ashwin and Bates 2000, 134, figs 46, 180).

Grassland, indeed, seems to have been almost a standard setting for round barrows. Barrow 1 on the A15 Bypass at Etton was probably built in established pasture (French and Pryor 2005). Pollen from the palaeosol beneath the Deeping St Nicholas barrow in Lincolnshire reflected an environment largely given over to pasture, and turves were incorporated in the first mound (French 1994a, 88–90; Scaife 1994). The barrow at Lockington, Leicestershire, was built over a soil that had been

dunged and trampled, possibly very shortly before mound construction (Limbrey 2000). The first mound of a barrow at Sproxton, Leicestershire, was built of turves, and an enlargement of the mound was built of soils containing mollusca suggestive of open, grazed grassland (Clay 1981, 5; Macphail 1981; Wainwright 1981). The list could be continued *ad nauseam*.

Those who piled cattle skulls onto the cairn in Barrow 1 may have been acting out beliefs that had developed over the previous 2000 years. To do so, they used a species whose economic pre-eminence was diminishing. As Simon Davis points out, at this time the livestock on the ground is unlikely to have been cattle-dominated, if indeed it ever had been. Most of the bone assemblages from settlements with Beaker and Early Bronze Age pottery around the fenland basin include some pig and substantial, though variable, proportions of caprines, which seem to have increased as the 2nd millennium progressed (Healy 1996, 171–4, 179). Rather later than the Barrow 1 cairn is a large assemblage accumulated at West Row, Mildenhall, Suffolk, in the early to mid-2nd millennium in which there were slightly more caprines than cattle, with respective minimum numbers of 40 and 32 animals, although in terms of meat weight, beef would have been of greater importance than mutton (Olsen 1994). Caprines were well represented among the animal bone accumulated in the course of the 2nd millennium at Fengate, although out-numbered by cattle (Biddick 1980), and the paddocks and droves from which the assemblage was recovered are interpreted as designed for sheep management (Pryor 1998a, 89–108). Contemporary caprines at Raunds can only be inferred from ovine adipose lipids in the inverted Collared Urn on top of the Barrow 1 cairn and in a fragmentary Bronze Age urn from a superficial context on Barrow 6 (Copley *et al* SS3.8.2).

Other species were accorded special treatment at Raunds. A horse mandible in the first mound of Barrow 3 (Davis SS4.6.2) should date to the late 3rd or early 2nd millennium. If so, it was placed there at a time when horses were scarce in Britain (Serjeantson 1998) and may have been highly prized. Horse remains are rarer in this period than artefacts of amber, gold or other exotic materials. Incorporation in a barrow is matched at Snailwell, Cambridgeshire, where a horse skull was found near the centre of the mound of barrow C 'in circumstances that suggest that it was a contemporary burial' (Lethbridge 1950, 32, fig 4). Another, buried with an antler pick in a pit beside the Etton cursus, has been dated to the second half of the 2nd millennium, although originally thought to be Neolithic (Armour-Chelu 1998, 282–5; Hedges *et al* 1996). Also exceptional are a canid (probably dog) parietal and palate found together among the mass of cattle skulls and other bone piled over the Barrow 1 cairn (Davis SS4.6.1). As bone preservation was poor, these might originally have come from a complete cranium. There are countless possible interpretations for the presence of one dog among so many cattle, but the animal might have had a particular relationship to the man buried beneath. Special treatment of dog remains in the 2nd millennium is not unknown. In the Story's Bar Road ring ditch at Fengate, a dog was buried in a short recut, apparently made for the purpose, a few metres from two child burials cut into the base of the ditch, and a cremation deposit in a Collared Urn and possibly an un-urned cremation burial, both buried in the mound (Pryor 1978a, 34, 51–2).

The species used in animal deposits diversified through the 2nd millennium, and their composition became more balanced, although cattle still figured. Part-skeletons of a calf, a horse, a pig and several dogs, all unbutchered, were deposited at Flag Fen in the late 2nd and early 1st millennia (Halstead *et al* 2001). Cattle deposits persisted through the 1st millennium, among a plethora of animal-related ritual (M Green 1986, 167–99; Cunliffe 1992), and into the Romano-British period, when several cattle skulls were placed in ditches at Raunds (Crosby in prep), and a cattle cranium was placed with a human inhumation cut through a Roman or Iron Age ditch and into the central mound of the Maxey henge (Pryor *et al* 1985, 73, fig 46). Here, as in the abiding significance of trees, there are hints of belief systems that bound human life up with the natural world.