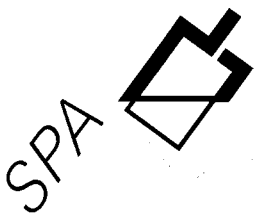


In Discussion with the Past

Archaeological studies presented to W.A. van Es

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ROIB

Foundation for Promoting Archaeology in co-operation with
the National Service for the Archaeological Heritage

Geldermalsen: an Early La Tène Cemetery - Diffusion or Convergence?

R.S. Hulst

'Wij zoeken allen en ieder vindt zijn waarheid'

(*'We are all searching, and each finds his own truth'*)

W.A. van Es, *In de marge*, VU Amsterdam

In 1992 and 1993 the State Service for Archaeological Investigations (ROB) undertook an excavation in Geldermalsen (fig. 1), in anticipation of the Middengebied zoning plan. Around the turn of the century, spectacular burial finds from the Roman period were discovered here during sand-digging. Stuart has dedicated a publication to these finds.¹

The expectation that the excavation would be linked to the Roman cemetery, and that it could therefore give scientific status to the site, has been fully realised.

But there was more. The human traces in the soil appeared to reach much further. We cannot give a full list of what has been found within the context of this article.² We will leave the settlement archaeology for the time being and with regard to the funerary data a diagram, shown in fig. 2, will have to suffice. This figure reveals the exceptional fact that the same site repeatedly served as a cemetery, for a shorter or longer time, over a period of more than 1000 years.

In the diagram the general characteristics of the graves have been indicated: inhumation, cremation and the occurrence of grave marking, here present only as ditch enclosures. The line above the time line indicates the presence of graves, irrespective of their quantity. In four places the line has been drawn higher up to indicate the existence of graves that imply a social stratification. We will not discuss this stratification here.

We assume that the Geldermalsen graves will find their way into publications. To encourage this, we will write the first article on the subject here, dealing with the earliest graves. The fact that the earliest graves date from the Middle Iron Age can be deduced from the finds discovered in four graves. These will obviously be discussed in detail. First we want to investigate whether or not there are any graves in addition to the ones mentioned that can be ascribed to the (Middle) Iron Age. Does the excavation yield any data that might assist us in this? The geological stratification is of no help to us; either it simply does not exist or, if it did exist, it is no longer visible as a result of tillage of the soil during the Carolingian period and later. But there are other options.

The dated graves consist of three inhumations and one crema-

tion. The three inhumations are located at the extreme periphery of the cemetery and on the edge of an area whose natural level is slightly lower. Four other inhumation graves, without grave goods, are in the same position. One has the same characteristics as the dated graves. The other three are different. A radiocarbon dating has indicated that these also date from the Iron Age, and we assume that they are contemporary with the others.³ There are other inhumations in the cemetery, outside the strip with the seven graves, but these, by means of finds or vertical or horizontal stratification, can always or nearly always be identified as being of a later date, from after the Iron Age. We will now discuss the dated cremation grave. Given the prevalent and very valid opinion that the cremation rite was the dominant burial method in the period under discussion, it would be very odd if this grave were the only one. On the basis of the specific characteristics of this grave, we may conclude that there are others with the same characteristics. These features are as follows. The pit with the remains is of a minimum size; it contains a small quantity of bone remains and virtually no remains of the pyre. This category of cremation graves (*Knochenlager*) always distinguishes itself from the graves with cremations that can be dated to the Roman period; in the latter case, the pits are bigger and contain more remains, often including those of the pyre. Furthermore, it has been established that the graves with the *Knochenlager* occur only within the zone with the inhumation graves described above and in an immediately adjoining zone, towards the core of the site.

There is no other possibility of reconstructing an Iron Age cemetery. Ditch enclosures, round or square, always turn out to be from the Roman period or later.

With some difficulty, the ground plan of a cemetery has been produced, of which it can be said with certainty, or with a large degree of probability, that it dates from the Iron Age (fig. 3). It consists of 7 inhumation graves and 16 cremation graves and covers an area which, considering the limited number of graves, may be considered large: 64 x 42 m, measured between the extreme limits. Internally there is a certain system, clear from the layout in small groups and rows. We may therefore assume continuity in the use of the site, but unfortunately we do not know how long the site was used for. All the finds date from the Middle Iron Age but, as is known, they remain limited to only four graves (nos. 1, 2, 3 and 8). The next graves that can be dated are from the 1st century AD;

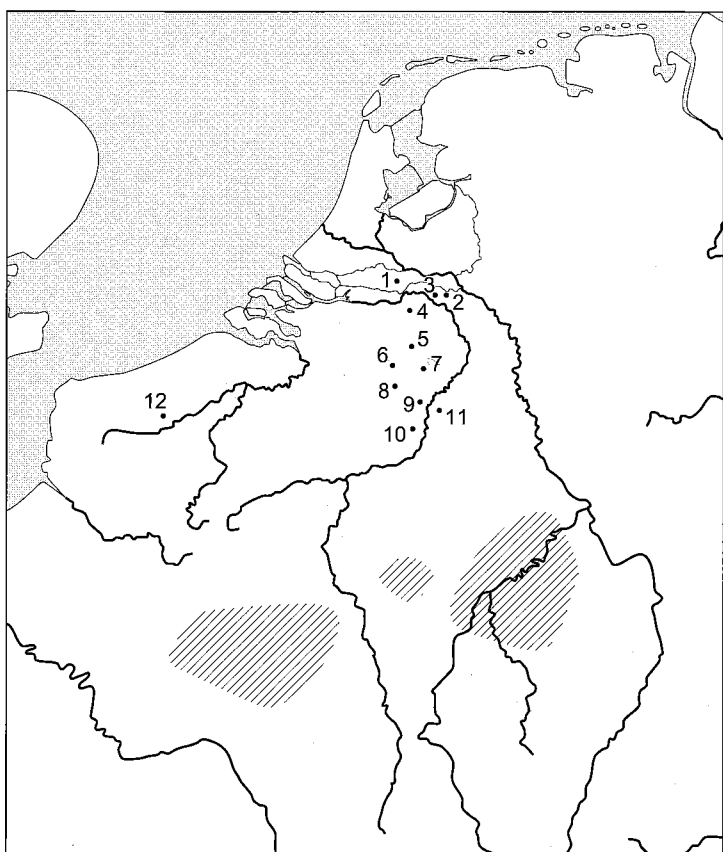


Figure 1 Sites, findspots; shaded: Champagne, southern Ardennes (Belgium) and western Hunsrück-Eifel-Kultur. 1 Geldermalsen; 2 Nijmegen; 3 Wychen; 4 Oss; 5 Son en Breugel; 6 Bergeyk; 7 Someren; 8 Lommel; 9 Wijshagen; 10 Eigenbilzen; 11 Sittard, *cista*-grave 1998; 12 Kesselberg.

they are in the area immediately adjoining the eastern edge of our cemetery. A brief period of use in the Middle Iron Age or a longer period of use, in theory up to the 1st century AD, are both possible.

No ditch enclosures have been found; nor has any evidence been found for mounds over the graves. Perhaps an angular-round ditch enclosure, cut through by ditches and a grave from the Roman period, and fragments of a square(?) ditch at one of the cremation graves are part of our cemetery?

Cremation graves with the characteristics described and, as far as we know, without ditch enclosures, are undoubtedly typical of the 'second half' of the Iron Age. They crop up with some regularity, often accidentally, isolated and far apart or in small groups. An example from the immediate surroundings is Eck and Wiel,⁴ where a date from the Middle Iron Age may be assumed.

Simply surprising and *epochmachend* are the inhumation graves, as until recently no inhumation graves from the Iron Age had been documented in the southern Netherlands, to which Geldermalsen may be considered to belong. The first one was discovered in 1990, in the Someren-Waterdael urn-field,⁵ and this grave remained the only one until the research in Geldermalsen. The fact that in Geldermalsen three, and probably even seven, such graves were found at a time, may

therefore be called quite remarkable. This circumstance is also the reason for writing this article.

We will first discuss the question of what specific information graves, finds and find circumstances yield, followed by a discussion of dating and affiliation.

Description of the graves

Cremation graves 9-23 have already been briefly discussed above. They were dug at a shallow level, at a depth of *c.* 0.2-0.35 m. Grave 9 (*c.* 0.45 m) and grave 18 (*c.* 0.65 m) are at a deeper level. The other graves are dealt with according to the list below.⁶

- a. pit: orientation (based on the position of the skull), measurements, depth.
- b. skeleton: position; sex, age, body length.
- c. finds/grave goods.

1. Inhumation; not disturbed (fig. 4).

- a. S-N; 2.2x0.75 m; 0.65 m.
- b. moderately preserved; supine, extended, body moved towards the left, skull turned towards the right; female, aged 34-40, *c.* 1.55 m.
- c. on the body;
 - 1. around the neck, with opening to the front: bronze torc;
 - 2. around the right wrist, bronze bracelet, open;
 - 3. around the left wrist, bronze bracelet, closed; at the head, on the left, together
- 4. pottery: dish;
- 5. pottery: bowl/beaker;
- 6. pottery: pot;
- 7. iron knife, in parallel position, with the cutting edge turned away, and the tang towards the south;
- 8. bone: ribcage with 8 ribs, pig; located between 4 and 5 (not illustrated).

2. Inhumation; disturbed partly by ditch from the Roman period (fig. 5: 1).

- a. N-S; 2.1x0.6 m; 0.48 m.
- b. only the lower body, from the hips downwards, survives, badly preserved; supine, extended; undetermined, aged 34-47, *c.* 1.6 m (?).
- c. at the head:
 - 1. pottery: pot; very damaged, only a few fragments of the belly survive.

3. Inhumation; not disturbed (fig. 5: 2).

- a. W-E; 1.46x0.64 m; 0.44 m.
- b. very badly preserved, partly silhouette; supine, extended; undetermined, age $>12 \pm 30$ months; *c.* 1.35-1.45 m.
- c. on the body; fig. 6:
 - 1. around the neck, iron torc;
 - 2. in the middle of the face, bronze ring with amber bead;

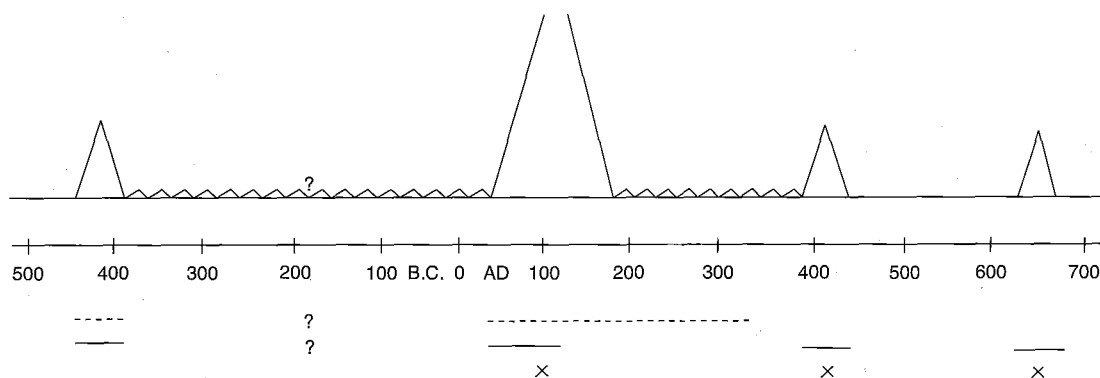


Figure 2 Geldermalsen cemetery: chronological diagram.

3. beside right upper arm, iron fragment (not illustrated);
4. underneath the pelvis between the thighs, pottery: spindle whorl (lost, not illustrated).
4. Inhumation; pit partly disturbed by construction of grave during the Roman period (fig. 5: 3).
 - a. E-W; pit not visible; 0.75 m.
 - b. moderately preserved; on right side, legs drawn up; undetermined, aged 5 ± 16 months, *c.* 0.95-1.05 m.
5. Inhumation; not disturbed (fig. 5: 4).
 - a. NW-SE; pit not visible; 0.7 m.
 - b. moderately preserved; supine, moved towards the right, legs slightly drawn up towards the right; male, aged 47-54, *c.* 1.4 m.
6. Inhumation; not disturbed (fig. 5: 5).
 - a. N-S; 1.45x0.6 m; 0.58 m.
 - b. moderately preserved; on left side, extended, legs placed carelessly in too small pit; female?, aged 40-47, *c.* 1.4 m.
7. Inhumation; not disturbed (fig. 6).
 - a. W-E; 1.96x0.7 m; 0.57 m,
 - b. badly preserved; supine, extended; undetermined, aged 17-25, *c.* 1.65-1.75 m.
8. Cremation.
 - a. *c.* 0.2 m.
 - b. -
 - c. between the bone remains:
 1. pottery: rim fragment (fig. 7).

1-4 Dish; carefully smoothed or polished; dark grey to brown, rim, shoulder and inside brown.

1-5 Bowl/beaker; smoothed or polished; dark grey.

1-6 Pot; moderately smoothed; brown to dark grey; the original probably low rim has crumbled away in the grave as a result of disturbance.

2-1 Pot; smooth-surfaced; grey to yellowish brown; due to disturbance, the pot has fragmented in the grave and has largely been lost; the remaining fragments justify the reconstruction of a fairly large pot with a rounded belly; unfortunately we have no information about shoulder and rim.

8-1 Shape unknown; the sides, probably smooth originally, are weathered; dark grey; very thin; directly below the edge there are three shallow, narrow horizontal grooves all round.

Pottery grit has been used for tempering. In pot 2-1 the grit is sometimes fairly coarse and often visible on the outside. The pottery is medium-high fired. 8-1 is an exception; this object is high fired, and the clay contains many small grey and light brown to red-brown particles (chamotte?) and a few fine sand grains.

Metal, bronze

1-1 Torc with tampons; solid, 89.5 g; 15.3-15.7 cm, smooth thread with a diameter of 4.5 mm, increasing towards the ends to 6-6.5 mm. The ring was cast in a smaller mould, after which it was thinly drawn or forged. Evidence for this is the laminar structure which is macroscopically visible on the corroded parts, and an air-bubble, drawn out lengthways, in the inside (X-ray photograph). The ends of the rings lead to pins with a square profile, onto which the tampons have been pushed. The pins have been joined to the ends of the tampons. Before they were fixed, the tampons were decorated by hand. A striking difference in patina may indicate that ring and tampons are of a different metallic composition.

1-2 and 1-3 Two identical bracelets, with and without opening; not decorated; 26.5 and 27.2 g resp.; 7.1-7.4 cm, smooth thread, diam. 4-4.5 mm. Patina as the ring of the torc.

3-2 Ring, open; diam. 1.8 cm; round thread, diam. 2 mm; one side ends in a point, the other one is blunt. Attached to

Description of the finds

Pottery

All the pottery is hand-made and has been fired according to a reducing method.

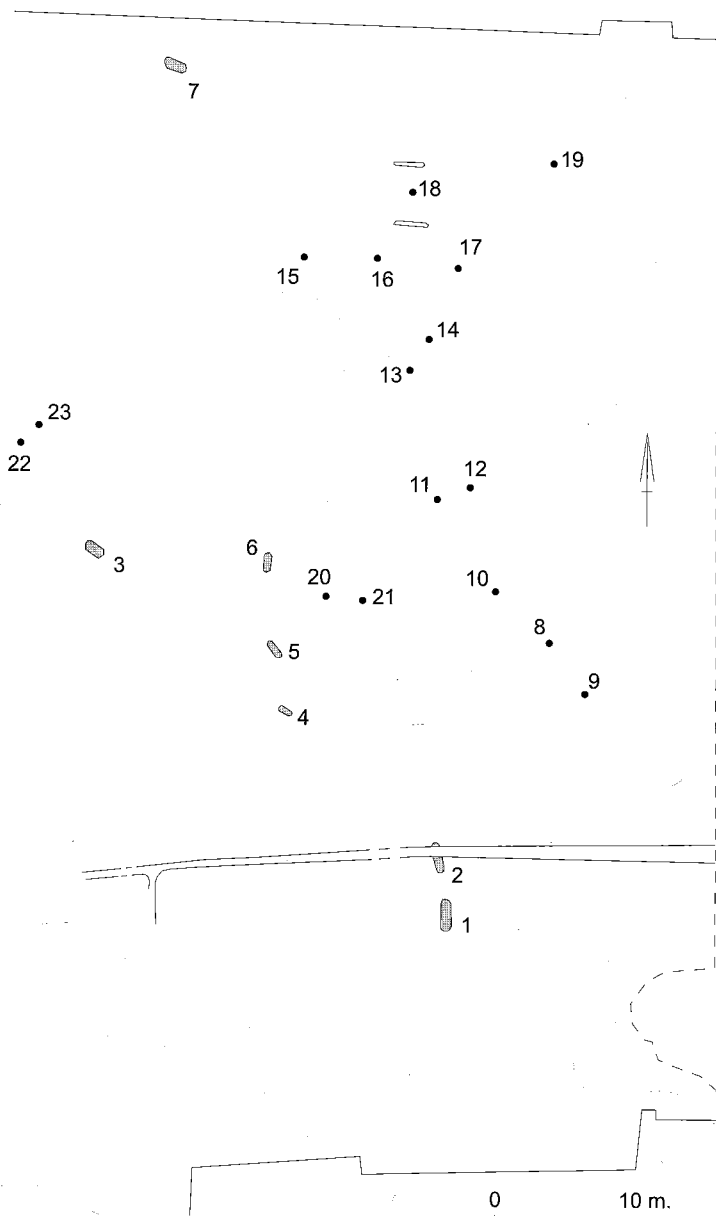


Figure 3 Geldermalsen. (Early) La Tène cemetery. Scale 1:500.

the ring is an amber bead, disc-shaped, diam. 1 cm, thickness 2.5-3 mm. Probably earring or nose-ring.

Metal, iron

1-7 Knife; remaining length 15.8 cm; max. width 1.9-2 cm. Back and cutting edge go up towards the tip. The tang has a small, rectangular profile.

3-1 Torc; 14-14.5 cm. Completely corroded. The illustration shows a reconstruction, based on X-ray photographs. The ring has a round profile and is c. 5 mm thick, towards the ends this is 6-6.5 mm. At the ends there used to be hollow knobs of thin metal tinplate, probably bronze or copper.

3-3 Fragment of a non-identified object; corroded; the remaining piece is 2.5 cm long, probably with a rectangular profile, width 8 mm, thickness 5 mm.

According to their function, the finds can be divided into two categories:

- Clothing/jewellery/personal possessions.

Grave 1. torc, bracelets.

Grave 3. torc, ear- or nose-ring, spindle whorl.

- Grave goods.

Grave 1. pottery, with contents(?), knife and meat.

Grave 2. pottery, with contents(?).

In grave 1 the knife, although this may be a personal item of the deceased, and the meat form a unit. Perhaps the spindle whorl in grave 3 was carried in a pocket at the front of the clothing. It may also have been deposited with spindle, wool and thread on the lower part of the body. The fragment of iron cannot be classified, as the function of the original object is not known.

On the basis of the finds, grave 1 is distinct from grave 3 in that it has a wealthier content. In grave 1 a grown woman was buried, whereas in grave 3 an adolescent was buried; judging by the jewellery and spindle whorl this was probably a girl. The level of grave 2 remains uncertain. Any other objects in this grave, in addition to the pottery, may have disappeared over the length of the entire upper part of the body during the Roman period due to disturbance. The location of the grave suggests a close relationship with grave 1. Pottery fragment 8-1 may be part of a vessel that was put on the pyre. Moreover, graves with no finds also exist.

Dating

The pottery in grave 1 fits effortlessly into phase F of the pottery sequence that Van den Broeke has drawn up for Oss-Ussen.⁷ The same applies to the pot in grave 2; we will never be certain about this, but there is no objection to this conclusion, which is supported by the similarity in pottery material. Besides, both graves seem closely related. Phase F dates from between c. 450/440 and c. 400/375 BC.⁸

The rim fragment from cremation grave 8 corresponds to the characteristic shapes of *gobelets et vases carénés*, well known from Champagne in northern France and southern Belgium between roughly 450 and 350 BC.⁹ Given the material which, as we saw, deviates from the other pottery, we should seriously consider the possibility of importation here, perhaps from the area mentioned. We might think in this respect of the thin-walled ceramics from Kemmelberg.¹⁰

To acquire some idea of the date of the torcs we have to rely - due to the lack of examples from our own area - on comparison with the nearest regions where they do occur, also exclusively in the graves, and sometimes frequently: northern and northeastern France, especially in Aisne and Champagne, the southern Ardennes in Belgium, and in the east the adjoining area of the western *Hunsrück-Eifel-Kultur* (HEK).¹¹ In general terms, torcs whose tampons, although very varied in shape,

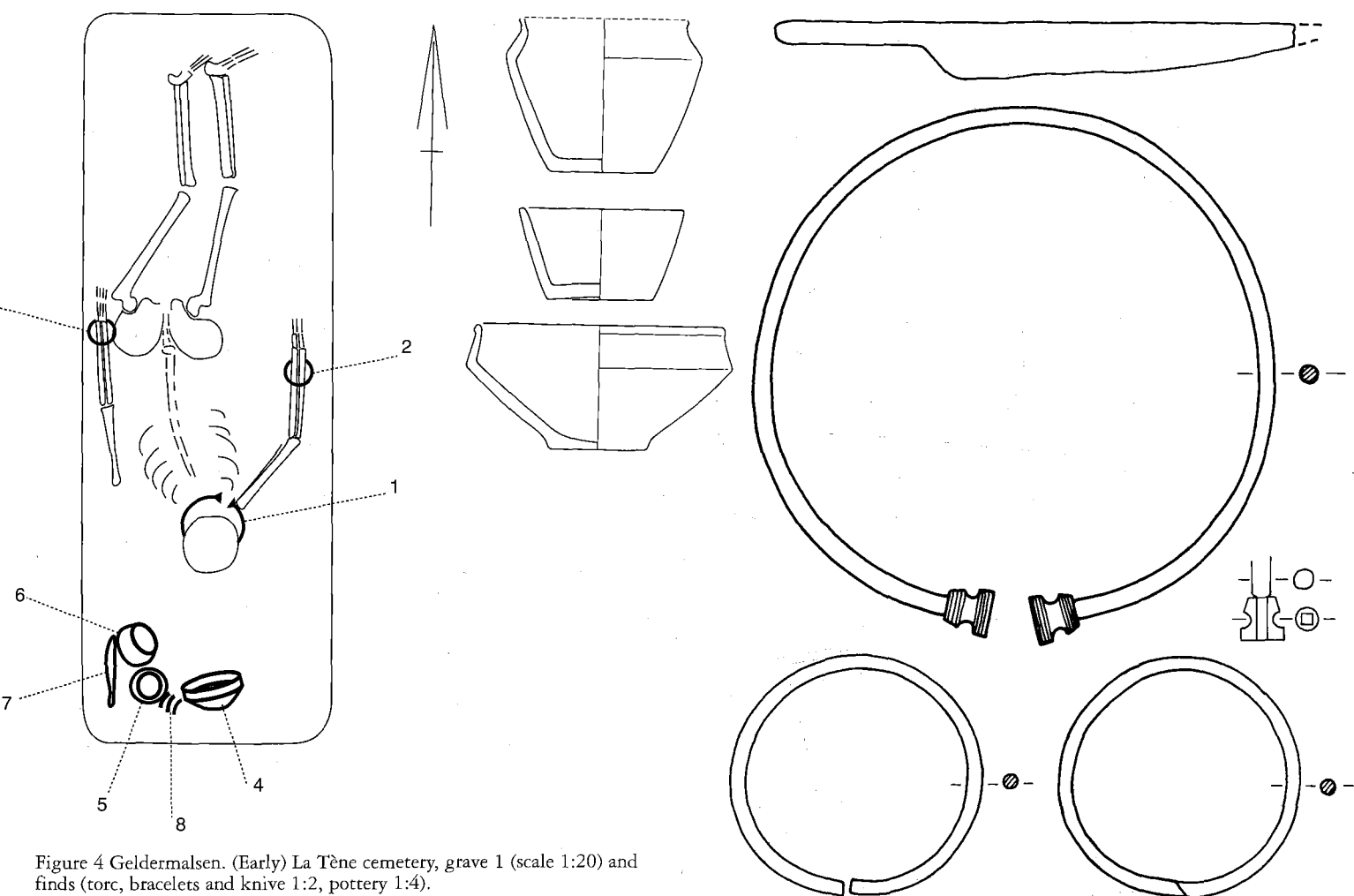


Figure 4 Geldermalsen. (Early) La Tène cemetery, grave 1 (scale 1:20) and finds (torc, bracelets and knife 1:2, pottery 1:4).

are all modest in size, qualify for comparison. They are thought to be characteristic of the greater part of the 5th century and, probably, part of the 4th century BC. In the chronology of Hatt et Roualet (1977): from LT Ancienne 1b to LT Ancienne IIa, c. 450 - c. 375 BC; for the torcs from the western HEK this is synchronous with Parzinger's chronology.¹² In the areas which we have compared, iron torcs are still used at about 500 BC, but after this date they become very rare.¹³ This does not mean that we should date the torc from grave 3 to an earlier date than the bronze example from grave 1. The same applies to the iron torc from Oss, found in 1976.¹⁴ The terminations, which are often the only distinguishing feature in smooth rings, do not differ in our examples to such an extent that they give rise to fundamentally different dating. The fact that two of the three torcs from the Netherlands we know of are made of iron, may also indicate that they were made here. In the case of the bronze torc from Geldermalsen this may not be so, but there is no compelling reason to assume importation 'from far away'.¹⁵ The fact that the earring with amber bead from grave 3 fits very well into the same period as the other finds becomes clear when we study the discourse by Bretz-Mahler on these objects from Champagne.¹⁶ He also suggests that a ring such as the one example that was found in our case in the middle of the

face could also have been put into the nasal septum. In fact, adorning the head with rings was a widespread phenomenon in western Europe during this period.¹⁷

Affiliation

In Geldermalsen we have found a cemetery that, because of the finds, can be dated to between c. 450 and c. 400-375 BC. The rite is mixed: inhumation and cremation. In general the two do not occur in the same place. This may mean, among other things, that inhumation and cremation did not take place at exactly the same time. The graves are spread out or located in small groups. The orientation of the inhumation graves varies. It is impossible to say whether these are level graves or graves underneath mounds. The cremation graves contain small *Knochenlager*; only one find is known, perhaps the remainder of grave goods consisting of pottery (grave 8). In the inhumation graves, most of the burials are extended and supine, and the dead have been given personal possessions and/or grave goods, or nothing at all. We will concentrate on the inhumation graves, because they are very unusual here. Obviously, this qualification is related to our knowledge of graves and cemeteries from the relevant

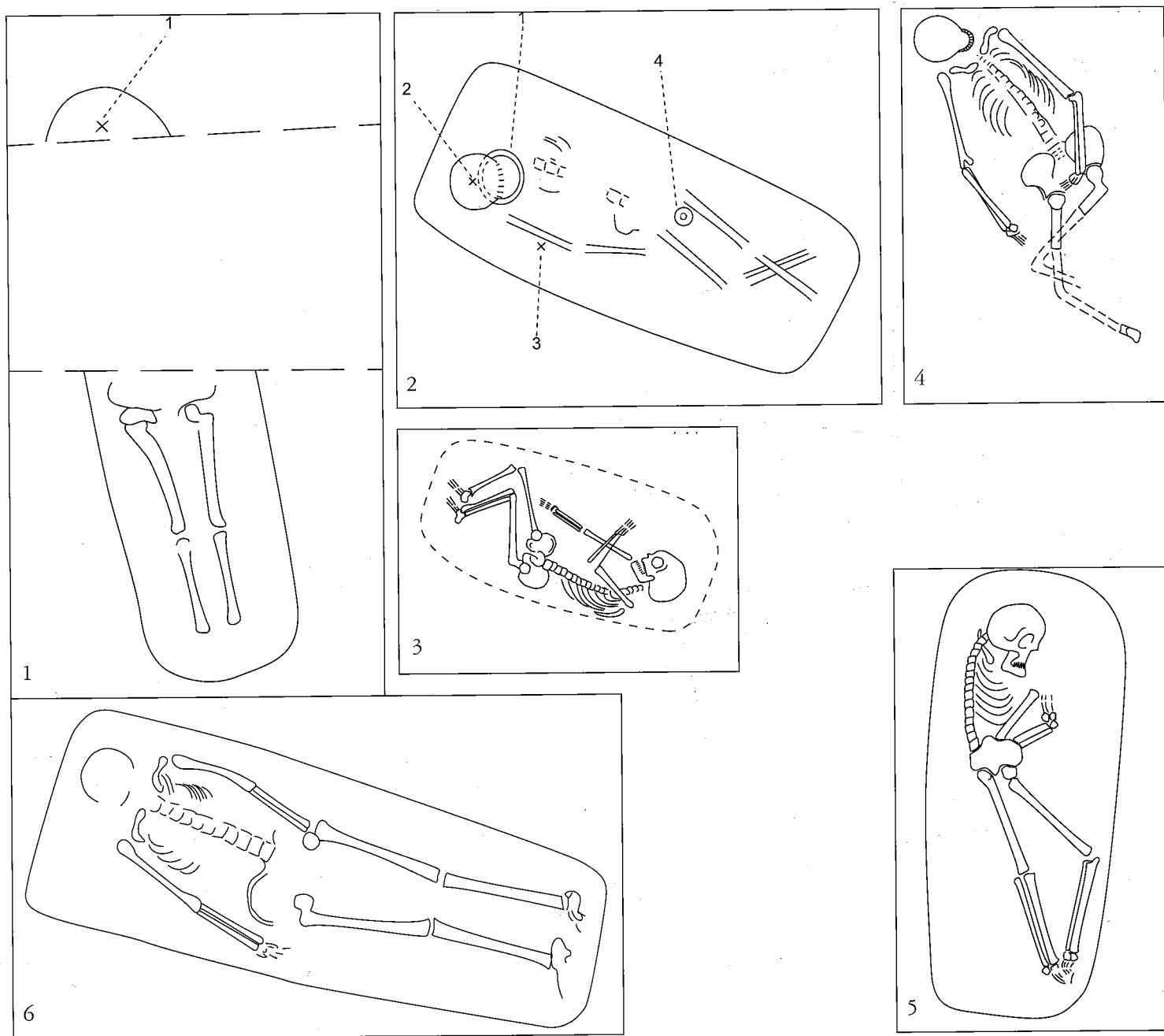


Figure 5 Geldermalsen. (Early) La Tène cemetery, 1 grave 2; 2 grave 3; 3 grave 4; 4 grave 5; 5 grave 6; 6 grave 7. Orientation North. Scale 1:20.

period(s), which is still limited. For the time being, the information we do have gives the impression that inhumation in the River Area and in the southern Netherlands was not very common, but this does not necessarily mean that it was not widespread.¹⁸

Women's graves 1 and 3 and grave 2 provide accurate information about the nature of the personal possessions and the grave goods, and their position in the grave. The picture that is formed, especially that of grave 1, is reflected directly in contemporary inhumation graves in Champagne and Aisne, the southern Ardennes of Belgium¹⁹ and the western HEK; in short, the same areas that have already been mentioned in the discussion of the torcs. The combination of torc and bracelet(s)

is very common in these areas, and grave goods consisting of meat and a knife are found everywhere. Grave goods in the form of pottery also occur frequently; in Champagne one or even many items were buried with the deceased, while elsewhere there was usually one item, and sometimes two or three.²⁰ The place of the pottery in the grave varies, but is subject to certain area-dependent rules: in Champagne it is usually found beside the body, and in the southern Ardennes and the HEK at the head or foot. The orientation of the graves in Champagne is usually W-E, elsewhere it varies; in the northern group of the Belgian Ardennes the graves usually have a N-S orientation. Both inhumation and cremation occur, in a variable ratio, but in the southern Ardennes inhumation

dominates, and in Champagne cremation hardly occurs at all. In the HEK and in the northern group in the Ardennes there are almost exclusively tumuli; in Champagne these also occur regularly, but level graves are numerous; the southern Ardennes occupy an intermediate position in this respect. In our view, we have shown that the cemetery of Geldermalsen is clearly closely related to an area situated 200 to 300 km further south. There is no objection to mentioning the Someren grave mentioned before, which is about 60 km to the south-east, in the same breath; it is very likely that the pot which was placed at the head or the foot dates from the same period. In this respect Geldermalsen, on the periphery, is part of the 'κοιμη' within the Celtic area. The phenomenon of inhumation is one of the determining aspects, with grave inventories which, in essence, are fairly uniform.²¹ Inhumation was introduced to this area between the end of the 7th century and the middle of the 6th century, and lastly occurred in the north, the area of Central Rhine-Moselle/northern France.²² There was not always a complete change; cremation often continued to be practised. This was certainly the case in the southern Netherlands; also, as regards the inventory, at the level of Geldermalsen grave 1 or even higher, as is evident from the Eigenbilzen Fürstengrab²³ and the Nijmegen cart burial,²⁴ both cremation graves and contemporary with Geldermalsen. The male equivalent of Geldermalsen grave 1 in the southern Ardennes - to limit ourselves to a clear *pars pro toto* in the comparison - is the grave where one or two lances were found, in addition to pottery and a knife. Limited in number, but by no means exceptional, are the graves where the deceased was buried not only with his weapons, but also with a two-wheeled cart and horse harness. To the latter, wealthier, category belongs the Nijmegen cart burial, whose objects - both in terms of composition and individually - can be compared directly to northern France, the southern Ardennes and the HEK. Like the other deceased in the small cemetery, of which this cart burial forms part, the body had been cremated. In terms of its layout, the Nijmegen cemetery is comparable to that of Geldermalsen. It roughly dates from the same period, *i.e.* between *c.* 450 and 350 BC.²⁵

What makes the Geldermalsen cemetery so special - we have already emphasised this - is the inhumation in general, and also in particular the far-reaching similarities between grave 1 and the women's graves in the south. How should we assess this? The Nijmegen cart burial and the Geldermalsen woman's grave show the same cultural relations: the relevant goods and ideas are shared with one and the same area. Nevertheless, it seems to us that there might be a major difference between the two. We cannot get away from the impression that the woman's grave, much more so than the cart burial, demonstrates to what extent certain phenomena were shared. Cart, horse harness and weapons might be the same as those in the south, and probably they also originate from there, but strictly speaking this is where the comparison ends, as these goods together account for only one phenome-

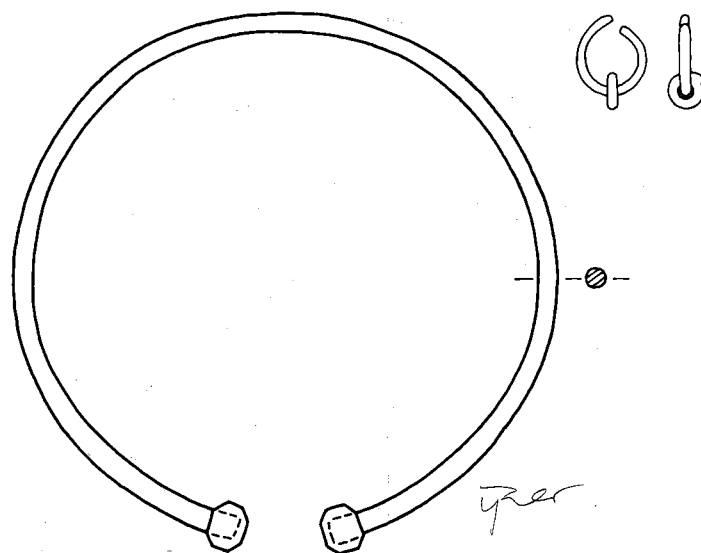


Figure 6 Geldermalsen. (Early) La Tène cemetery, grave 3: finds 1-2. Scale 1:2.

non, and we do not know whether the context in which these items were used before their deposition in the grave corresponds to that of the south. The burial itself is not southern (see note 25). In the woman's grave, however, three phenomena are combined: the attire of the deceased, the manner of interment, and the layout of the grave. Together they form one complex, which appears to have derived directly from, for instance, the southern Ardennes, where the grave, measured in terms of quantity of pottery, would in fact have quite a high score. On the basis of our purely descriptive options, we might say that the cart burial is an example of the importation of goods as such, whereas the woman's grave concerns the transfer of integrated ideas, which is of a totally different order. Transfer or not, what made the cultural system of Geldermalsen decide to accept this complex? Was there an identical cultural tradition within which an identical concept could come to life, similar to how Van den Broeke sees the emergence of the earliest Marne pottery of the southern Netherlands in the preceding phase (phase E) within its own, previously established tradition, on the basis of principles of form that also occur in the South?²⁶

In Geldermalsen, and in the entire River Area, society underwent a strong development in this period. It has been established archaeologically that the population grew to an unprecedented number in the Middle and Late Iron Age. Törnquist's research, carried out in the area around Geldermalsen,²⁷ shows that in the 5th and 4th centuries BC arable and grazing land covered a considerable area. The impression is that this large-scale expansion did not start much earlier, presumably in the 5th century. What position does a society with apparently strong internal dynamics take in the distribution of cultural phenomena and complexes? It is an archaeologically established fact that our reference area in the south, christened as Marne-Moselle Culture by Brun,²⁸ reached its quantitative zenith, in terms of graves and finds, in

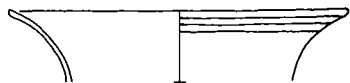


Figure 7 Geldermalsen. (Early) La Tène cemetery, grave 8: find. Scale 1:2.

the period of our woman's grave (Hatt & Roualet LT Ancien 1b/Van den Broeke pottery phase F).²⁹ Apparently, this is the period when the dominant position which this area, according to today's authors, had assumed within the Celtic world in the 5th century BC, was most prevalent. It cannot be denied that this coincides chronologically with the most northern and geographically strikingly advanced representative of the group of early *La Tène Fürstengräber*, that of Eigenbilzen, 100 km from Geldermalsen. The grave dates from the end of the 5th century BC.³⁰ The Wijshagen cist grave, also a cremation grave, situated to the north of Eigenbilzen, dates from the same period.³¹ It is also the period when in the southern Netherlands, albeit sporadically, pottery is imported from the south (Bergeijk, Son en Breugel, Geldermalsen grave 8). The Nijmegen cart burial may also belong to this period, and imitation in local pottery and 'Gallicising' of the pottery shapes used took place.³²

Does the introduction, or at least the application, of the inhumation rite in the north fit into this Kulturdruck, this 'French craze'?³³ And did this rite take root when this 'craze' subsided towards the middle of the 4th century,³⁴ or did it disappear, as in the south, where inhumation was increasingly replaced by cremation again? The occurrence of inhumation is a phenomenon which, as may have become clear, fits in with the 'spirit of the time'; this may be 'true', but this claim is gratuitous, and evades an explanation. The question that we should ask ourselves is what the reason is behind this occurrence, especially with regard to the very specific form of the woman's grave in Geldermalsen. To formulate the question specifically in terms of this grave: why and how does one society or, if one prefers an abstract term, one cultural system reproduce a complex of phenomena from another one? What mechanism was involved in this, diffusion or convergence?

Here we touch upon the heuristic discussion. Is archaeology equipped to settle this matter? Each archaeologist will have his own thoughts about this. He will have his - reductionist - models, euphemistically also called expedients, or, in an 'old fashioned' way, allow the facts, if they exist, to speak; following this order he might sooner or later find his own truth. Does this imply that the truth itself is never found?

Let's wait and see, and meanwhile make ourselves comfortable and enjoy the exquisite products from the South: a good *Bière d'Orval* or, if preferred, an excellent *millésimé de Champagne* - diffusion of the purest water.

Notes

1. Stuart 1968.
2. An account of the excavation has been included in the ROB Annual Reports of 1992, 159 and 1993, 72-3.
3. Grave 4, fragment of left femur (find no. 21.5.29); UtC 6094 2475 ± 38 BP *i.e.* (2 sigma) 766-474, 458-412 cal. BC (Stuiver *et al.* 1993).
4. Archeologische Kroniek van Gelderland 1987, Bijdragen en Mededelingen Gelre 1988, 146 and fig. 5.
5. Roymans & Kortlang 1993, 25-30.
6. For calculating the depth of the graves, the ground level has been determined at 0.15 m above the lower limit of the arable layer that covers the graves. The physical-anthropological data have been derived from the research by Cuypers, 1994.
7. Van den Broeke 1987, 105-7.
8. Van den Broeke 1987, 33.
9. We follow the dates of Hurrrelle phases B et C here (Hurrrelle *et al.* 1990).
10. Van Doorselaar a.o. 1987, 71-5.
11. Bretz-Mahler 1971; Cahen-Delhaye 1978 and 1983; Duval & Blanchet 1976; Haffner 1976; Hatt & Roualet 1977; Lepage 1984; Rozoy 1986.
12. Parzinger 1988, 78-9.
13. The bronze torc from grave 22 in the southern cemetery of Lommel-Kattenbosch in Belgium, near the Dutch border, also belongs to this early period (Ha D, De Laet & Mariën 1950, 324-5).
14. Archeologische Kroniek van Noord Brabant, Brabants Heem 1978, 16, fig. 24, and idem in Brabants Heem 1981, 88 erratum.
15. The manner in which the terminations have been attached to the bronze torc is exactly the same as in the torc from the cemetery of Mont Troté, Ardennes, Fr., although this is from c. 320-220 BC (Rozoy 1986, 242 ff., pl. 59). The knobs of the iron torc from grave 3 and from 242 have also been fixed separately.
16. Bretz-Mahler 1971, 74-9.
17. For instance the well-known Segelohrringe, c. 500 - c. 300 BC (Kooi 1979, 122).
18. Because they are geographically outside the scope of this paper, we will ignore the limited but irrefutable evidence for inhumation from the Middle and Late Iron Age in the western and northern Netherlands (survey in Hessing 1993).
19. This refers to the region of Neufchâteau, as distinct from the northern group of inhumation graves near the Ourthe, which are of a different nature and are therefore outside our work of reference; see Cahen-Delhaye 1978.
20. A service consisting of a pot, a bowl/beaker and a dish, as in Geldermalsen grave 1, is not uncommon. Perhaps this custom dates back to an earlier period: in HEK it occurred as early as the Early Iron Age (Haffner 1976, 122 ff.).
21. Collis 1977 and 1984, 130.
22. Parzinger 1988, 135.
23. Mariën 1987.
24. Bloemers 1986.
25. See also the earthenware bowl from one of the graves (Bloemers 1986, fig. 8). The cremation of the deceased and the dismantling of the cart are elements which, in combination, are very unusual for the reference area in the south. They fit in with the local ritus, probably in the same tradition as the Wychen-Wezelsche Berg grave, which is two centuries older, with the remains of a four-wheeled cart.
26. Van den Broeke 1987, 105 ff.
27. Törnquist 1990.
28. Brun 1994.
29. In the southern Ardennes, the 'Groupe de Neufchâteau', phase 2, see Cahen-Delhaye 1983.
30. Mariën 1987.
31. Van Impe & Creemers 1987. This grave in Wijshagen is the youngest one in a small collection of 5th-century cremation graves of the same style.
32. Van den Broeke 1980, 56 and 1987, 105 ff.
33. Van den Broeke 1987, 33.
34. See note 33.

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